AL.2.2007-643
C 2

# The Mantle of Leadership

## Premiers
of the North-West Territories and Alberta, 1897 – 2005

FORTIS ET LIBER

THE Centennial Series
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ALBERTA

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016

https://archive.org/details/centennialseries02perr

As preeminent members of their cabinets, provincial premiers ... are not only responsible for charting the course governments will follow, they also can insure that their particular policy concerns will receive highest priority. Nevertheless, the power of premiers is far from absolute. Their discretion is constrained by cabinet colleagues, some of whom are powerful political figures in their own right, who may regard themselves as current or future challengers for the premier's ***mantle of leadership***.

Allan Kornberg, William Mishler and Harold D. Clarke, *Representative Democracy in the Canadian Provinces* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1982), p. 208.

## Legislative Assembly of Alberta: The Centennial Series

### On Behalf of The Crown:
Lieutenant Governors of the North-West Territories and Alberta, 1869–2005

### The Mantle of Leadership:
Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta, 1897–2005

### A Higher Duty:
Speakers of the Legislative Assemblies of the North-West Territories and Alberta, 1888–2005

### A Century of Democracy:
Elections of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1905–2005

THE Centennial Series
LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ALBERTA

2005
Alberta Centennial

100 Years of Democracy
1906 2006
Legislative Assembly of Alberta

# The Mantle of Leadership

## Premiers of
## the North-West Territories and Alberta
## 1897–2005

By

Sandra E. Perry, BA BEd MLIS

and

Jessica J. Craig, BA MA

Editor and Historical Consultant
Philip A. Massolin, BA MA PhD

Coordinating Editor
Valerie L. Footz, BA MLIS

Contributing Author
Margaret A. Shane, BA MLIS

Legislative Assembly of Alberta

Published under the authority of the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

The Mantle of Leadership: Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta, 1897-2005

By Sandra E. Perry and Jessica J. Craig
Editor and Historical Consultant: Philip A. Massolin
Coordinating Editor: Valerie L. Footz
Contributing Author: Margaret A. Shane
Copyright © 2006 Legislative Assembly of Alberta

Cover and Book Design: Tracey L. Sales
Typesetting: McRobbie Design Group

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, transmitted in any form or by any means — electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, stored in a retrieval system or otherwise — without the prior written consent of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Perry, Sandra E.
The mantle of leadership : premiers of the Northwest Territories and Alberta, 1897-2005 / by Sandra E. Perry and Jessica J. Craig ; editor and historical consultant, Philip A. Massolin ; coordinating editor, Valerie L. Footz ; contributing author, Margaret A. Shane.

"Legislative Assembly of Alberta: the Centennial Series".
"Published under the authority of the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta".
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0-9689217-2-8 (bound).--ISBN 0-9689217-5-2 (leather bound)

1. Prime ministers--Alberta--Biography. 2. Alberta--Biography. 3. Northwest Territories--Biography. I. Craig, Jessica J. II. Massolin, Philip A. (Philip Alphonse), 1967- III. Footz, Valerie IV. Shane, Margaret A. V. Alberta. Legislative Assembly VI. Title.

FC3655.P47 2006 971.23'020922 C2006-904127-X

Every effort has been made to trace the source of copyright material contained in this book. The publisher will appreciate any additional information regarding rights and will rectify any errors or omissions in future editions.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface . . . . . . . . . . vii

Acknowledgements . . . . . . . . . . ix

Note on Sources and Scope . . . . . . . . . . xiii

Background

History of the Premiership . . . . . . . . . . 3
Role of the Premier . . . . . . . . . . 27
Leader of the Opposition . . . . . . . . . . 53
Hansard . . . . . . . . . . 71
Broadcasting of Proceedings . . . . . . . . . . 83
Portraits . . . . . . . . . . 95
Protocol . . . . . . . . . . 107
Special Events . . . . . . . . . . 115
History of Governance of the North-West Territories . . . . . . . . . . 131

Premier of the North-West Territories

Frederick William Aplin Gordon Haultain, 1897–1905 . . . . . . . . . . 159

Premiers of Alberta

Alexander Cameron Rutherford, 1905–1910 . . . . . . . . . . 203
Arthur Lewis Watkins Sifton, 1910–1917 . . . . . . . . . . 241
Charles Stewart, 1917–1921 . . . . . . . . . . 273
Herbert Greenfield, 1921–1925 . . . . . . . . . . 311

## Premiers of Alberta (Continued)

John Edward Brownlee, 1925–1934 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 341
Richard Gavin Reid, 1934–1935 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 383
William Aberhart, 1935–1943 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 407
Ernest Charles Manning, 1943–1968 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 449
Harry Edwin Strom, 1968–1971 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 489
Edgar Peter Lougheed, 1971–1985 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 517
Donald Ross Getty, 1985–1992 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 561
Ralph Philip Klein, 1992– . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 595

## Appendices

List of Appendices . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 638

Photograph Credits . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 727

Index . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 735

# PREFACE

It is my privilege to dedicate this book to the people of Alberta in celebration of the Centennials of both the Province and the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. I am confident that all those who read this volume will thereby gain a better appreciation of the history of our Province and the system of parliamentary democracy by which we are governed.

This volume is one in a series of four books that documents the attainment of responsible government in the North-West Territories, the jurisdictional antecedent of the Province, and with responsible government, the development of the role of the President of the Executive Council, more usually referred to in Canadian provinces as the Premier.

The Premiers, whose lives and careers are profiled in this volume, have made significant contributions in their respective professional fields, in their lives, which were devoted to public service, and especially in their role as Presidents of the Executive Councils of the North-West Territories and of Alberta. These men came from a wide variety of family, ethnic and professional backgrounds. A number were lawyers, two were professional athletes, others were teachers, businessmen, farmers, lay clergy and media broadcasters, and one was a librarian. However, they all shared common convictions: their devotion to this Province, to the strengthening of its role in Confederation, to increasing its prosperity and to providing a better life for its people.

While surprisingly not explicitly defined in Canada's Constitution, the role of the Premier—like that of the Prime Minister—has evolved over time until the individual filling that role has become the focal point or primary player within the governing caucus. Commonly, administrations become known by the name of the individual serving as Premier; for example historians often refer to 'the Rutherford administration' or 'the Lougheed Government.'

I would like to take this opportunity to thank and congratulate Sandra Perry, Legislature Librarian; Jessica Craig, Project Coordinator on this book; Philip Massolin, Historian; Valerie Footz, Coordinating Editor; Margaret Shane, Contributing Author;

and the fine team of librarians and researchers who contributed to the preparation of this volume: Sharon Bell, Ronald Kelland, Karen Powell, Myles Chykerda, Sharna Polard, Heather Close, Robert Sadowski, Eileen Cardy, Christine Bourchier, Cathy Duxbury, Megan Lewis, Darren Maltais, Warren Maynes, Maureen Ferra, Gregory Morgan, Scott Scambler and Anna Scott. Their dedication to the project and their exhaustive and scholarly research has resulted in a publication of which we can all be proud.

On behalf of the Members of the 26th Legislature, I would like to wish all Albertans immensely enjoyable and memorable Centennial celebrations as we move forward with the assurance that the future holds the promise of even greater achievements as Alberta's second century unfolds.

Kenneth R. Kowalski
Member for Barrhead-Morinville-Westlock
Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The following individuals played very significant roles in the researching, writing and compiling of this volume, and the authors would like to recognize them for their contributions.

| | |
|---|---|
| Karen L. Powell | Assistant Legislature Librarian<br>Researcher and author of early drafts |
| Sharon K. Bell | Project Librarian/Historical Researcher<br>Family history/historical and genealogical research |
| Ronald G. Kelland | Historical Researcher<br>Historical research<br>Co-author of Background sections and Appendices |
| Heather J. Close | Administrative and Special Projects Librarian<br>Endnote coordinator |
| C. Myles Chykerda | Research Assistant<br>Historical research<br>Endnote data entry |
| Tracey L. Sales | Communications Consultant [Office of the Clerk]<br>Artistic design and direction<br>Book design and layout |
| Eileen V. Cardy | Administrative and Technical Assistant<br>Historical and genealogical research assistance<br>Administrative coordination |

*Note of Special Thanks to:*

| | |
|---|---|
| Brian J. Perry | The authors and editors would especially like to thank Brian Perry for his multiple reviews of this volume and for his invaluable assistance in the areas of economics, education and public policy. |

We would also like to express our appreciation to a number of people and organizations that generously provided assistance in the preparation of this book.

Firstly, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to several of the Premiers themselves for their generous assistance with this project: the Hon. E. Peter Lougheed, QC, Mr. Donald R. Getty and the Hon. Ralph P. Klein. We likewise extend our warm thanks to the staff of the Office of the Premier, and in particular, to Nargis Zaver, for their kind attention to our information requests.

The information provided by the relatives and families of the Premiers was invaluable, and we would like to thank: Alan Marshall Brownlee, QC, Henry French Brownlee, Rosemary 'Rosie' F. Flower, Herbert Franklin 'Frank' and Joyce Greenfield, Graham T. Haultain, Dr. Ardis D. Kamra, Flora Maher, Donna Gieck McKinnon, Victor W. Sifton, Deborah Lougheed Sinclair, David and Joan Stanley and Robin M. Stuart.

The services and resources provided by the following Alberta organizations and institutions were instrumental to our research: Alberta Family Histories Society; Alberta Foundation for the Arts; Alberta Genealogical Society, Edmonton Branch; Alberta Historical Society; Calgary Public Library; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Family History Centre, Bonnie Doon Stake Centre, Edmonton; City of Edmonton Archives; Edmonton Public Library; Edmonton Public Schools Archives and Museum; Glenbow Museum and Archives; Legal Archives Society of Alberta; Provincial Archives of Alberta; and the libraries and archives of the University of Alberta and the University of Calgary. We would also like to acknowledge the assistance provided by the staff of various Alberta government departments.

This project benefited greatly from the loan of materials from many Alberta libraries and from libraries located across Canada. We would like to thank them and acknowledge the excellent interlibrary loan service that was provided in response to our many requests. Additionally, numerous archives and historical and genealogical societies across the country and overseas responded to our requests for information. We would especially like to recognize: Canadian Baptist Archives (McMaster Divinity College); Hackney Archives Department, London, England; Law Society of Upper Canada; Lambton Heritage Museum; Lougheed House; McGill University Archives; Osgoode Township Historical Society Museum; Rosetown Library Archive; Saskatchewan Archives Board; Saskatchewan Genealogy Society; Simcoe County Archives; Strathroy Library (Middlesex County Library); United Church Archives/Victoria University Archives (University of Toronto).

We would especially like to thank the staff of the Library of Parliament and of the legislative libraries of other provinces, in particular, the staff of the Saskatchewan Legislative Library who assisted in the provision of information on Frederick Haultain, Premier of the North-West Territories.

Other agencies that assisted us in our research include various provincial, state, city, town and county offices across Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom. A number of church and cemetery offices, particularly in Alberta, Ontario and Quebec, also made important contributions to the project, as did numerous clubs, associations and societies.

The following individuals went to extraordinary lengths to provide us with information and assistance: Libby Adams, Tanya Barber, Connie Bell, Patricia Beuerlein, Sharon Clark, Garth Fryett, QC, Diana Gaiger, Steve Harvey, Ron C. Johnston, Jopie Loughead, Libby McLachlan, Clare McGinn, Ellen Millar, R. Robert Mutrie, Elnora Olan, Melissa Richer, Betty Rothwell, Harry Sanders and Jim Stevenson.

Last, but certainly not least, we would like to acknowledge the assistance and support of all the Branches of Legislative Assembly Office (LAO) in the writing and editing of this book. We would like to thank the Clerk, Dr. W. J. David McNeil and his staff, with special recognition to Tracey Sales and the Communications staff; Senior Parliamentary Counsel Robert Reynolds, QC, and Shannon Dean; House Services including Alberta Hansard: Louise Kamuchik, Vivian Loosemore, Liz Sim, Micheline Orydzuk and staff; the Financial Management and Administrative Services Branch: Bill Gano, Scott Ellis, Jacqueline Breault, Dan Dunlop, Darren Joy and staff; Human Resource Services: Cheryl Scarlett, Moyra Johnson and staff; Information Technology Services: Cheryl Scarlett, Val Rutherford, Jillian Tilley and staff; and Visitor, Ceremonial and Security Services including the Sergeant-at-Arms Brian Hodgson, Kerri Button and staff. We would especially like to thank Alberta Hansard management and staff for the provision of transcription services.

The support of the entire staff of the Legislature Library is greatly appreciated—from those directly involved in the book's production to all of those who took on extra duties to ensure that all Library services continued to function effectively during the preparation of this volume. We would also like to make reference to and thank D. Blake McDougall and others who were instrumental in the publishing of the Legislative Assembly's first work entitled *Premiers of the Northwest Territories and Alberta, 1897-1991*, which was the original inspiration for this volume.

Sandra E. Perry
Legislature Librarian
Edmonton, Alberta
May 31, 2005

# NOTE ON SOURCES AND SCOPE

The authors and researchers who have been involved in the production of this volume about the Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta have endeavoured to use to maximum advantage the wide range of print and electronic resources at their disposal. The role of Premier tends to have a high profile within the province that he or she governs, and hence there is generally an abundance and variety of sources from which to draw. The increasing availability of resources in electronic format has afforded researchers access to a wealth of information otherwise not easily obtainable and has therefore influenced the length and depth of each biography. The Internet has proven to be an important medium for accessing online databases of digitized historical documents—newspapers, periodicals, historical volumes, censuses and genealogical records—and the catalogues, historical compilations and photographic collections of numerous libraries, archives and museums. The availability from 1972 onwards of *Alberta Hansard*, a publication which records verbatim the activities of the Legislative Assembly and the debates and speeches of its Members, has provided useful insights into the legislative events and developments that characterized the tenures of the more recent Premiers. Alberta's *Scrapbook Hansard* (1905–1971), which was compiled by Legislature Library staff prior to the advent of *Alberta Hansard*, has been an invaluable resource, supplementing the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* for information relating to the legislative activities of the province's Premiers in that time period.

During the preparation of this volume, our intention has been to cite, whenever possible, primary sources such as the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories*, the *Ordinances of the North-West Territories*, the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Alberta Hansard*, the *Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta*, the *Statutes of Alberta*, government department annual reports and publicly accessible vital statistics records. We have also drawn or quoted from party organs, where appropriate, such as in the context of describing election platforms and party philosophies. Additionally, whenever possible, we have used original documents that have been deposited in public archives. With respect to our use of secondary sources, including contemporary newspaper articles and other historical accounts, we have attempted to cite them judiciously and confirm information by checking additional sources, as necessary.

Recorded or transcribed interviews with some of the subjects of these biographies have also been extremely valuable sources of information. They have offered insight into the personal motivations and decisions of certain Premiers, who have provided their reminiscences regarding their time in office. For example, in 1961, John E. Brownlee was interviewed by Una McLean as part of the Glenbow Museum and Archives' United

Farmers of Alberta (UFA) Oral History Project, and the transcript of that interview has been widely used to enrich the biographies of all of the UFA Premiers. In 2005, the Hon. E. Peter Lougheed generously made his time available to the authors of this book to answer outstanding questions related to his biography and to supply them with additional insights into his career. We have also drawn on several televised interviews with a number of Premiers.

Extensive use has also been made of the census returns of Canada, the United States and Great Britain for determining and confirming names, birth dates, birth order, residency, religious affiliations and occupations. However, it is worth noting that numerous inconsistencies have been encountered amongst the census records, relating primarily to the spelling of names and to individuals' ages. When relevant, we have noted these discrepancies in the endnotes of the biographies.

With respect to establishing the exact dates of tenure for each Premier, a variety of sources have been used. Start dates are considered to be the date upon which a Premier was sworn into office and have therefore been confirmed using the Executive Council Roll Book, a volume which is housed in the Legislature Building and which contains the oaths and signatures of all members of the Executive Council in Alberta's history as a province, including the dates on which the oaths were sworn. Alexander C. Rutherford is the only Premier of Alberta whose start date remains somewhat ambiguous, for while the Executive Council Roll Book indicates that he was officially sworn in as President of the Executive Council on September 8, 1905, the *Alberta Gazette* lists his date of appointment as September 9. End dates have proved relatively straightforward in spite of a lack of authoritative sources to confirm them. Most tenures are reported to have extended to the same day on which the succeeding Premier is sworn in, or on occasion, to the preceding day. The *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, supplemented by news accounts, has predominantly been relied upon for these dates. The exceptional case is the end date of William Aberhart, who died in office.

In general, the length of each individual biographical entry varies to some extent in proportion to the duration of the subject's tenure in office. For instance, the biography of Richard G. Reid, whose tenure as Premier lasted 13 months, is considerably shorter than that of Ernest C. Manning, whose service lasted for 25 years. However, other factors have affected the length and depth of each chapter. These include: the extent and diversity of the subject's early and later careers; the need for background information; and the complexity of the issues related to the subject's premiership. For example, Charles Stewart's tenure as Premier lasted about four years, yet the duration and relevance of his later career contributed significantly to the length of his biography. When there was a change in the party that formed the governing caucus it was felt necessary to provide some explanation of the philosophy of that party, especially if the movement was not well-known throughout Canada. Hence, the biography of Herbert

Greenfield provides some discussion of the development of the United Farmers of Alberta, and that of William Aberhart explores social credit theory and its influence on the legislation of that period.

The authors of this volume were delighted to adopt an imaginative suggestion made by the designer of the four books in the Centennial Series, Tracey Sales, that significant quotations be incorporated into the title pages of each Premier's biography. These descriptive quotes add to the understanding of the subject's character and to the book design. Brief explanations of the context and source of each quotation are listed below.

### **Haultain –** *He who commands himself, commands enough*

This quotation is the formal Haultain family motto and is translated from the Latin *satis imperat sibi imperiosus*. It is of particular significance to understanding the career of Premier Haultain, as it illustrates his strict adherence to strongly held beliefs over personal ambition.

Source: Florence F. Haultain, The Haultain Family: A Genealogical Tree Based on Information Collected by Florence F. Haultain, 1931, [Unpublished Manuscript], Frederick W. G. Haultain Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M495.

### **Rutherford –** *It was always considered glorious to die for one's country. It is just as glorious to live for one's country by carrying out the duties of citizenship, in having good government and good laws, and seeing that those laws are properly carried out*

This statement was made by Rutherford at a public meeting in Edmonton shortly following his appointment as Premier. It is indicative of the heavy responsibility that he was to shoulder in laying the foundations of good governance in the province.

Source: "Instructive Lecture," *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 14 November 1905, p. 1.

### **Sifton –** *A very able colleague and a man of rare intellectual strength. His command of affairs and a decisive capacity were exceptional, his knowledge and estimate of men equally remarkable*

This tribute was made by Prime Minister Arthur Meighen (1920–1921, 1926) at the time of Sifton's death. It recounts some of the characteristics that made Sifton an effective politician, both provincially and federally.

Source: "Country Loses Wise Counsellor in Hon. A. Sifton," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 January 1921, p. 1.

**Stewart –** *I have endeavoured in every way possible to assist in placing legislation on the Statute Books that would be beneficial to the people of the whole province*

This statement was made by Stewart as he was campaigning in his constituency of Sedgewick in the days leading up to the provincial general election of 1917. Stewart, who had been a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta since 1909, is speaking here of his experience and performance as Minister of Municipal Affairs and Minister of Public Works in the Sifton administration, which would contribute substantially to his ability to benefit Albertans on a larger scale in his role as Premier.

Source: Charles Stewart, "To the Electors of the Sedgewick Constituency," *The Lougheed Express*, 26 May 1917, p. 8.

**Greenfield –** *His methods were always fair and above-board, while his character as a man was impeccable, a consideration not to be overlooked when selecting public leaders*

John Blue was a contemporary of Greenfield's and the second Provincial (Legislature) Librarian in Alberta. He authored a collection of brief biographical vignettes about prominent Albertans. While Greenfield was sometimes criticized during his premiership for not demonstrating the decisive qualities or possessing the legal expertise that the caucus attributed to Brownlee, the Premier, Blue points out in his entry on Greenfield, did have many important attributes that should never be underestimated in choosing political leaders.

Source: John Blue, *Alberta Past and Present: Historical and Biographical*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924), p. 8.

**Brownlee –** *He was a man of the highest moral principle; a great and kind man who devoted his life to the betterment of the people of this province and to the welfare of the western farmer*

At the time of Brownlee's death, a long-time acquaintance of his wrote a letter to the editor of the *Lethbridge Herald*. This tribute is particularly significant in that Brownlee, a lawyer, had turned down the leadership of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) when it was first offered to him because he felt that a farmers' government should have a farmer at its head.

Source: B. Olstead, "Mr. J. E. Brownlee," [Letter to the Editor], *Lethbridge Herald*, 21 July 1961.

**Reid –** *My chief aim is to do my duty, wherever that might lead*

This statement of Reid's, made during his tenure as Premier, speaks to his willingness to accept, on more than one occasion, the heavy responsibilities of public office at the request of his peers, and his desire to fulfill these duties to the best of his ability.

Source: Else Rempel, "Premier in UFA Gov't, Reid is Dead at 101," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 October 1980, p. B4.

**Aberhart –** *It is important to remember that the fine social legislation that he gave this province was the product of a burning sympathy for the aged and the sick and the helpless. That will be his epitaph, whatever one may think of his politics, that he was the champion of the oppressed*

This tribute appeared in an editorial in the *Edmonton Bulletin* following Aberhart's death and was reproduced in the Social Credit organ *Today and Tomorrow*. It speaks to Aberhart's strong motivation to help his fellow Albertans that lay behind what some perceived as unusual political theory.

Source: "An Edmonton Bulletin Editorial: William Aberhart, The Man," *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 3 June 1943, p. 3.

**Manning –** *Free society should afford an opportunity to men and women to enjoy security, and at the same time, retain their individual independence and their individual responsibility*

This statement by Manning, which expressed the political philosophy that underpinned so many of the decisions and actions taken in his 25 years of governing the province of Alberta, appeared in his short published work, *Social Credit in a Nut Shell.*

Source: E.C. Manning, *Social Credit in a Nut Shell,* Tele-Facts Lectures (Edmonton: Alberta Social Credit League, 195?), p. 3.

**Strom –** *Graceful in defeat, a man of much humour and good nature, self-effacing, compassionate, and, above all, concerned with the welfare of the ordinary Albertan, he did his province proud*

At the time of Strom's death, the author of an editorial in the *Medicine Hat News* made these remarks about the former Premier. The comments speak to the character traits of humility, integrity and humanitarianism that Strom possessed as a politician and as leader of the province.

Source: Peter R. Mossey, "Harry Strom," [Editorial], *Medicine Hat News*, 6 October 1984.

**Lougheed –** *He has been a great leader for Alberta and he's provided enlightened leadership for Western Canada and for the entire nation. He's been a national leader in the best sense of the word*

At the time that Lougheed announced his decision to retire from public life, Prime Minister M. Brian Mulroney (1984–1993) made this statement about him. It expresses in a few words the large role that Premier Lougheed had played on both the national and provincial stage.

Source: Robert Lee, "The Lougheed Era: House on the Hill Hails Peter," *Edmonton Sun*, 27 June 1985, p. 20.

**Getty –** *My vision of the future of Alberta is a vision of confidence—a people confident and proud of their place in Confederation*

Getty made this statement upon being chosen leader of the Progressive Conservative Party, following the resignation of Premier E. Peter Lougheed. The Getty Government experienced some difficult economic times, which makes it important to highlight the Premier's optimistic vision for the province and its people.

Source: Peter Stockland, "Getty: Future Bright," *Edmonton Sun*, 13 October 1985, p. 3.

**Klein –** *My greatest responsibility is to listen to you, to understand your priorities, and make sure they are the government's priorities*

Klein made these comments, which are illustrative of his propensity for consultation with the electorate and his reputation as a man of the people, in a televised address to the people of Alberta in January 1994.

Source: Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Talking with Albertans - Building on the Alberta Advantage: Reaching the Destination Together. Excerpts: Premier's Televised Address January 17, 1994* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1994).

## *Conclusion*

Every attempt has been made to resolve issues that have arisen during the course of our research. However, some inconsistencies remain and are outlined in endnotes in the individual biographies. This publication is current up to and including May 31, 2005.

Jessica J. Craig
Author and Researcher
Legislature Library
Edmonton, Alberta
May 31, 2005

*the mantle of leadership*

# BACKGROUND

# History of the Premiership

# HISTORY OF THE PREMIERSHIP

The Premier of a province has a highly visible and central position in the provincial governance system. The extent of this prominence is such that entire governments, or periods of government, are often identified by the name of the individual occupying the premiership.[1] Since its advent at Confederation, the premiership has accumulated a considerable degree of authority, power and respect. Therefore, it is surprising to note that, despite this peerless influence, the position of Premier lacks explicit constitutional recognition. In all provinces the Premier is the head of government, and his or her powers, like those of the Prime Minister, are rooted in the evolution of British and Canadian parliamentary tradition. Hence, to understand the development of the role, it is necessary to trace the history of the premiership.[2]

## Great Britain

The Office of Prime Minister developed gradually in Great Britain along with the institutions of Parliament and the Executive Council (Cabinet). As the Office of Prime Minister would not have been possible without the existence of these two institutions, the development of Parliament and of the Executive Council was fundamental to the emergence of the position of Prime Minister. The institution of Parliament began to develop in 1295, when Edward I convened the Model Parliament in an effort to harness rising patriotic sentiment to solidify his authority over his subjects.*[3] Although this Parliament was ostensibly representative, it was not a legislative body; rather, its function was to advise the Crown and to consent to the taxes required to support the monarch, to whom Parliament remained subordinate.†[4]

As the institution of Parliament was becoming established, the modern Cabinet, and with it the Office of Prime Minister, was also taking root. The Office of Prime Minister developed out of the Cabinet system of government, which evolved from the Curia Regis, a council of nobles that had advised the monarch on important issues since the Norman Conquest of 1066.[5] In times of war, and during travels throughout the realm, the monarch would select a small number of these councillors to accompany him should their advice be required. Meetings with these councillors were always conducted in private, and the group became known as the Privy Council.[6] Privy Council appointments made by a Sovereign endured throughout the whole of that Sovereign's

---

* Meetings such as the one convened by King Edward had been held periodically since the mid-13th century. Eventually they came to be known as 'Parliaments,' from the French *parler*, meaning 'to speak.' The 'Model Parliament' of 1295 is regarded as an important milestone, as it is considered to be the first to be representative in nature and the one that established many of the traditions of the modern parliamentary system. Norman Wilding and Philip Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, 4th rev. ed. (London: Cassell, 1972), pp. 520–521, 523–524.

† The Model Parliament consisted of three bodies. The first was made up of titled nobility and church leaders. The second was composed of representatives of the lower clergy as selected by the bishops. In order to form the third body, the sheriffs of each shire were instructed to arrange for the election of two knights from that shire, two burgesses from each borough in the shire, and two citizens from each city. Robert Blake, "'Mother of Parliaments': The Development of the Lords and Commons over Seven Centuries," in *The English World: History, Character and People*, ed. Robert Blake (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1982), p. 89.

reign, and as a result, the Privy Council quickly became too large and unwieldy to serve as an effective and secure advisory body.[7] The monarch therefore began to consult only a select number of Privy Councillors at regular meetings. By 1625, these influential men became known as the 'Cabinet Council.'[8] As the English state developed and became increasingly complex, the individual members of the Cabinet Council, or Ministers, began to concentrate on areas of personal expertise, which developed into specific departments.

The monarch came to rely on the advice of the Cabinet Council to such an extent that by the early 18th century, its importance as a decision-making body had become entrenched.[9] By the end of 1717, George I had ceased to preside over, or attend, the meetings of the Cabinet Council.*[10] However, the King retained the power of veto over any decisions made by the Council and continued to consult with smaller groups and individual Councillors. Consultation by the Sovereign with particular members of the Council served to solidify power in a select few, or even in one individual member of the Cabinet Council.[11] King George's successors chose to follow his example, allowing the Cabinet to develop greater independence.[12]

As the Cabinet Council was evolving into a responsible executive, Parliament was also developing, albeit sporadically, into a legislative and representative institution. However, for two centuries following 1295, Parliament was convened infrequently and became increasingly marginalized. Tension between Parliament and the Crown, which eventually culminated in the Revolution of 1688 (also called the 'Glorious Revolution' or the 'Bloodless Revolution') was resolved in 1689 with the Bill of Rights.†[13] The Bill of Rights of 1689 was instrumental in curbing the supremacy of the Crown and in awarding Parliament much more authority by

---

* George I ascended the throne of Great Britain in 1714, at the age of 54 years, following the death of Queen Anne. King George continued the tradition of meeting with the Cabinet until 1716, when he left Great Britain and returned to Hanover, leaving his son the Prince of Wales to rule in his stead as Guardian of the Realm. The Prince called and attended weekly Cabinet meetings. George returned to Great Britain early in 1717, and, although he initially met with Cabinet, by the end of that year his attendance had effectively stopped. Numerous reasons have been suggested for the King's actions. One theory is that, due to his German upbringing, he was not conversant with British political affairs and therefore did not believe he could effectively contribute to the meetings. Regardless of the reason, "George was in every respect a constitutional monarch who … refrained throughout his reign from infringing on the privileges of Parliament." Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, pp. 285–288; John P. Mackintosh, *The British Cabinet*, 3rd ed. (London: Steven & Sons, 1977), pp. 50–51.

† In 1689, William of Orange (as William III) and his wife, Mary (as Mary II), became King and Queen of England and ruled as joint Sovereigns. William, a Protestant, had arrived the previous year from the Netherlands to help depose King James II, who had alienated political officials and members of the military because of his efforts to "Catholicize the army and the government" and his "unconstitutional behaviour." Queen Mary was the Protestant daughter of King James II. David Cody, "The 'Glorious Revolution'," Political History, *The Victorian Web*, [Internet], (1 May 2003), accessed 8 June 2006, available from http://www.victorianweb.org; *The Hutchinson Encyclopedia* (n.p.: Helicon Publishing, 1999), s.v. "Glorious Revolution."

transferring, from the monarch to Parliament, the right to raise funds through taxation.*[14] After the passing of the Bill of Rights, it became essential for the monarch to have direct influence within Parliament in order to ensure the success of his or her agenda. In order to better serve their monarch after the enactment of the Bill of Rights, some Cabinet members were elected to the House of Commons, often by running in a so-called 'rotten borough.'† Once elected to Parliament, these Cabinet members would attempt to secure the loyalty of enough Members of the House of Commons, often by dispensing patronage, to ensure support for the Sovereign's agenda. The Cabinet now found itself responsible not only to the Crown, but also to the Members of the House of Commons, whose support was needed to secure "supply in the king's name" from the House.[15]

Thus, after receiving an appointment to Cabinet Council by the Sovereign, a Minister could become Prime Minister by virtue of being the "strongest in the closet," by having the ability to "carry a number of his supporters into office with him, and … exclude more and more of his opponents," or by making himself indispensable "in the management of Parliament."[16] Certain influential members of the Cabinet, through wise use of patronage and natural leadership abilities, were notably successful in gaining the support of the Members of the House of Commons. This following increased their prestige and stature within the Cabinet Council.[17] These informal leaders were the immediate forerunners of the Prime Minister. In 1721, Sir Robert Walpole was appointed First Lord of the Treasury. Walpole possessed natural leadership abilities and thus became recognized as the leading Minister of the Cabinet.[18] Also, being in charge of the largest department and having the most opportunities to dispense patronage, he quickly became recognized as a leader in Parliament as well, becoming the *de facto* Prime Minister, although that term 'was not yet in vogue.'[19] The authority of this leadership role increased and, eventually, under the administration of William Pitt the Younger (1783–1801, 1804–1806), the position evolved into one that "possess[ed] the chief weight in the council

---

* The Bill of Rights was officially known as *An Act declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Settleing the Succession of the Crowne*. It received Royal Assent on December 16, 1689 and established the supremacy of Parliament. It "made monarchy clearly conditional on the will of Parliament …, provided a freedom from arbitrary government" and eliminated "royal interference in parliamentary matters." The Bill stipulated that Parliament should meet every year and have free and regular elections; it abolished the Crown's prerogative to suspend and dispense laws and to levy taxes; and it granted Members of Parliament freedom of speech. England. Parliament. House of Lords, *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. 14, 16 December 1689, p. 373, [Transcription], [Internet], accessed 9 March, 2006, available from http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=13184; Blake, "'Mother of Parliaments'," pp. 94–95; *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 2, 15th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2002), s.v. "Rights, Bill of"; *An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Settleing the Succession of the Crowne (Bill of Rights)* (U.K.), 1689, 1 W. & M., Sess. 2., c. 2.

† The term 'rotten borough' refers to parliamentary constituencies in which the seats available were at the disposal of a wealthy patron, normally, but not always, the reigning monarch. The constituencies were often ridings that had suffered significant population decline, yet still retained a seat in Parliament. The seats were often assumed by wealthy landowners or sold to opportunistic individuals seeking elected office to further their own, or a patron's, interests. Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, p. 653.

and the principal place in the confidence of the King"*[20] and thus into that of first or Prime Minister.

The role of the Prime Minister was further transformed with the passing of *An Act to amend the Representation of the People in England and Wales, 1832.*† This Act significantly restructured the electoral system in such a way that "the Crown could no longer choose and maintain ministers," including the Prime Minister.‡[21] If, after an election, it was clear that the

> House of Commons had a clear preference for ministers of a given political complexion, the Crown had to follow suit and if there was one man whom these politicians acknowledged as their leader then the Crown would ultimately have to commission him as Prime Minister. Backed by a majority of the House of Commons, a Prime Minister could, in the last resort, insist that his recommendations on personnel and policy should be accepted.[22]

As a result, the electorate began to play a part in choosing the Prime Minister. Consequently, the Prime Minister began to respond by attempting to satisfy the electorate.[23] Through the changes brought about by the 1832 Reform Act, the authority of the Prime Minister increased, and he became one of the most active and important members of the Cabinet, recommending ministerial appointments and "being the principal channel of communication with the Crown."[24]

After 1832, further Reform Acts—1867 and 1884—increased "the power of the House of Commons and the cabinet, while the power of the House of Lords and the personal power of the monarch declined."[25] Further evolution of the roles of both Prime Minister and Cabinet yielded what is currently regarded in the United Kingdom as the modern Cabinet. The reforms of the 19th century solidified the supremacy of the Prime Minister within the Cabinet system, and it is in this recognizable form that the position was ultimately exported to British North America.[26] Although the slow rate of development and modification of Westminster parliamentary traditions, including the evolution of the position of Prime Minister, suggests a highly rigid system, the course of its adaptation to the needs of British North America has

---

* William Pitt the Younger became Prime Minister in 1783. He was the first person "to find the term personally acceptable" in regard to his role as leader of the Cabinet. William A. Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet* (Toronto: Methuen, 1976), p. 4.

† *An Act to amend the Representation of the People in England and Wales, 1832*, is more generally referred to as the Representation of the Peoples Act, 1832; the Reform Act, 1832; the First Reform Act; or the Great Reform Act. Also in 1832, the British Parliament passed a similar Act concerning Parliamentary representation for Scotland. H. J. Hanham, *The Nineteenth-Century Constitution, 1815–1914* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 262, 268.

‡ The 1832 Reform Act redistributed electoral boundaries amongst the boroughs, lowered the property qualifications required to vote (in this period, voters had to own property in order to have the right to vote) to admit smaller landowners and gave the rising middle classes and industrialists greater representation in the House of Commons. The electorate was expanded by 217,000 voters, and numerous rotten boroughs lost representation, while the cities saw their representation increase through the creation of 42 new boroughs. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 9, 15th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2002), s.v. "Reform Bill."

demonstrated that "its fundamental principles are compatible with a wide range of structural arrangements and political practices."[27]

## British North American Colonies

It is hardly surprising that the British colonies that would become Canada were to be governed according to British parliamentary traditions. However, in the earliest stages of governance in British North America there was no place for the post of Prime Minister. As in Great Britain, the colonies would have to be granted responsible government* before the position of Prime Minister could evolve. However, before responsible government could be established, the colonies would first have to be granted representative government. In its most basic form, representative government is a system of governance that includes an elected Legislative Assembly. In the British North American context, it was characterized by an elected Assembly; however, in this system, executive authority was still held by a Governor appointed by the Sovereign.[28]

In essence, the development of British North America's governmental institutions during the period from the Conquest of 1760 to Confederation in 1867 mirrored the struggles for representative and responsible government in Great Britain from the 17th to the 19th century. After the Conquest, British sovereignty over New France was established by the *Royal Proclamation, 1763*. This document instructed the Governor to establish a representative legislature and an appointed council. However, the Roman Catholic population was effectively barred from holding public office by the *Test Act*,† which required all holders of public office to demonstrate their allegiance to the established churches of Great Britain—the Church of England and the Episcopal Church of Scotland.[29] Governor James Murray (1764–1768) distrusted the small recently arrived British merchant population, believing that it would use its dominance of an Assembly to create conditions detrimental to the new colony. Instead, Murray governed the colony with the assistance of an appointed council more sympathetic to the needs of the French-speaking population.[30] Similarly, Murray's successor, Governor Guy Carleton (1768–1778, 1786–1796), maintained that the support of the Francophone population would be essential if there were a rebellion in the Thirteen Colonies. Largely as a result of Murray's and Carleton's reasoning, the Parliament of Great Britain passed *The Quebec Act, 1774*. This Act made it possible for Roman Catholics to hold public office. However, an elected assembly was still not provided.[31] It was not until certain sections of *The Quebec Act* were repealed by the passing of *The Constitutional Act,*

---

* Responsible government is the form of government in which the executive is accountable to the legislative assembly. For more information, see the Glossary.

† The official title of the Test Act is *An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants, 1673*. England. Parliament. House of Lords, *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. 12, 20 March 1673, p. 561, [Transcription], [Internet], accessed 6 March 2006, available from http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.asp?compid=12834

*1791* that representative government was granted to the colonies of Upper (Ontario) and Lower (Quebec) Canada.*

*The Constitutional Act, 1791* provided for representative government by establishing a locally elected assembly and allowing Roman Catholic landowners to vote and hold office by instituting a special oath of allegiance.[32] However, supreme power still resided with the appointed Governors of Upper and Lower Canada and the legislative councils that they appointed.[33] This system concentrated power firmly in the hands of a group of elites favoured by the Governors. These elite groups were commonly known as the Family Compact in Upper Canada and the Château Clique in Lower Canada.[34] Although there were undoubtedly strong personalities in the Family Compact and the Château Clique, the mechanics were not yet in place for anyone amongst them to be able to assume the title of Prime Minister or Premier. Widespread dissatisfaction with this system of governance led to the revolts in 1837 in both colonies.† In the aftermath of the Rebellions of Upper and Lower Canada, the Government of the United Kingdom sent Lord Durham to investigate and make recommendations to prevent any future uprisings. The Durham Report of 1839 is particularly important in tracing the history of the Office of Prime Minister in Canada because in the Report, Durham recommended that all the colonies of British North America be granted responsible government.[35]

As seen from the development of the Office of Prime Minister in England, a responsible Executive, or Cabinet, was essential to the creation of the role of the modern Prime Minister. Responsible government was granted to the united Province of Canada, to Nova Scotia and to New Brunswick in 1848.‡[36] The introduction of responsible government led to the establishment of an

---

* Representative government had been previously granted to Nova Scotia in 1749, Prince Edward Island in 1773 and New Brunswick in 1784. Due to the prohibition of year-round settlement, Newfoundland was not granted representative government until 1832. Representative government was granted to the colony of Vancouver Island in 1856. The mainland colony of British Columbia had only a partially elected Assembly. Even after these two colonies were united, this remained the case. John McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics: A Guide to Important Terms and Concepts*, 3rd ed., (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), pp. 259–260.

† In Lower Canada, the French-Canadian middle class, led by Louis-Joseph Papineau, was chafing at its exclusion from power. Although representatives from the middle class could be elected to the Assembly, they did not have any authority to challenge the appointed Governor and his appointed Legislative Council. After legislative attempts to achieve responsible government, and after ensuring support from many rural residents, the reformers prepared for an armed revolt against the British. Minor conflicts broke out in Montreal, and larger ones in some rural areas. All were suppressed by British troops, and many of the leaders of the revolts fled to the United States. Responding to similar concerns in Upper Canada, reformers, led by William Lyon Mackenzie, also attempted legislative reform, but moved towards armed rebellion when they were thwarted. With much of the British garrison occupied with suppressing the Lower Canada uprising, the Upper Canada reformers attempted their own rebellion. This group did not have the cohesiveness of the Lower Canada reform group, and the Rebellion was easily put down by volunteers and militia loyal to the Governor. Margaret Conrad and Alvin Finkel, *History of the Canadian People: Beginnings to 1867*, vol. 1, 4th ed. (Toronto: Pearson Longman, 2006), pp. 286–289, 292–293.

‡ Prince Edward Island received responsible government in 1851, and Newfoundland in 1855. British Columbia did not receive full responsible government until it entered Confederation in 1871. McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, pp. 261–262.

executive branch that reflected the intentions and decisions of the Legislative Assembly, and, by extension, the wishes of the Members' constituents. The Executive Council and its Chair, in becoming the choice of the electorate, had come to mirror, in many respects, the Cabinet and Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.[37]

## Confederation

The characteristic that would ultimately distinguish the British North American parliamentary system from that of the mother country, however, was that unlike the United Kingdom, Canada adopted a federalist system of governance. Throughout the meetings that preceded Confederation, many of the delegates, including Sir John A. Macdonald, who would become Canada's first Prime Minister (1867–1873, 1878–1891), expressed a desire for a unitary system of governance like that of the United Kingdom.[38] However, due to marked demographic, regional, ethnic and religious differences amongst the colonies, many other delegates, for example, Jonathan McCully of Nova Scotia, argued that the new country "must have miniature responsible Governments."[39] The establishment of a decentralized state was necessary to allay the fears expressed by the delegates from the small Maritime colonies that their interests would be ignored by a central government dominated by the more populous colony of Canada, which was also viewed as an economic competitor.[*40] It was also hoped that giving responsibility for potentially divisive issues, such as education, to the provincial governments would prevent the 'political strait-jacket' that had been endemic to the Province of Canada.[†41] After intense negotiations, a compromise was agreed upon whereby Canada would have a federal system, based on a fusion of British parliamentary democracy and American-style federalism, which through the Constitution divided powers between a central government—dealing with national concerns—and provincial governments—dealing with

---

[*] In 1861, just prior to the Confederation meetings, the populations of the British North America colonies were: the United Province of Canada—2,507,657 (Canada West—1,396,091 and Canada East—1,111,566); Nova Scotia—330,857; New Brunswick—252,047; Newfoundland (1857)—122,638; and Prince Edward Island—80,857. Conrad and Finkel, *History of the Canadian Peoples: Beginnings to 1867*, p. 391.

[†] By the late 1850s, the politics of the Province of Canada had become characterized by instability and deadlock. *The Union Act, 1841*, which had united Upper and Lower Canada to form the Province of Canada, had proven to be a failure. The divergent interests of the largely English-speaking and Protestant Canada West and the predominantly French-speaking and Roman Catholic Canada East had led to the inability of successive administrations to retain power. Canada West was under-represented in the Assembly, but its efforts to establish representation by population were continually blocked by over-represented Canada East, which feared that a growing English-speaking, Protestant population threatened its French language and its Catholic beliefs. It was inconceivable that "French-speaking politician[s] could afford politically to support either the reduction of *Canadien* legislative representation … and no government … was thinkable without *Canadien* representation. By 1864, the chances of forming a government acceptable to both halves of the United Province seemed remote." This situation led to political deadlock. Conrad and Finkel, *History of the Canadian Peoples: Beginnings to 1867*, pp. 390–391.

local interests.*[42] However, ultimate authority was expressed through the power of disallowance,† which would lie with the federal government.[43] The distinct division of powers did not necessarily prevent conflict between the federal and provincial governments. In Alberta these conflicts would manifest themselves especially in the struggle for control of natural resources and of the banking system.‡ The structure of these provincial governments would be modelled on British parliamentary precedent and therefore each would have an Executive Council, or Cabinet.[44] This, in turn, created the need for chief executives to operate within the local governance structure. Thus, Confederation simultaneously provided for the offices of Prime Minister and Premier, although neither position received explicit mention in the Constitution. Lacking formal definition, the roles of the Prime Minister and Premiers were ambiguous, but the *British North America Act, 1867* (*BNA Act, 1867*), in outlining the division of legislative powers between the two levels of government, defined the purviews of these positions.[45] Practically speaking, then, the premiership in Canada was established.

## The North-West Territories

The Office of Premier in Alberta began to develop prior to the actual achievement of provincial status. In 1870, the Dominion of Canada acquired the territories known as Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory.[46] These regions were combined and the resulting area was named the North-West Territories.§[47] During the negotiations for the acquisition of the Hudson's Bay

---

[*] Despite the provisions for local governments and the Senate to protect the interests of the regions, some of the colonies were not convinced. Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island refused to participate. In New Brunswick, the Government of Samuel L. Tilley was defeated in an election on the issue, although the Governor forced a new election in which the pro-Confederate party was able to secure victory after promising to negotiate changes in the agreement. The pro-Confederate Government of Nova Scotia, under Sir Charles Tupper, wanting to avoid a situation such as that which occurred in New Brunswick, did not hold an election on the issue, but passed legislation to bring Confederation into being. Tupper moved to federal politics, and the anti-Confederate forces defeated the Nova Scotia Government in the ensuing election. Margaret Conrad and James K. Hiller, *Atlantic Canada: A Region in the Making* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 131–132.

[†] Disallowance is the power by which any piece of provincial legislation could be 'declared null and void' by the Governor General in Council. For more information, see the Glossary. Garth Stevenson, "Reservation and Disallowance," *Constitutional Keywords*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta, Faculty of Law, Centre for Constitutional Studies, 2004), accessed 5 April 2006, available from http://www.law.ualberta.ca/ccskeywords/reservation_dis.html

[‡] For example, Premiers John E. Brownlee (1925–1934) and E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985) clashed with the federal government concerning natural resource rights. Brownlee negotiated with the Dominion Government about provincial ownership of Alberta land and mineral resources, while the Lougheed Government fought to ensure that the federal government would not unduly exploit its capacity to tax the delivery of oil and gas. During the 1930s, the Government of Premier William Aberhart (1935–1943) came into conflict with the Dominion Government with respect to the issue of jurisdictional rights regarding banks and the monetary system.

[§] Through negotiations it was agreed that the Hudson's Bay Company would cede its territorial rights over Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory to the Crown in exchange for £300,000, provided by the Canadian Government. The Government of the United Kingdom then transferred control of the region to the Dominion of Canada. Donald Creighton, *Dominion of the North: A History of Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1962), p. 314.

Company's territories, the Riel Rebellion of 1869–1870 had broken out over fears that Métis land claims would be ignored by the Dominion of Canada. Consequently, the Province of Manitoba was formed out of a small area of land, the centre of which was at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, which encompassed most of the Métis settlements.[48] According to the provisions of the *Manitoba Act, 1870*, the North-West Territories was to be governed from Fort Garry (later renamed Winnipeg) by the federally appointed Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba.[49] In 1872, the First Council of the North-West Territories was appointed to govern the region; the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba still held all executive authority and presided over all meetings of the First Council of the North-West Territories.[50] In 1875, the Dominion Government decided that the seat of the Territorial Government should be moved into the region it was charged with governing. *The North-West Territories Act, 1875* granted the Territories its own Lieutenant Governor, to be resident in the region.[51] In 1876, the settlement of Battleford was selected as the seat of governance; the site for the capital was moved to Regina in 1882.[52] The Council of the North-West Territories (the North-West Council) was retained, still appointed by the Governor General in Ottawa, but the Act made provision for elected representatives to assume seats on the Council once the population of an electoral district had reached 1,000 landowning male residents.[53] In 1882, to facilitate the administration of the region, the North-West Territories was divided into four Provisional Districts: Assiniboia, Athabasca, Saskatchewan and Alberta.*[54] In 1888, the *North-West Territories Act* was amended, and the North-West Council was abolished and replaced with a Legislative Assembly of 22 elected Members and three appointed advisors. The new Assembly was to be presided over by a Speaker.[55] The Lieutenant Governor no longer chaired meetings of the Assembly; instead, he governed with the assistance of a four-person Advisory Council chosen from those elected Members deemed to have the confidence of the Assembly.[56] The Advisory Council, and the larger Assembly, had limited powers. Notably, they did not have any control over the allocation of federal grant monies, over which the Lieutenant Governor retained complete authority. These grants constituted almost 90 per cent of the Territories' revenue.[57] The Advisory Council, led by Frederick W. A. G. Haultain, Member for Macleod, agitated for control of these funds.[58] The cession to the Territorial Legislative Assembly of the authority to use Dominion grants was not forthcoming and, in 1889, Haultain and his fellow council members resigned in protest.[59] A new Advisory Council was appointed, but the Assembly, under Haultain's leadership, refused to co-operate with it, resulting in a two-year period of 'legislative paralysis.'[60]

In 1891, the *North-West Territories Act* was amended to allow the Assembly some control over the

> expenditure of territorial funds and such portion of any moneys appropriated by Parliament for the Territories, as the Lieutenant Governor is authorized to expend by and with the advice of the Legislative Assembly or of any committee thereof.[61]

The amended Act did not make any provisions for how such a committee was to be established or to function, although in the opinion of the Government in Ottawa it was not intended to

---

* The District of Keewatin had been established in 1876. The Provisional Districts of Ungava, Franklin, Mackenzie and Yukon were established in 1895. The Yukon was granted territorial status, separate from that of the North-West Territories, in 1898. Morris Zaslow, *The Opening of the Canadian North, 1870–1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), pp. 94–95; *An Act respecting the North-West Territories, and to create a separate Territory out of part thereof, 1876*, S.C. 1876, c. 21.

create a Territorial executive; rather, the Territories would retain a system of governance in which it would be governed very much like a crown colony, until full provincial status was granted.[62] In December of 1891, Haultain drafted the necessary legislation that would determine the make-up of the committee. Haultain's proposal, which was passed by the Territorial Assembly in December 1891 as "An Ordinance Respecting the Executive Government of the Territories, 1891," called for the establishment of an executive committee of the Territories, to be chosen by the Lieutenant Governor from the elected Members of the Assembly.[63] In spite of objections from his own legal advisors and from Prime Minister Sir John J. C. Abbott (1891–1892), Lieutenant Governor Joseph Royal (1888–1893) consented to the proposal and called upon Haultain to chair the Executive Committee.[64] Responsible government still had not been fully introduced to the Territories; Haultain accepted that the Executive Committee's authority would be restricted to advising the Lieutenant Governor on financial and administrative matters. Nevertheless, Haultain, as Chair of the Executive Committee, had acquired many of the responsibilities associated with the role of a provincial premier, such as the authority to choose the members of the Executive Committee and to hold meetings without the Lieutenant Governor's being present.[65] Haultain was "in effect if not in name … premier and spokesman of the Northwest Territories."[66]

In 1897, the Office of Premier in the North-West Territories was officially established by the introduction of responsible government. Amendments to the *North-West Territories Act* provided for the formation of an Executive Council with a President.*[67] Haultain, as Chair of the Executive Council, thus became the first, and, as it turned out, the only Premier of the North-West Territories.[68] However, the status of the North-West Territories was still not entirely unlike that of a colony of the Dominion of Canada, and as such, the Lieutenant Governor remained the active and practical executive authority therein, although, with the advent of responsible government, the "Lieutenant Governor was to act only on the advice of a cabinet that enjoyed the confidence of the legislature."[69]

The authority that could be exercised by Premier Haultain was limited by the fact that the North-West Territories had not yet achieved provincial autonomy and was still largely dependent upon the funds granted and allocated by the Dominion Parliament.[70] Exacerbating the problem was the fact that these federal grants were not increasing in proportion to the growth of the population of the Territories. Between 1890 and 1895, the population of the Territories had grown by 56 per cent, yet the federal grant had been increased by only 16 per cent.[71] The Territorial Government was granted limited powers of taxation, and did not have any authority to tax the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR).[72] Additionally, the Dominion Government had control over public lands in the Territories, a good portion of which had been granted to early homesteaders, to the CPR and to the Hudson's Bay Company. As a result, the Territorial Government was unable to tax most of this land.[73] As the population of the Territories grew larger and more dispersed, its Government, due to its inability to raise funds, was experiencing difficulty providing the necessary educational facilities and transportation infrastructure.[74] These

---

* The President or Chair of the Executive Council is the presiding officer of that body. The person holding that office in a Canadian province is normally referred to as the Premier. For more information, see the Glossary.

deficiencies caused many in the Legislative Assembly, led by Haultain, to lobby for the granting of full provincial status to the Territories, which was expressed in part through Haultain's autonomy resolution of May 2, 1900, in which the Premier laid out the Territorial Government's arguments for the granting of provincial status.[75]

The Alberta Legislature Building (1912).

The efforts of Premier Haultain and his supporters in promoting provincial autonomy continued over the coming months and years, culminating in the emergence of the new Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The Province of Alberta was created by the passing of the *Alberta Act,* 1905. The Provisional District of Alberta and a large portion of the District of Athabasca, along with small sections of the Districts of Saskatchewan and Assiniboia, were joined to become an autonomous province, of which Alexander C. Rutherford was appointed the first Premier (1905–1910).[76] It was from this point in history that the Office of Premier in Alberta assumed, for the most part, its present form and took on its modern characteristics.

## Province of Alberta

Many academics have noted that Alberta's defining political characteristic has been the electorate's long-term support for governance by one political party. Alberta has had four distinct, and long-lived periods of governance—Liberal (1905–1921), United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) (1921–1935), Social Credit (1935–1971) and Progressive Conservative (1971– ).* The Legislative Assembly of Alberta has also been characterized by large government majorities. One of the major concerns that results from a government having an overwhelming majority is that it can lead to the Legislative Assembly losing some of its effectiveness. On the campaign trail in 1967, E. Peter Lougheed made this point strongly when he indicated the desire of his fledgling party to "get away from government by Cabinet and … get back to where the focus is at the Legislative level."[77] Many years later, he commented that when "you have large majorities, you have to take some exceptional measures to offset the negatives of them."[78] Countering these negatives can be challenging. Premier Lougheed, for example, attempted to temper the possible side-effects of his large election victories by encouraging his caucus members to ensure that they maintained close contact with and listened carefully to the concerns of all of their constituents and freely expressed these views in caucus.[79]

---

* The phenomenon of long-standing support for one particular party is not confined to Alberta. Other provinces have experienced exceptionally long periods of popular support for one party; for example: Newfoundland and Labrador—Liberal (1949–1972, 1989–2003), Progressive Conservative (1972–1989); Nova Scotia—Liberal (1882–1925, 1933–1956); Quebec—Liberal (1897–1936), Union Nationale (1944–1960); Ontario—Liberal (1871–1905), Progressive Conservative (1943–1985); Saskatchewan—Liberal (1905–1929), Co-operative Commonwealth Federation/New Democrat Party (1944–1964); British Columbia—Liberal (1916–1928), Social Credit (1975–1991). Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada: Towards the Turn of the Century*, 3rd ed. (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1996), pp. 76, 159–160, 286, 363, 423, 486–487, 635; Leslie A. Pal, "The Political Executive and Political Leadership in Alberta," in *Government and Politics in Alberta*, ed. Allan Tupper and Roger Gibbins (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), pp. 1–2.

The decades immediately following the creation of the Province of Alberta were characterized by administrations led by small Cabinets.[80] One political scientist has commented that the Premier "controlled and exploited the levers of power … in [this] context of smaller government."[81] To a great extent, this phenomenon held true for all provinces. Consistent with this description, in early Alberta Governments, the Premier normally held one, or more, Cabinet portfolios in addition to that of President of the Executive Council. For example, Premier Rutherford's first Cabinet had only four other members, with Rutherford holding the posts of Provincial Treasurer (1905–1910) and Minister of Education (1905–1910).[82]

OPENING OF ALBERTA'S
FIRST LEGISLATURE
EDMONTON
B 6667

Opening of the First Legislature of the Province of Alberta at the Thistle Rink (Mar. 15, 1906).

The tendency for the Premier of Alberta to occupy a number of portfolios within relatively small Cabinets continued throughout each successive administration, until the late 1960s.* Although the Premier had multiple portfolios to manage, the small size of provincial governments, including Alberta's, through much of the early 20th century still afforded the Premier the ability to influence the portfolios of other Ministers as well. One scholar's observation concerning the Province of Quebec in this period is that "the premier had little to do … and had both the time and the resources to exert a personal control over the administration" of the province.[83]

As the century progressed, the nature of provincial government, and consequently the premiership, became increasingly complex. Cabinets grew larger, and the individual serving as Premier began to concentrate solely on that specific role, although still certainly influencing overall caucus policy. As Cabinets increased in size and complexity, there was also a movement to provide more formalized policy-formation and decision-making processes. Cabinets across the country began to adopt "formal committee structures … [and] established central agencies … and budgeting and management techniques [that] … emphasize shared knowledge, collegial decision making and the formation of government-wide priorities and objectives."[84] The movement towards this type of Cabinet structure, termed an 'institutionalized Cabinet' by some academics, started with the federal Cabinet in the 1960s, and then spread to the provinces.[*][85]

---

* Ralph P. Klein (1992– ) is the exception as, like the early Alberta Premiers, he has held several Cabinet portfolios over the course of his premiership. See Appendix I for a listing of Klein's portfolios and those of the other Premiers.

Alberta has followed this trend towards the institutionalization of its Cabinets. After his election and appointment as Premier in 1971, Peter Lougheed established a series of organizational and coordinating units to manage the work of Cabinet and its committees, and to provide support to the Premier.[86] He also instituted measures to formalize the decision-making processes of the Cabinet and the caucus.[87] The Governments of Donald R. Getty (1985–1992) and Ralph Klein maintained these formal coordinating bodies.[88]

The move towards institutionalized Cabinets has both enhanced and tempered the powers of the Premier.[89] Premiers have retained their pre-eminent position at the head of the Cabinet and the caucus through the use of organizational units, committees and the appointments of key officials and representatives.[90] Of the newer organizational units that characterize the workings of institutionalized Cabinets, one of the most important has been the establishment of the Premier's Office, which resembles the federal Prime Minister's Office (PMO).[91] This organizational unit serves the needs of the Premier and ensures that he is always informed on the affairs of the various ministries. In addition, a "well-staffed Premier's Office can bolster the influence of a premier … [by] putting forward the premier's personal agenda."[92] On the other hand, today's intricate structure of Standing Policy Committees[†] also has the potential for 'power dispersion.'[93]

Cabinet size in Canadian jurisdictions reached its peak in the 1980s, after which it succumbed to the 'downsizing' trends of the 1990s.[94] In Alberta, Cabinets reached a maximum of 26 members in 1992, under Premier Getty, before being reduced to 17 later that same year by Premier Klein.[95] As they represent smaller populations, the provincial Legislative Assemblies have noticeably fewer elected Members than does the federal House of Commons. Prince Edward Island has the smallest Assembly, with 27 Members, and Quebec has the largest, with 125

---

[*] There are some academics who argue that the adoption of centralized planning and Cabinet-coordinating structures actually began in Saskatchewan during the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) Government of Thomas 'Tommy' C. Douglas (1944–1961). The federal Cabinet adopted the Saskatchewan model and greatly expanded upon it during the Trudeau administrations. From there, the practice was gradually embraced by the other provinces. J. Stefan Dupré, "Reflections on the Workability of Executive Federalism," *The Canadian Political Tradition: Basic Readings*, 2nd ed., ed. R. S. Blaire and J. T. McLeod (Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada, 1993), p. 475; Walter D. Young and John Terence Morley, "The Premier and the Cabinet," in *The Reins of Power: Governing British Columbia*, ed. John Terence Morley et al. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), p. 77; Christopher Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," in *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics*, ed. Christopher Dunn (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996), pp. 188–189; Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada*, pp. 466-467.

[†] For more information, see the Background section *Role of the Premier*.

Members; Alberta's Legislative Assembly is the third largest, with 83 Members.* Consequently, large Cabinets at the provincial level can involve a significant percentage of the membership of the governing caucus. Large Cabinets can help the Premier solidify his position by serving to slightly modify the influence of other powerful Cabinet members.[96] They also can provide a Premier with a solid power base by permitting the inclusion of more allies in Cabinet.

Another aspect of the premiership that requires examination is the change in the manner in which the Premier is selected. The Premier is appointed by the Lieutenant Governor based on the convention of his being the individual who can carry the confidence of the House. In Alberta, this individual has always been the leader of the party that has elected the largest number of Members to the Legislative Assembly.[97] In recent years, party leaders have normally been selected by party members during conventions.[98] As these conventions are frequently attended by hundreds, or thousands, of delegates, the leadership is often conferred on the candidate who is most effective at organizing support at the constituency, or 'grass-roots,' level. It is not unusual for the preferred choice of the out-going leader, of party elites or of a caucus to be defeated by the popular choice of the party membership.[99] In Alberta, Premiers Harry E. Strom (1968–1971), Lougheed and Getty each became leader of his party through party conventions. Prior to Premier Strom's selection, this was sometimes, but not always, the practice.

Legislative Assembly of Alberta, McKay Avenue School (May 1906). Premier A.C. Rutherford standing at rear, near centre of photograph.

The process by which Alberta became a Province took place through the reading of a proclamation from the King and the appointment of George H. V. Bulyea as Lieutenant Governor (1905–1915), both of which events occurred on September 1, 1905.[100] One of the duties of the Lieutenant Governor is to ensure the continuance of government.[101] In order to make certain that a Government was in place, Lieutenant Governor Bulyea named Alexander C. Rutherford Premier-Designate on September 2, 1905,† the day following the inaugural celebrations, with the understanding that elections would be held as quickly as possible.[102] The first general election in the province was held on November 9, and resulted in the endorsement of the Rutherford administration.[103]

---

* The National Assembly of Quebec has 125 Members, while the Legislative Assembly of Ontario has 103; of Alberta, 83; of British Columbia, 79; of Saskatchewan, 58; of Manitoba, 57; of New Brunswick, 55; of Nova Scotia (House of Assembly), 52; of Newfoundland and Labrador (House of Assembly), 48; and of Prince Edward Island, 27.

† On September 8, 1905, along with his chosen Cabinet, Rutherford officially took his oath of office for the position of 'President of the Council.' Alexander C. Rutherford, President of the Council, 8 September 1905, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; "Portfolios Allotted: Three Appointments Made Yesterday," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 9 September 1905, p. 1. The *Alberta Gazette* has the notice of appointment to office dated September 9, 1905. "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 1, 31 October 1905, p. 3.

On May 26, 1910, after Premier Rutherford's resignation in the wake of the Alberta and Great Waterways (A&GW) Railway controversy, Bulyea selected Arthur L. W. Sifton, Chief Justice of Alberta, to form a new Government.[104] Sifton's appointment was somewhat unusual as, at the time, he was not a Member of the Legislative Assembly. Bulyea needed to find a strong leader, with no obvious ties to railways or the current administration, to hold the fracturing governing caucus together during the aftermath of A&GW affair.[105] Sifton resigned his position as Chief Justice, formed a Cabinet and took his seat in the Assembly as Member for Vermilion after a by-election on June 29.[106] In 1917, when Sifton himself resigned the premiership to join the federal Cabinet, it is generally believed that he recommended to Lieutenant Governor Robert G. Brett (1915–1925) that the Member for Sedgewick Charles Stewart be upon called to form the next administration.[107] Stewart was sworn in as Premier on October 13, 1917.[108]

Members of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta (ca. 1911). Premier A.L.W. Sifton is seated on the left, at the far end of the front row.

The character of Alberta politics changed dramatically in the 1920s. On July 18, 1921, Albertans elected a majority of United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) Members to the Legislative Assembly, and the UFA, a non-partisan agrarian movement, was faced with forming a government. The UFA candidates had contested their first election without a recognized leader.[109] After two potential leaders, Henry Wise Wood and John E. Brownlee, turned down offers of the position, the UFA Members of the Legislative Assembly met in Calgary to select an individual to assume leadership of the governing caucus. They eventually settled on Herbert Greenfield, who was not a Member of the Legislative Assembly.[110] Greenfield was duly appointed Premier by Lieutenant Governor Brett on August 13, 1921, and was elected, by acclamation, to the Assembly as the Member for Peace River in a by-election held on December 9.[111] Several years into his premiership, Greenfield faced pressure from his caucus to resign in favour of Brownlee. Brownlee, for his part, remained steadfastly loyal to the Premier and refused to consider assuming the leadership of the UFA caucus and the premiership unless he was satisfied that he had Greenfield's blessing.[112] In November 1925, Greenfield tendered his resignation to Lieutenant Governor William Egbert (1925–1931) and recommended that Brownlee, the preferred choice of the caucus and the movement, be called on to form an administration.[113] The UFA Government was made up of agriculturalists with little formal knowledge of parliamentary procedures. It was felt that Brownlee, with his training as a lawyer, would bring needed parliamentary expertise to the UFA administration.[114] When Brownlee tendered his resignation on July 5, 1934, he advised Lieutenant Governor William L. Walsh (1931–1936) that the UFA caucus had chosen Richard G. Reid as their leader.[115] Reid was appointed Premier by Lieutenant Governor Walsh and was sworn in on July 10, 1934.[116]

Alberta's seventh Premier was William Aberhart. During the early 1930s, Aberhart was the unquestioned leader of the Social Credit movement, a movement that advocated monetary reform.[117] Social Credit fielded a full slate of candidates in the 1935 provincial election, although Aberhart himself did not run.[118] When a majority of Social Credit members was elected, they were, like the UFA in 1921, faced with forming a Government without an elected leader. Unlike

the UFA's Henry Wise Wood, who had not been interested in undertaking the role, William Aberhart accepted the challenge and was sworn in as Premier on September 3, 1935. Aberhart took his seat in the Assembly two months later as the Member for Okotoks-High River, after winning a by-election.[119] Premier Aberhart died in office in 1943. A short time later, the Social Credit caucus met to choose a new leader. The caucus meeting resulted in the overwhelming endorsement of Minister of Trade and Provincial Secretary Ernest C. Manning. Manning assumed leadership of the Social Credit caucus and was sworn in as Premier on May 31, 1943. He was unanimously elected the leader of the Alberta Social Credit League* later that year, on the second day of its convention of December 9 and 10.[120]

By the time of Manning's resignation in 1968, the mechanism of choosing a leader through party convention had become well established throughout the rest of Canada.[121] Manning's successor, Harry Strom, secured the leadership of the Social Credit Party during the 1968 convention and was sworn in as Premier on December 12, 1968, by Lieutenant Governor J. W. Grant MacEwan (1966–1974).[122] Strom's Social Credit Party was defeated by E. Peter Lougheed's Progressive Conservatives in the 1971 provincial election.[123] Lougheed, like Strom, had become leader though a convention, which was held in 1965.[124] Lougheed's successor, Donald R. Getty, also secured his position as party leader in a convention.[125] However, Ralph P. Klein was elected leader of the Progressive Conservative Association in the first one-member-one-vote leadership race held in Alberta's history.† As methods of selecting leaders, the use of party conventions and, more recently, the use of 'direct-leadership election by party members' have become integral to Alberta's political system, further democratizing the position of Premier.[126]

Through the establishment of Westminster parliamentary traditions, whose beginnings date back to medieval England, the position of Premier of Alberta developed out of the Office of Prime Minister in the United Kingdom and in Canada, and today the Premier holds a pre-eminent role in Cabinet and an essential role in the Legislative Assembly. As Westminster parliamentary democracy evolved, the role of the first minister increased dramatically, until today when it is the most visible and prominent elected office in Government.

---

* This was the name of the political arm of the populist Social Credit movement. In 1934, the numerous local Social Credit groups from across Alberta authorized the creation of an organization that could contest provincial elections using social credit theories. While the League was ostensibly subordinate to the wider movement, under the leadership of William Aberhart and Ernest C. Manning, the Social Credit League quickly came to dominate the movement. The Social Credit League was often referred to as the Social Credit Party. C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 146–148, 194–196.

† In 1992, the one-member-one-vote ballot replaced the delegate voting system. Success under the new voting system hinged upon a candidate's broad-based popularity. In addition to Klein, who was Minister of the Environment (1989–1992), a number of the candidates had extensive recent legislative experience, including Cabinet Ministers Nancy J. Betkowski (later MacBeth), Minister of Health (1988–1992); Douglas 'Doug' C. Main, Minister of Culture and Multiculturalism (1989–1992); Elaine J. McCoy, Minister of Labour (1989–1992); John A. Oldring, Minister of Family and Social Services (1989–1992); Richard 'Rick' D. Orman, Minister of Energy (1989–1992); and former Cabinet Minister David 'Dave' T. King, who had served as a Member of the Legislative Assembly from 1971 to 1986. Other candidates were Ruben Nelson, a futurist and consultant from Canmore, and Lloyd Quantz, an agricultural economist and educator from the Olds-Didsbury area.

## Notes

[1] David Taras and Leslie A. Pal, “The Changing Faces of Political Power in Canada,” in *Prime Ministers and Premiers: Political Leadership and Public Policy in Canada*, ed. Leslie A. Pal and David Taras (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988), p. xiii.

[2] Ivor Jennings, *Cabinet Government*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 1.

[3] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 4, 15th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2002), s.v. “Edward I,” pp. 374–375.

[4] Mark O. Dickerson and Thomas Flanagan, *An Introduction to Government & Politics: A Conceptual Approach*, 6th ed. (Scarborough, ON: Nelson Thomson Learning, 2002), p. 328; Robert Blake, “‘Mother of Parliaments’: The Development of the Lords and Commons over Seven Centuries,” in The *English World: History, Character and People*, ed. Robert Blake (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1982), p. 91.

[5] William A. Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet* (Toronto: Methuen, 1976), pp. 1–2.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., p. 2; Norman Wilding and Philip Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, 4th rev. ed. (London: Cassell, 1972), p. 458.

[8] Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet*, p. 2.

[9] Ibid.; John P. Mackintosh, *The British Cabinet*, 3rd ed. (London: Stevens & Sons, 1977), pp. 46–48.

[10] Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, pp. 285–287; Mackintosh, *The British Cabinet*, pp. 50–51.

[11] Mackintosh, *The British Cabinet*, pp. 55–56, 58.

[12] Ibid., p. 52.

[13] Blake, “‘Mother of Parliaments’,” p. 94; *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. “1688, Revolution of.”

[14] *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. “Rights, Bill of”; Blake, “‘Mother of Parliaments’,” pp. 94–95; Dickerson and Flanagan, *An Introduction to Government & Politics: A Conceptual Approach*, p. 328.

[15] Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet*, pp. 3–4.

[16] Mackintosh, *The British Cabinet*, p. 57.

[17] Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet*, p. 3.

[18] Ibid., pp. 3, 2–3; Blake, “‘Mother of Parliaments’,” p. 95.

[19] Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet*, pp. 3, 2–3; Blake, “‘Mother of Parliaments’,” p. 95.

[20] Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet*, p. 4.

[21] Mackintosh, *The British Cabinet*, p. 76.

[22] Ibid., p. 119.

[23] Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, p. 580.

[24] Mackintosh, *The British Cabinet*, pp. 158, 157, 155–158.

[25] Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet*, pp. 5, 4; Blake, “‘Mother of Parliaments’,” p. 98.

[26] Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet*, pp. 4–5.

[27] Graham White, “Adapting the Westminster Model: Provincial and Territorial Cabinets in Canada,” *Public Money & Management* vol. 21, no. 2 (April–June 2001): p. 17.

[28] John McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics: A Guide to Important Terms and Concepts,* 3rd ed. (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), pp. 259–260.

[29] John Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 3rd ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), pp. 53–54; *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 11, s.v. "test act"; *The Hutchinson Encyclopedia*, [CD-ROM], (n.p.: Helicon Publishing, 1999), s.v. "Church of Scotland."

[30] Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, pp. 53–54; McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, p. 267.

[31] Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, pp. 54–55.

[32] Margaret Conrad and Alvin Finkel, *History of the Canadian Peoples: Beginnings to 1867*, vol. 1, 4th ed. (Toronto: Pearson Longman, 2006), pp. 285, 289.

[33] Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, pp. 58–59; Conrad and Finkel, *History of the Canadian Peoples: Beginnings to 1867*, pp. 187–188.

[34] Conrad and Finkel, *History of the Canadian Peoples: Beginnings to 1867*, pp. 289, 285.

[35] Dickinson and Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, pp. 182–183.

[36] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, pp. 261–262.

[37] Peter W. Hogg, "Responsible Government," in *The Canadian Political Tradition: Basic Readings*, 2nd ed., ed. Ron S. Blair and J. T. McLeod (Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada, 1993), pp. 20–21.

[38] Conrad and Finkel, *History of the Canadian Peoples: Beginnings to 1867*, p. 399; Christopher Armstrong, *The Politics of Federalism: Ontario's Relations with the Federal Government, 1867–1942*, Ontario Historical Studies Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp. 9–10.

[39] Armstrong, *The Politics of Federalism*, p. 11.

[40] Conrad and Finkel, *History of the Canadian Peoples: Beginnings to 1867*, p. 399; Ronald Wagenberg, et al., "Federal Societies and the Founding of Federal States: An Examination of the Origins of Canadian Confederation," in *Canadian Federalism: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Michael Burgess (Leicester, U.K.: Leicester University Press, 1990), p. 9.

[41] Wagenberg, et al., "Federal Societies and the Founding of Federal States," pp. 8–9.

[42] Conrad and Finkel, *History of the Canadian Peoples: Beginnings to 1867*, p. 400; Rand Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, 4th ed. (Scarborough, ON: Nelson, 2004), pp. 28–32.

[43] Armstrong, *The Politics of Federalism*, pp. 9–10.

[44] *British North America Act, 1867* (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3, ss. 63, 64; Armstrong, *The Politics of Federalism*, p. 11. Note that the name of the *British North America Act, 1867* was changed in 1982 to the *Constitution Act, 1867*. For more information, see the Glossary.

[45] *British North America Act, 1867* (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3, ss. 91, 92.

[46] "Order of Her Majesty in Council admitting Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union at the Court at Windsor, the 23rd day of June, 1870," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), pp. 28–33.

[47] *Temporary Government Act*, S.C. 1869, c. 3, s. 1.

[48] Margaret Conrad and Alvin Finkel, *A History of the Canadian Peoples: 1867 to the Present,* vol. 2, 4th ed. (Toronto: Pearson Education Canada Inc., 2006), pp. 29–30.

[49] *Manitoba Act, 1870*, S.C. 1870, c. 3, ss. 8, 35.

[50] Lewis Herbert Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories, 1870–97*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 54.

[51] *North-West Territories Act, 1875*, S.C. 1875, c. 49, ss. 1, 2, 4.

[52] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 80, 107; C. Cecil Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada: The Autonomy Question in the Old North-West Territories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), p. 5.

[53] *North-West Territories Act, 1875*, S.C. 1875, c. 49, s. 13.

[54] "P.C. 1882-0982," *ArchiviaNet: Orders-in-Council*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 28 June 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/020157_e.html

[55] *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, ss. 2, 11.

[56] *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 13.

[57] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 164–165; *An Act to amend the Acts respecting the North-West Territories*, S.C. 1891, c. 22, s. 6(12); *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 13.

[58] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, pp. 5–6; Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), p. 129; Leslie A. Pal, "The Political Executive and Political Leadership in Alberta," in *Government and Politics in Alberta*, ed. Allan Tupper and Roger Gibbins (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), p. 5.

[59] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 171.

[60] Pal, "The Political Executive and Political Leadership in Alberta," pp. 5–6; Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 6.

[61] *An Act to amend the Acts respecting the North-West Territories*, S.C. 1891, c. 22, s. 6.

[62] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 200–201; *An Act to amend the Acts respecting the North-West Territories*, S.C. 1891, c. 22.

[63] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 203–204; Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 6; North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "An Ordinance Respecting the Executive Government of the Territories," *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, no. 1, 1891, s. 1.

[64] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 205.

[65] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 7.

[66] Grant MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman of the Canadian Northwest* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), p. 67.

[67] *An Act further to amend the Acts respecting the North-west Territories*, S.C. 1897, c. 28, s. 8.

[68] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, pp. 65–66.

[69] Pal, "The Political Executive and Political Leadership in Alberta," p. 6.

[70] J. William Brennan, "The 'Autonomy Question' and the Creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905," in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, 2nd ed., ed. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, University of Alberta, 1992), pp. 379–381; Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, pp. 24–25.

[71] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 16.

[72] Ibid., pp. 14–15, 17.

[73] Ibid., p. 13; Finkel and Conrad, *A History of the Canadian Peoples: 1867 to the Present*, p. 29; "Order of Her Majesty in Council admitting Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union," p. 32; *Manitoba Act, 1870*, S.C. 1870, c. 3, s. 34.

[74] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, pp. 10–13.

[75] Ibid., pp. 27–31.

[76] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3; "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 1, 31 October 1905, p. 3.

[77] *Peter Lougheed: A Western Legacy, Life and Times*, 1hr., CBC, 29 November 1996, Television Broadcast.

[78] E. Peter Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[79] Ibid.; Frederick C. Engelmann, "The Legislature," in *Government and Politics in Alberta*, ed. Allan Tupper and Roger Gibbins (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), p. 145.

[80] Keith Brownsey, "The Post-Institutionalized Cabinet: The Administrative Style of Alberta," in *Executive Styles in Canada: Cabinet Structures and Leadership Practices in Canadian Government*, ed. Luc Bernier, Keith Brownsey, and Michael Howlett, Institute of Public Administration of Canada Series in Public Management and Governance (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 208–210; Pal, "The Political Executive and Political Leadership in Alberta," p. 8.

[81] Christopher Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," in *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics*, ed. Christopher Dunn (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996), p. 179.

[82] Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1910 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1910), p. 446.

[83] Daniel Latouche, "From Premier to Prime Minister: An Essay on Leadership, State and Society in Quebec," in *Prime Ministers and Premiers: Political Leadership and Public Policy in Canada*, ed. Leslie A. Pal and David Taras (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988), p. 146.

[84] J. Stefan Dupré, "Reflections on the Workability of Executive Federalism," in *The Canadian Political Tradition: Basic Readings*, 2nd ed., ed. Ron S. Blair and J. T. McLeod (Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada, 1993), p. 475; Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," p. 179.

[85] Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," p. 178.

[86] Brownsey, "The Post-Institutionalized Cabinet," p. 217.

[87] Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," pp. 187–188.

[88] Ibid., p. 188; Pal, "The Political Executive and Political Leadership in Alberta," p. 22.

[89] White, "Adapting the Westminster Model," p. 19.

[90] Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," p. 198.

[91] White, "Adapting the Westminster Model," p. 21.

[92] Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," p. 198.

[93] Ibid., p. 182.

[94] White, "Adapting the Westminster Model," p. 18.

[95] Kathryn M. Flanagan and Katherine J. Miller, eds., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1992 ed. (Toronto: Globe and Mail Publishing, 1992), pp. 490–491; Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1993 ed. (Toronto: Globe and Mail Publishing, 1993), pp. 501–502.

[96] Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," pp. 200–201.

[97] Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada: Towards the Turn of the Century*, 3rd ed. (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1996), p. 15.

[98] White, "Adapting the Westminster Model," p. 20.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 134; "'Alberta, A Province,' Edmonton Journal, September 2, 1905," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), p. 172.

[101] "Constitutional Role: The Queen's Representative in Alberta," Role, *Office of the Lieutenant Governor, Province of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Office of the Lieutenant Governor, 2004), accessed 1 March 2006, available from http://www.lieutenantgovernor.ab.ca; John T. Saywell, *The Office of Lieutenant-Governor: A Study in Canadian Government and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957; reprint, Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), pp. 88, 104–108.

[102] Alexander C. Rutherford, "Three Years of Autonomy: 1905–1908," *Alberta History* vol. 53, no. 4 (Autumn 2005): pp. 8–9; D. R. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona* (Calgary: Friends of Rutherford House and University of Calgary Press, 1989), p. 27.

[103] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 10.

[104] L. G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), pp. 89–90; Keith Archer and Margaret Hunziker, "Leadership Selection in Alberta: The 1985 Progressive Conservative Leadership Convention," in *Leaders and Parties in Canadian Politics: Experiences of the Provinces*, ed. R. Kenneth Carty, Lynda Erickson, and Donald E. Blake (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada, 1991), p. 83.

[105] Ernest Watkins, *The Golden Province: Political Alberta* (Calgary: Sandstone Publishing, 1980), p. 41; Saywell, *The Office of Lieutenant-Governor*, pp. 102–104.

[106] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 94; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 175.

[107] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 180–181.

[108] Charles Stewart, President of the Council, 13 October 1917, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[109] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, pp. 194–195; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 33–37.

[110] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, pp. 195–196; "U.F.A. Unlikely to Take Office for Two Weeks," *Globe* (Toronto), 29 July 1921, p. 2; Archer and Hunziker, "Leadership Selection in Alberta," p. 83.

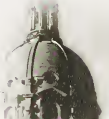
[111] "New Premier is Given Oath at Edmonton," *Globe* (Toronto), 13 August 1921, p. 1; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 177.

[112] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, pp. 214–215.

[113] Ibid.; "Brownlee Succeeds Greenfield as Premier," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 23 November 1925, pp. 1, 17; Archer and Hunziker, "Leadership Selection in Alberta," p. 83.

[114] Pal, "The Political Executive and Political Leadership in Alberta," p. 12; Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, pp. 214–216.

[115] "Brownlee Cabinet Out, Reid Premier: Bitter Fight for Cabinet Selection," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 5 July 1934, p. 1.



[116] “Reid Chosen Premier to Succeed Brownlee,” *Globe* (Toronto), 6 July 1934, pp. 1, 3; Archer and Hunziker, “Leadership Selection in Alberta,” p. 83; Richard G. Reid, President of the Council, 10 July 1934, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[117] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, pp. 258, 265.

[118] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 49–53.

[119] William Aberhart, President of the Council, 3 September 1935, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 84.

[120] C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 205–206; Bob Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 208; Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 118–119; Archer and Hunziker, “Leadership Selection in Alberta,” p. 83; Ernest C. Manning, President of the Council, 31 May 1943, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; “Outstanding Provincial Convention Held: 200 Delegates Attend Annual Meet Premier Manning Chosen Leader,” *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 16 December 1943, pp. 2, 1.

[121] White, “Adapting the Westminster Model,” p. 20; R. K. Carty, Lynda Erickson and Donald E. Blake, “Parties and Leaders: The Experiences of the Provinces,” in *Leaders and Parties in Canadian Politics: Experiences of the Provinces*, ed. R. Kenneth Carty, Lynda Erickson, and Donald E. Blake (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada, 1991), p. 4.

[122] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 184; Archer and Hunziker, “Leadership Selection in Alberta,” p. 83; Harry E. Strom, President of the Council, 12 December 1968, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[123] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 101–106.

[124] Archer and Hunziker, “Leadership Selection in Alberta,” p. 83.

[125] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 355; Pal, “The Political Executive and Political Leadership in Alberta,” p. 21; Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada*, pp. 553–554; Archer and Hunziker, “Leadership Selection in Alberta,” p. 83.

[126] Rick McConnell, “Margin of Victory Catches Pundits by Surprise,” *Edmonton Journal*, 6 December 1992, p. A6.

# Role of the Premier

# ROLE OF THE PREMIER

As remarkable as it might seem, no provision is made for the Office of Premier in the *Constitution Act, 1867* (nor in any of its amendments), in the *North-West Territories Act, 1875* (nor as amended in 1888, 1891 or 1897), nor in the *Alberta Act,* 1905.[1] The powers and responsibilities of the provincial Premiers are not formally embodied in any statute; nor is their role explicitly defined in any charter. While this fact is readily and widely acknowledged, it has nevertheless been deemed "one of the great paradoxes of the Westminster or parliamentary system that the premier (or prime minister) and Cabinet exercise enormous power while they do not exist in a constitutional sense."[2] Despite this lack of constitutional sanction, the premiership has come to be the most important and influential Government position in the provinces. It has even been said that "[p]rovincial government is premier's government,"[3] making it all the more noteworthy, perhaps, that the roles associated with the Office have developed gradually throughout the history of parliamentary governance and that these roles are rooted not in constitutional law, but in parliamentary convention.

A provincial Premier's closest relative, metaphorically speaking, is the Canadian or British Prime Minister.[*] However, from a modern perspective, it has been argued that provincial Premiers wield proportionately more power than does the Prime Minister. This difference is due to

> the scale and relative homogeneity of provincial government [with the result that] provincial premiers do not need to delegate authority as widely as the prime minister must; they are able to keep a close watch over … major provincial projects and exercise personal control over key decisions. The figure of the premier looms large over the governmental apparatus.[4]

However, for the purposes of this analysis, the powers and duties associated with these two Offices will be considered as being akin and therefore interchangeable, at least in theory. This parallel proves useful to an examination of the role of the Premier of Alberta.

---

[*] Throughout Canadian history, the terms 'Premier' and 'Prime Minister' have been used interchangeably. Historical records show that, at times, the first ministers of other provincial governments have used the title 'Prime Minister,' and the first minister of the federal government has often been addressed as 'Premier.' Today, the titles are almost never used as reciprocal terms. "The Confederate Cabinet," *Daily Globe* (Toronto), 3 July 1867, p. 2; Charles H. Mackintosh, *Canadian Parliamentary Companion and Annual Register,* 1877 ed. (Ottawa: Citizen Printing and Publishing, 1877), pp. 240, 245, 285, 320, 341, 363, 374, 386; Latouche, Daniel, "From Premier to Prime Minister: An Essay on Leadership, State and Society in Quebec," in *Prime Ministers and Premiers: Political Leadership and Public Policy in Canada,* ed. Leslie A. Pal and David Taras, (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988), pp. 149–152; Christopher Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics,* ed. Christopher Dunn (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996), p. 203n52; Howard Measures, *Styles of Address: A Manual of Usage in Writing and in Speech,* 3rd ed. (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1969), pp. 125–126; Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada: Towards the Turn of the Century,* 3rd ed. (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1996), p. 238.

## Executive Role of the Premier

Firstly, the Premier's role, as a member and the President of the Executive Council,[*] especially as it relates to that of the Lieutenant Governor, should be outlined. The Premier is the head of government for his province, while the Lieutenant Governor is the head of state. Appointed to the post of President of the Executive Council (the Cabinet) by the Lieutenant Governor, the Premier is typically the leader of the political party with the greatest number of Members elected to a provincial Legislative Assembly.[5] Together with the Lieutenant Governor, the Crown's non-partisan provincial representative, Cabinet forms the Executive Branch of government. However, while the powers and duties of the Lieutenant Governor are essential to parliamentary governance, functional executive power is expressed through the Premier and the Executive Council, who are responsible to the elected Legislative Assembly.[6] Although constitutionally, supreme executive power rests with the Crown, convention has determined that the Lieutenant Governor acts on the advice of his or her first minister and the Executive Council.[7]

Although functional executive power is expressed through the Premier, it is important to remember that the Lieutenant Governor remains the pre-eminent executive authority in a province. There are certain essential functions of the role of Lieutenant Governor that demonstrate the Lieutenant Governor's continuing authority in the governance of the province. Firstly, if the Lieutenant Governor believes that a bill passed by the Legislative Assembly is constitutionally outside of provincial jurisdiction (*ultra vires*), he or she can reserve, or withhold, Royal Assent until a ruling on the legitimacy of the legislation can be made by the Governor General in Council.[8] Lieutenant Governors are generally reluctant to use the prerogative of reservation unless circumstances seem to leave them no alternative,[†] as was the case in 1937, when Alberta Lieutenant Governor John C. Bowen (1937–1950) used the power of reservation with regard to Social Credit legislation that sought to impose controls on the banks and newspapers operating in the province.[‡] Bowen reserved Royal Assent and referred the legislation to the Governor General in Council. Ultimately, the Supreme Court ruled the legislation unconstitutional.[9] Secondly, and much more commonly, the authority of the Lieutenant Governor is expressed when the Executive Council loses the confidence of the Legislative

---

[*] The President or Chair of the Executive Council is the presiding officer of that body. The person holding that office in a Canadian province is normally referred to as the Premier. For more information, see the Glossary.

[†] In Canada, the last time reservation was used where its use resulted in disallowance was in 1937, in Alberta. The very last time reservation was used in Canada was in 1961, in Saskatchewan. In this case, however, disallowance was not invoked, and the Bill eventually received Royal Assent.

[‡] Firstly, *The Bank Taxation Act, 1937* was intended to impose additional provincial taxes upon banks and to give the Government access to the banks' financial returns. Secondly, *The Credit of Alberta Regulation Act, 1937* was intended to assert provincial control over the banking industry by requiring that bank employees be licensed by the Province and by giving authority over banking in the province to a special government board. Thirdly, *The Accurate News and Information Act, 1937* required newspapers to reveal their sources and to guarantee that any subsequent rebuttal statement by the Social Credit Board be published. Newspapers that refused to comply could be forced to cease publication. *The Bank Taxation Act, 1937*, S.A. 1937, c. 1; *The Credit of Alberta Regulation Act, 1937*, S.A. 1937, c. 8; *The Accurate News and Information Act, 1937*, S.A. 1937, c. 9; Bob Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997), p. 168.

Assembly.[10] In an instance such as this, the Premier typically seeks the dissolution* of the Legislature.[11] By convention, the Lieutenant Governor accepts the advice of the Government and dissolves the Legislature.†[12] After dissolution, a general election follows.[13]

In order to avoid losing a vote of no-confidence,‡ all members of the governing caucus, including Cabinet members and the Premier, are expected to adhere to the principle of caucus discipline. Caucus discipline is a requisite of responsible government wherein each legislative caucus acts as a unified body, ensuring caucus solidarity and collective public accountability.[14] It is often difficult to achieve a balance between caucus solidarity and individual public accountability. The Premier can claim, as the leader of his party, to have a popular mandate from the electorate to implement his Government's agenda, while, at the same time, each individual Member has a responsibility to represent the interests of his or her constituents, which may not always be in accord with the Premier's or the caucus' agenda.[15]

In the early 1920s, the newly elected United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) Government of Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) almost fell because it did not follow the precept of caucus solidarity. UFA Members were dedicated to the principle of non-partisanship and believed that the practice of caucus discipline conveyed "all of the evils of the party system."[16] Instead, they saw it as their duty to ensure that they could remain free to state their views on various topics "regardless of the attitude of the ministers."[17] In March 1922, during the First Session of the Fifth Legislature, UFA Private Members voted their conscience with respect to a Bill to amend *The Dairymen's Act* (1907),[18] resulting in the Government's narrowly avoiding defeat at the hands of its own members.[19] The inexperienced Government learned from its missteps by following the advice and employing the expertise of Attorney General John E. Brownlee (1921–1926), who outlined the realities of caucus solidarity and other aspects of parliamentary procedure to the governing caucus.[20]

---

* There have been examples in which the Government resigns instead of seeking dissolution. Robert Marleau and Camille Montpetit, eds., *House of Commons Procedure and Practice* (Ottawa: Chenelière/McGraw-Hill, 2000), pp. 43, 43n28.

† As one source on Canadian constitutional law explains: "In strict legal terms there is no obligation that … governors accept any advice given to them by their first ministers …" Therefore, the Lieutenant Governor, like the Governor General, does not have to accept the advice of the first minister to dissolve the Legislature. If the Lieutenant Governor refuses dissolution, then he or she can call upon the second party to form the Government if he or she believes that that parliamentary caucus can command the confidence of the House. Andrew Heard, *Canadian Constitutional Conventions: The Marriage of Law and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 34–35; George F. G Stanley, *The Role of the Lieutenant-Governor* (Fredericton: New Brunswick Office of the Lieutenant-Governor, 1992), p. 25; John T. Saywell, *The Office of the Lieutenant-Governor: A Study in Canadian Government and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957; reprint, Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), pp. 147, 145–146, 91–92.

‡ A vote on a motion in the Legislative Assembly, normally brought forward by the Opposition, that, if passed, results in defeat for the Government. For more information, see the Glossary.

The matter of caucus solidarity also arose during the tenure of Premier William Aberhart (1935–1943). The Aberhart Government had embarked upon a program of gradually implementing social credit legislation upon assuming power in 1935. However, by the end of 1936, Aberhart faced increasing pressure from caucus hardliners to take bolder action.[21] At the same time, Premier Aberhart was also pressured by some of his key Cabinet Ministers, who were concerned about the growing influence within caucus of the hardliners and who warned against the implementation of their policies.[22] Although conflict continued into 1937, an outright breach was avoided because several of the Cabinet Ministers who opposed the hardliners resigned their portfolios by year's end.[*][23]

The issue of the conflicting roles of Members who must represent their constituents while supporting caucus policy is addressed through the mechanism of caucus meetings. Under the leadership of Premier E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985), caucus meetings were chaired by the Premier, and attendance by all caucus members was mandatory.[24] Premier Ralph P. Klein (1992– ) established a number of committees, called Standing Policy Committees (SPCs), aimed at increasing input from all Private Members in his caucus.[†][25] These committees are dominated by non-Cabinet members; they are chaired by non-Cabinet members, who also represent their committees during Cabinet meetings. Cabinet members serve as SPC vice-chairs.[26] These committees give the Cabinet the opportunity to convince the Private Members in its caucus of the necessity of its policies while also affording them the opportunity to have input into policy and legislation on behalf of their constituencies or regions.[‡] The Premier still retains a considerable degree of authority within the SPC system. All ministerial policy proposals must pass through the

---

[*] By the end of 1937, four of the nine original Cabinet Ministers, John W. Hugill (Attorney General), William N. Chant (Minister of Agriculture), Charles C. Ross (Minister of Lands and Mines) and Charles C. Cockroft (Provincial Treasurer), would resign their portfolios. In addition to resigning from Cabinet, John W. Hugill, Member for Calgary, and William N. Chant, Member for Camrose, joined the Opposition as Independents in September 1937, making this the first time in the history of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta in which "the act of members 'crossing the floor' was witnessed. On previous occasions, members asked for their seats to be moved and merely occupied their new seats at the next sitting, without any ceremony in connection." "History is Made as Floor Crossed," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 September 1937, p. 3; Alvin Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 61–62.

[†] At the time of writing, the Standing Policy Committees are Agriculture and Municipal Affairs, Economic Development and Finance, Education and Employment, Energy and Sustainable Development, Health and Community Living, and Justice and Government Services. Alberta. "Government-at-a-Glance: Government Committees," *Government of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1995–2006), accessed 14 February 2006, available from http://www.gov.ab.ca/home/index.cfm?Page=24

[‡] While intended to be 'participatory,' the SPC approach has been criticized as having had the opposite effect. For instance, one political scientist has indicated that the SPC system "has not been in keeping with the stated wish to give government back to the people," instead focusing "decision-making authority within the ten-member Agenda and Priorities Committee chaired by the Premier." Keith Brownsey, "The Post-Institutionalized Cabinet: The Administrative Style of Alberta," in *Executive Styles in Canada: Cabinet Structures and Leadership Practices in Canadian Government*, ed. Luc Bernier, Keith Brownsey and Michael Howlett, Institute of Public Administration of Canada Series in Public Management Governance (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), p. 223.

Agenda and Priorities Committee, which serves to coordinate the work of the SPCs.[27] The Agenda and Priorities Committee is chaired by the Premier and comprises both Cabinet members and Private Members from the government caucus, with Cabinet members making up the majority.[28] Caucus and Committee meetings are usually able to resolve differences in opinion within the caucus, but even if agreement cannot be reached, it is unusual for open rebellion within its membership to occur, as it is essential for the Premier to retain the support of his caucus. Granting a higher degree of involvement to caucus members can be an effective method of achieving caucus solidarity. In turn, all caucus members require the support of the Premier and the party to increase their chances at re-election. The end result is that working compromises are normally reached.[29]

Another of the Premier's roles is to form an Executive Council, or Cabinet. This is a weighty task that must be performed soon after a general election. Cabinet formation is one of the most important of the Premier's responsibilities, as the decisions made in this process are integral to setting the agenda of the Government. The significance of this function should not be underestimated, since "the cabinet has the resources to shape the contours of the state and to some extent society."*[30] In the parliamentary system, the Cabinet is the decision– and policy–making body of the government—"the focus and the fulcrum of governance"—and is made up of Ministers collectively responsible for all government activity.[31] The governing caucus is sometimes referred to as 'the government,' but strictly speaking, only the executive arm of caucus is the Government.

The Premier's selections from amongst the members of the governing caucus for the Cabinet depend on a number of factors, and these decisions can require diplomacy and skill. Indeed, Cabinet formation has been cynically described as a "'thoroughly unpleasant and discreditable business' because of the variety of factors other than 'mere merit' that the [Premier] has to take into account in making his selection."[32] Perhaps the most fundamental consideration pertinent to developing the Cabinet is its size. The Premier must weigh the 'comparative merits' of having either a large or small Cabinet.[33] The earliest Cabinets in Alberta typically included only a few members. For instance, the Cabinet chosen by Premier Alexander C. Rutherford (1905–1910) consisted of a mere five members, including the Premier himself.[34] As Government business has expanded so too have Cabinets.[35] For example, in the early 1990s, the Cabinet selected by Donald R. Getty (1985–1992) consisted of 26 members.[36] Furthermore, because Cabinet selection is such a visible act, which is carefully scrutinized by the press and polity alike, some Premiers may wish to drastically alter the size and/or configuration of Cabinet as a strategic move to highlight a commitment to follow through on campaign promises, or to differentiate their administrations from previous Governments. For example, shortly after becoming Premier in December 1992, Ralph Klein, in adherence to a policy of fiscal conservatism, demonstrated a commitment to government efficiency by downsizing Cabinet from 26 to 17 members.[37] Other factors influencing Cabinet formation are that the Premier's selections are limited by the size of

---

* Forming the Cabinet has been an integral part of the process of governance from the early days of Canada. It was deemed to be of such importance to Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald (1867–1873, 1878–1891), that he was known to wittily refer to his occupation as being that of a 'Cabinet-Maker.' R. M. Punnett, *The Canadian Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1977), p. 56.

the governing caucus and, more importantly, are usually restricted to those individuals whom the electorate has provided:

> Most party leaders would agree that the weak link at this stage of cabinet making is the nominating process in the constituencies … . Constituencies do not, as a rule, select candidates on the basis of cabinet potential. Moreover, there could be no guarantee that their judgement of this characteristic would match the party leader's.[38]

The abilities and experiences of the elected Members and their relative suitability for the various portfolios therefore play a large part in a Premier's choice of Cabinet members.

Premiers will usually consider providing a balanced representation of the province, both geographically and demographically.[39] At the federal level, the principle of regional representation is so prevalent and enshrined that it is considered to be a fundamental characteristic of Canadian government. Although demographic and regional representation is not so readily apparent at the provincial level, it does exist.[40] The United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) had supported female suffrage, and after women secured the right to vote, the UFA Government of Premier Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) advised the Lieutenant Governor to appoint M. Irene Parlby to Cabinet, as Minister without Portfolio (1921–1935), where she championed, amongst other things, further rights for women and children.[41] In Alberta, there is a desire to provide adequate Executive Council representation from both rural and urban constituencies. In the first Cabinet chosen by Premier Peter Lougheed, Dr. Hugh M. Horner, Member for Barrhead, was given a prominent position as Deputy Premier (1971–1979) in addition to that of Minister of Agriculture (1971–1975) and later Minister of Transportation (1975–1979). Horner's placement was due partly to his tremendous popularity amongst rural Albertans; his presence served as a counterpoint to Lougheed's image, which was generally more attractive to urban voters.[42] Another aspect of regional representation that is often considered in Cabinet formation is the need to ensure that Cabinet composition is balanced between Members representing northern and southern regions of the province, or, as it is most clearly evident in Alberta, between Members representing Calgary and Edmonton constituencies.[43] After the 1993 provincial election, in which all Edmonton constituencies were secured by members of the Liberal Opposition, there was concern about the lack of representation in the Cabinet from the capital city, and numerous plans were put forward to ensure that Edmonton's interests were reflected in Cabinet decision-making.[44] In subsequent Legislatures, when an increased number of Progressive Conservative Members were elected in Edmonton constituencies, the composition of Cabinet reflected greater Progressive Conservative representation from the Alberta capital.[45]

Finally, the political climate within the Premier's own caucus must be acknowledged. When selecting a Cabinet, Premiers are usually careful to ensure that appointments neither create nor intensify any tension but rather promote harmony within the Cabinet and the government caucus as a whole.[46] Premiers strive to ensure that Cabinet membership is "of a character which will command the general respect of and exercise authority among its parliamentary supporters."[47] Yet "some individuals will have particularly strong claims to be included," and a new Premier may have "accumulated certain obligations to those who helped him to power."[48] Consequently, Cabinet posts may be given as rewards for support, and appointments of especially popular or high-profile caucus members are not uncommon.[49] Political or personal adversaries of the Premier sometimes receive Cabinet positions in 'grudging recognition' of their

popularity within the party or in their constituencies and throughout the province.[50] It is the role of the Premier, then, to satisfy these demands while also ensuring that the Cabinet's efficiency is not compromised in any way.*[51]

With regard to his role in the Cabinet, the Prime Minister has, traditionally, been termed *primus inter pares*—first amongst equals—and insofar as the provincial government is analogous to the federal government, the Premier is likewise first amongst equals.[52] The Prime Minister or Premier, while considered 'equal' to his or her Cabinet colleagues, nevertheless holds powers that Cabinet members "individually or collectively do not possess."[53] The Prime Minister or Premier chooses his Cabinet colleagues, "determines the cabinet's agenda, chairs its meetings and defines its consensus on issues."[54] As a Premier is "the supreme co-ordinating authority" of a government, his role is clearly more influential than that of other Cabinet members.[55]

## Legislative Role of the Premier

A primary aspect of the Premier's role, and of Cabinet's more generally, is that of setting the legislative agenda. The Premier, as President of the Executive Council, is the head of government in a province. Cabinet members, or Ministers, are individually responsible for a particular department and collectively responsible for the general workings of the Government. The Cabinet, under the leadership of the first minister, sets government priorities by deciding whether or not to take action on an issue and if a course of action is pursued, to determine the parameters of governance initiatives.[56] In so doing, it prepares legislation, determines Government priorities and oversees and implements Government policy.[57] As the Chair of Cabinet, and as the individual responsible for Cabinet selection, the Premier can be said to be "the sole architect of the general machinery of the central executive."[58]

A second function of the Premier's role in the House relates to Question Period. According to Beauchesne's *Parliamentary Rules and Forms*, "the whole concept of the parliamentary Question Period depends on the tradition that the Cabinet is willing to submit its conduct of public affairs to the scrutiny of the Opposition on a regular basis."[59] During Question Period, Opposition leaders and Private Members from all caucuses question the Government. Therefore, Question Period "often highlights dramatically the principle of responsible government, or executive accountability to the legislature."[60] Question Period is intended to focus on matters of some urgency. Its ostensible purpose is to elicit information from the Government, but a secondary motivation of Opposition Members in asking pointed questions is often to attempt to discredit the Government.[61] The press and the public take a keen interest in these exchanges between the Government and the Opposition, for they can be dramatic and can sometimes embarrass the Government.[62] It is important for the Premier and all members of Cabinet to be as informed and

---

* Although the Premier is the final decision-maker regarding Cabinet selection, it should be noted that the Premier, in choosing Cabinet members, may both seek and follow the recommendations of his or her advisers. These counsellors may be the Chief of Staff, senior party officials, personal advisers or other individuals whose positions make them reliable sources of information and/or whose input the Premier values. The Premier attempts to remain abreast of the mindset of caucus and party membership, but he might also realize the potential for others to have more privileged or detailed information. William A. Matheson, *The Prime Minister and the Cabinet* (Toronto: Methuen, 1976), pp. 49–52.

as eloquent as possible when they participate in Question Period. As the Premier is the most important member of the Executive Council, it is common for many of the questions to be directed to him. In addition, Opposition parties will often address their questions to a particular Cabinet Minister. However, all questions posed during Question Period are considered to have been put to the Government as a whole, giving the Premier the authority to decide which Minister will answer the question regardless of which individual Cabinet member may have been addressed. The Premier may also opt to personally answer any question put to his Government.[63] While Question Period has obvious and numerous merits, one Member, Speaker Gerard J. Amerongen (1972–1986), indicated that "Question Period is nothing more than a media event. It's much more effective to stick to the business of the House and avoid personal attacks."[64] Speaker David J. Carter (1986–1993) characterized Question Period as "both scary and exhilarating," but found that his initial nervousness quickly disappeared as he "came to enjoy [its] intellectual thrust, flow and challenges."[65]

It should be noted that Alberta's Premiers have not always been principal participants in legislative proceedings. For example, due to the inexperience and illnesses of Premier Herbert Greenfield, John E. Brownlee, Attorney General and future Premier (1925–1934), gave most of the Government's important speeches and led many of the debates.[66] Premier William Aberhart, despite being accustomed to public speaking at public gatherings and on the radio, did not make what is considered to be his maiden speech in the Assembly until February 17, 1939, almost three and a half years after his appointment as Premier.[67]

Premier R.P. Klein speaks to children during annual turning on of the Legislature Christmas lights (Dec. 1, 2005).

The Premier is also a central participant in the ceremonial proceedings of the Legislature. Amongst the Premier's duties in this regard is that of accompanying the Lieutenant Governor into and out of the Chamber before and after the delivery of the Speech from the Throne at the beginning of each new Session.*

Another legislative role of the Premier's is to serve as a Vice-President of the Alberta Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA). The CPA finds its origins in the Commonwealth (formerly called the British Commonwealth of Nations), an organization of 53 countries and their dependencies, most of which were former British colonies and originally part of the British Empire. Canada was a founding member of the Commonwealth as it evolved out of the British Empire during the 1920s.[68] It was also a founder of the CPA (originally called the Empire Parliamentary Association), the other founding members being Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, and the United Kingdom.[69] Currently, the CPA is a Commonwealth-wide organization formed by members of the Commonwealth of Nations that operate under the Westminster system of parliamentary governance. Its purpose is to promote relations between parliaments in order to study the further development of parliamentary government and to benefit from the parliamentary experiences of other societies and nations. The Alberta Branch is a member of the Canadian Region, which includes the Assemblies of the other nine provinces, the three territories and the House of Commons. The Leader of the Official Opposition also serves as a Vice-President; the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly serves as the Branch's President; and the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly serves as Secretary.[70]

---

* As head of state and the embodiment of the monarchy in Alberta, the Lieutenant Governor delivers the Speech from the Throne. While it is in fact the Premier and his Cabinet who set the Government priorities as outlined in the Speech from the Throne, the Lieutenant Governor presents these priorities to the House. John McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics: A Guide to Important Terms and Concepts*, 3rd ed. (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University, 2001), p. 284; Eugene A. Forsey, *How Canadians Govern Themselves*, 5th ed. (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, Information Office, 2003), pp. 43–44; Rand Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, 4th ed. (Scarborough, ON: Nelson, 2004), p. 499.

## Premier as Representative of the Province

Another of the Premier's duties is to meet with representatives from other Canadian Governments. For instance, the Premier attends the Conference of First Ministers.* In attendance at these meetings are the Prime Minister, the provincial Premiers and the Territorial leaders. These Conferences serve as forums to encourage discussion in such areas of shared interest as constitutional matters, cost-sharing programs, fiscal and other policy issues.[71] They are very high-profile events, which attract considerable media and public attention, and are important as they provide opportunities for provincial Premiers to put forward their agendas on a national level. These meetings can also be used to build personal relationships with the Prime Minister and with the other Premiers, which can be of great benefit to a province.[72] On December 5, 2003, the Premiers of all of the provinces formed the Council of the Federation.[73] The Council is an association of all provincial and territorial first ministers, and was established to allow the provinces a greater opportunity to "play a leadership role in revitalizing the Canadian federation and building a more constructive and co-operative federal system."[74] The Council meets twice a year, once each summer in the province of the chair for the upcoming year, and at another time and place determined by consensus.[75] The purpose of these meetings is to discuss matters of common concern to the provinces and to reach agreements which will "support productive discussions with the federal government on issues of importance to

---

* The Conference of First Ministers, formerly known as the Dominion-Provincial Conference, which was first held in 1906, is the official title of these meetings. However, these meetings are often referred to as First Ministers' Conferences. Canada. Office of the Prime Minister, *First Ministers' Meetings*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2005, accessed 2 September 2005), available from http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/feature.asp?featureId=2; "First Minister's Meetings," Canadian Intergovernmental Relations: Federal-Provincial Relations, *International and Intergovernmental Relations*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta), accessed 2 September 2005, available from http://www.iir.gov.ab.ca/canadian_intergovernmental_relations/federal_provincial_relations_first_ministers.asp; "The Right Honourable Martin Brian Mulroney: Opening Statement at the First Ministers' Conference on the Rights of Aboriginal Peoples, April 2–3, 1985," Speeches: Native People, *First Among Equals: The Prime Minister in Canadian Life and Politics*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 2 September 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/primeministers/h4-4021-e.htm; McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, pp. 57–58.

Canadians."[76] Additionally, Alberta participates in the Western Premiers' Conference (WPC), which is an annual meeting at which the Premiers of the four western provinces and the three territories discuss issues of mutual interest.[77]

Yet another element of the multi-faceted premiership is the Premier's role as a quasi-ambassador. The Premier is customarily the province's representative at important national meetings and social functions, and he may also participate in, or lead, diplomatic missions to other countries to enhance the province's stature abroad. Recently, the most visible of these missions have been the 'Team Canada' trade missions, which involve the federal government and the Premiers of most of the provinces.[78]

Alberta also pursues international initiatives of its own, endeavours in which the Premier plays a lead role. Peter Lougheed's 1976 tour through the United States, seeking American support for lower petrochemical tariffs in exchange for guaranteed natural gas exports; the subsequent, follow-up visits to Alberta by California Governor Edmund 'Jerry' G. Brown Jr. (1975–1983) and by United States Vice-President Walter F. Mondale (1977–1981); and Lougheed's tour of the Soviet Union, Europe and the Middle East are just a few illustrations of the Premier's quasi-diplomatic role.[79] Often, these initiatives involve issues such as shared resources and transborder infrastructure—roads, waterways and power grids—and are generally conducted on an informal basis.[80] Alberta and British Columbia have participated with 13 of the western American states in the 'Council of State Governments-West.'[*][81] At the Western Governors' Association's[†] 2004 North American Energy Summit, Premier Ralph Klein participated in round-table discussions on increasing Alberta's involvement in energy policy in the western United States.[82] The Premier's role in furthering international relations and the province's interests becomes particularly important during periods of crisis. A notable illustration was Premier Klein's meeting with American Vice-President Richard 'Dick' B. Cheney (2001– ) during lobbying efforts in Washington, DC, and New York City to reopen the American border to Canadian cattle products during the Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE) crisis (2003– ).[‡][83]

---

[*] The Council of State Governments-West, formerly known as the Western Legislative Conference, includes Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. Alberta and British Columbia are Associate Members, along with the Pacific islands of American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and Guam. *Council of State Governments-West*, [Internet], (Sacramento, CA: Council of State Governments), accessed 14 January 2006, available from http://www.csgwest.org

[†] The Western Governors' Association (WGA) is an American organization that is similar to the Western Premiers' Conference. *Western Governors' Association 2005 Annual Report: Western Leadership in the Global Economy*, [Internet], (Denver, CO: Western Governor's Association, 2005), pp. 1, 16, accessed 14 January 2006, available from http://www.westgov.org/wga/publicat/wga05.pdf

[‡] BSE, also known as 'Mad Cow Disease,' is a chronic, progressive degenerative disease of the central nervous system, fatal to cattle. BSE was first officially recognized in the United Kingdom in 1986. On May 20, 2003, the Government of Alberta and the Government of Canada jointly announced that a single case of BSE had been discovered in Alberta. Consequently, a number of countries, notably the United States and Japan, banned the import of Canadian beef products. "Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy," *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, [Internet Subscription Service], (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2006), accessed 14 February 2006, available from http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9002739; Gordon Macpherson, ed., *Black's Medical Dictionary*, 37th ed. (London: A & C Black, 1992), s.v. "Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy"; Alberta. Dept. of Agriculture Food and Rural Development, Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy Investigation in Alberta, 20 May 2003, [News Release].

Another element of the transnational role of the Premier is the establishment of international offices in various countries around the world. The oldest such office was established in London, England, in 1913.[84] Much later, Alberta opened offices in Japan (1970), Hong Kong (1980), Taiwan (1988), the Republic of Korea (1989), China (1999), Bavaria, Germany (2002), and Mexico (2002), as well as in Washington, DC, in March 2005.[85] These offices serve a variety of functions, the most important of which is to establish, maintain, or strengthen trade or business ties between the two jurisdictions.[86] Premier Klein was personally involved in opening the Bavaria office in Munich, when he participated in a Team Canada trade mission to Germany in 2002.[*][87]

The Premier of Alberta also hosts visiting dignitaries who represent other jurisdictions. In 1973, Premier Lougheed received Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India (1966–1977, 1980–1984), who was on a 'goodwill tour' of Canada.[88] In 1984, Pope John Paul II visited Alberta for the first time, and was greeted by the Premier and Mrs. Lougheed.[89] During the celebrations that took place to commemorate Alberta's 75th Anniversary as a Province in 1980, Premier Lougheed hosted a number of events in the capital and around the province.[90] On September 1, the official anniversary ceremony took place on the grounds of Alberta's Legislature Building.[91] Amongst those in attendance were Governor General Edward R. Schreyer (1979–1984) and Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau (1968–1979, 1980–1984) as well as international dignitaries, such as British High Commissioner Sir John Ford; the Lord Mayor of London, England, Sir Peter D. H. Gadsden; and a delegation of 16 people from Hokkaido, Japan.[†][92]

Very special to the people of Alberta are the periodic visits by members of the Royal Family, particularly those of the reigning monarch, and the important ceremonies that mark anniversaries in the history of the province.[‡] The Premier, representing the people of the province, is closely associated with these events, both to demonstrate loyalty to the Sovereign and to pay tribute to those Albertans who made significant contributions to the province in relation to the anniversary or event being celebrated.[93] An historic example is the 1912 visit of the

---

[*] Premier Klein has also opened trade offices in Mexico City (2002) and in Washington, DC (2005). Alberta. Dept. of International and Intergovernmental Relations. International Relations, *Mexico - Alberta Relations* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, September 2005), [p. 1]; Alberta. Office of the Premier, Premier Officially Opens Alberta Office during Mission to Washington, D.C. and Boston, 16 March 2005, [News Release].

[†] Sir Peter Gadsden was a native of Mannville, Alberta. He was invited to visit Alberta during the 75th Anniversary celebrations by a delegation from the Government of Alberta, which had travelled to London to participate in Gadsden's 1979 inauguration parade. Gadsden visited Mannville, Calgary and Fort McMurray. That same year, the delegation from Japan was on hand for the signing of the Hokkaido/Alberta Proclamation of Friendship and Affiliation, which resulted in Hokkaido and Alberta becoming sister provinces. Alberta. Dept. of Culture, *Interim Report on the 75th Anniversary Celebrations Tabled by Hon. Mary J. LeMessurier, Chairman of the 75th Anniversary Cabinet Committee, November 19, 1980* (Edmonton: Dept. of Culture, 1980), pp. 15–16; Alberta. Dept. of Culture. Alberta 75th Anniversary Commission, *Alberta, 1905–1980: A Year to Remember, Alberta 75th Anniversary Commission* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1981), pp. 31–32.

[‡] For a more detailed description of the role of the Premier during royal visits and other ceremonial and symbolic events, see the Background section *Special Events.*

Governor General of Canada (1911–1916), the Duke of Connaught,* who came to Alberta to participate in the official opening of Legislature Building. The Duke was received and hosted by Lieutenant Governor George H. V. Bulyea (1905–1915) during the official events. Premier Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917) accompanied Bulyea and the Governor General during the events held in the capital.[94] Sifton then accompanied the Governor General through the remainder of his visit, to southern Alberta.[95] A more recent example is the 2005 royal visit of Queen Elizabeth II to mark Alberta's centennial year. Premier Ralph Klein greeted the Queen during a ceremony at Commonwealth Stadium.[96] The Queen was accompanied throughout the remaining events of the royal visit by one of, and sometimes both, Lieutenant Governor Norman L. Kwong (2005– ) and the Premier.[97]

## Attaining the Position of Premier

Further aspects of the role of the Premier come to light in examining a Premier's ascent to power. Customarily, the first step towards attaining this position is becoming the leader of one's party through a party leadership contest. Since as Premier, the candidate will have the responsibility, as the most visible member of the Government, to justify his administration's platform to the Legislative Assembly and to the electorate, he must exemplify the qualities that will prove most appealing to the public, to the party, to pressure groups and to the media.[98] Because most candidates share the basic views held collectively by the party, modern leadership conventions are often won on image and personality. Winning the party leadership

> confirms a personal power base within the party that is unrivalled by any other party member. Since the image of party leader is a prime determinant of voting behaviour, leadership status is further enhanced by the electoral victory that propels a party into government office.[99]

Leading the party to victory in a general election is the next step in attaining, or retaining, the premiership.[100] Although a variety of social, economic, cultural and ideological forces no doubt affect election results, they are not all-pervasive; the individual party leader can exert considerable influence over the outcome of an election.[101] Effective campaigning is a means of impressing the public, which frequently involves extensive travel and public speaking. An aspiring Premier, as leader of the party, must play a major role in making the party's philosophy or platform attractive to all voters. The party must not only retain the support of the "party faithful," but it must also try to win the favour of "non-committed voters."[102] For candidates hoping to become Premier for the first time, the challenge is to secure the support and trust of those within the electorate who have voted for another party in a previous election. On the other hand, Premiers who wish to remain in office cannot afford to neglect campaigning or to underestimate public opinion, for, as one writer has noted, "a Prime Minister [or Premier] who wishes to retain office has to fight an election campaign, not just in the few weeks before polling day but throughout his period of office."[103]

---

* Canada's 10th Governor General, Prince Arthur, First Duke of Connaught, was the first member of the Royal Family to serve in this role. He was the third son of Queen Victoria and the uncle of King George V. Canada. Governor General, "Field Marshall His Royal Highness the Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn," Former Governors General, *Governor General of Canada*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Governor General, 2002), accessed 5 April 2006, available from http://www.gg.ca/gg/fgg/bios/01/connaught_e.asp

The Premier, as a Member of the Legislative Assembly,* represents a constituency and thus has obligations to fulfill on behalf his constituents, who, it must be remembered, are chiefly responsible for his elevation to a position of power. To retain office, the Premier must ensure his re-election as a Member by continually acknowledging and responding to the concerns of his constituents.[104] If a Premier loses the election in his own constituency, he remains Premier, but he is unable to take a seat in the Assembly and is not able to participate in Assembly proceedings. To prevent such a situation from occurring, frequently an unseated party leader secures a new seat in the Assembly by running in a by-election. This often requires an elected Member of the governing caucus to voluntarily resign his seat to make room for the party leader, as was the case after the defeat of Premier Getty in the March 1989 general election.†[105]

An important factor in election campaigning is personal image. The influence of a party leader's persona, which proves highly significant during party leadership contests, remains central in provincial general elections, which likewise "have frequently been fought on personalities rather than on principles."[106] Indeed, this "emphasis on personality," which is most visible during party leadership contests and general election campaigns, "provides a degree of flexibility for the party system."[107] It makes possible dramatic changes in direction, in that the emergence of a new leader can significantly change a party's image, and its electoral prospects. An illustration of the effect that a charismatic leader can have on an election campaign was apparent in the 1971 'Now' campaign of the Progressive Conservatives. Party leader Peter Lougheed made effective use of television appearances and greeted many individual voters door-to-door throughout the province. These tactics were extremely successful and contributed to his Party's election win.[108] The Progressive Conservatives were able to portray their leader and their Party in general as being "youthful, urban, dynamic [and] modern."[109] But more than skilful campaigning is necessary to secure an election victory. Ideally, an aspiring Premier or Prime Minister also demonstrates sensitivity to the sometimes capricious moods and attitudes of the electorate, and is "not only a close student of public opinion,"[110] deftly taking the public pulse, but is also an expert advocate of the party platform, convincingly promoting party policy.[111]

Once successful in achieving office, the Premier works diligently to retain power by 'selling' the Government's record and agenda. The new Premier has to establish and maintain party unity and solidarity; however, it is also critical at this point to advance the interests of the province as a

---

* Interestingly, there have been a number of instances over the course of Alberta's history in which a Premier was sworn as President of the Executive Council before he became a Member of the Legislative Assembly. The following individuals all became Premier before they held seats in the Assembly: Alexander C. Rutherford, Arthur L. W. Sifton, Herbert Greenfield, William Aberhart and Donald R. Getty.

† On election night, March 20, 1989, 24 Progressive Conservative Members lost their seats to 16 New Democrat and eight Liberal challengers. Amongst the seats lost was that of Premier Getty himself, who was defeated by Liberal candidate Percy D. Wickman (Member for Edmonton-Whitemud). Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *The Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the General Election of the Twenty-Second Legislative Assembly Monday, March 20, 1989* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1989), Appendix B, p. B7. The Progressive Conservative Member for Stettler, Brian C. Downey, resigned his seat, and Premier Getty was elected in a by-election held on May 9, 1989. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the Stettler By-Election Held Tuesday, May 9, 1989* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1989), pp. 1, 3.

Premier D.R. Getty at podium during the opening of the Bank of Montreal Building, Edmonton (n.d.).

whole.[112] The Premier's public-relations role, so critical during an election campaign, can by no means be neglected after assuming office; a "flow of information between government and people is necessary if the public is to be able to identify with its [government]."[113] Indeed, according to former British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli (1868, 1874–1880), "without publicity there can be no public spirit, and without public spirit every nation must decay."[114] Regular general elections mean that a Government's hold on its place in power is tenuous insofar as it rests on the public's approval. Fulfilling election campaign promises is one obvious method of keeping an electorate pleased.[115] Premiers, like all public figures, "ignore the art of public relations at their peril."[116]

With regard to the retention of power, personality and leadership once again prove instrumental to a Government leader's success, especially because the populace comes to see the leader as the symbol of the entire governmental apparatus.[117] For the public, the persona of the Premier becomes the focus: "Public expectations of what he can *personally* achieve in office are inevitably raised, and policy successes or failures are attributed to his strengths or weaknesses."[118] In fact, Premiers become such a "part of the public consciousness" that Governments often come to be known by the names of their leaders—for example the 'Brownlee Government' or the 'Manning Years'—as opposed to being called the United Farmers of Alberta Government or the Social Credit administration.[119]

## Office of the Premier

Central to the effectiveness of the role of a provincial first minister today is the Office of the Premier. The Premier's Office is the organizational unit that supports and advises the Premier. In serving the Premier, it performs many important duties, which can generally be divided into three primary categories. The first function is simply to provide the necessary secretarial and administrative support needed by the Premier. This support includes essential tasks such as handling correspondence from the public, the media, Members of the Legislative Assembly and others; distributing memoranda to Government departments; and organizing the Premier's schedule.[120] The second principal function is to ensure that the Premier is well-informed about the affairs of all government departments so that he can effectively perform his role as head of government.[121] The third function is to provide the Premier with strategic advice on current affairs, and on such topics as party and public opinion, so that he can make suitable policy decisions.[122]

The development of the Office of the Premier as both a coordinating and advisory body is a relatively recent one. Although there was an Office of the Premier under Premier Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968), it comprised only an Executive Secretary and a small clerical staff.[123] Premier Harry E. Strom (1968–1971) expanded the Premier's Office to include a larger support staff of assistants and consultants and established a branch office in Calgary.[124] It was under

Strom's premiership that the Office of the Premier began to develop into an advisory body. Strom appointed three of his leadership campaign organizers to be special assistants and consultants in the Premier's Office. During his premiership, these consultants frequently gave Strom advice on policy initiatives and on modernizing the Social Credit caucus.[125] However, although the advisory and coordinating role of the Office of the Premier had begun under Strom, it was the 1971 appointment of Premier Lougheed that was the watershed moment for the development of the modern Office of the Premier in Alberta.[126]

The Premier's office in the Alberta Legislature Building (2003).

By the late 1960s, Alberta's increasing population and burgeoning economy, resulting in part from the booming petroleum and petrochemical industries, gradually increased the complexity of the governance process.[127] It became necessary for the offices supporting the Premier and Cabinet to expand in numbers and specialization of staff to address these changes. Upon his appointment to the premiership, Lougheed found that few formalized structures to facilitate the decision-making process existed within the Government of Alberta.[128] He believed that his Government would need "a significant staff of senior people involved as back up resources, much like the privy council in Ottawa."[129] Thus, he reorganized the civil service at the Deputy Minister level and appointed a group of trusted individuals to positions within it.[130] Throughout the early 1970s, Lougheed established positions that were to improve coordination between the Premier's Office, the Executive Council Office (ECO) and the ministries. These included an Administrator to the Executive Council, to coordinate with the ECO; an Executive Assistant to the Premier, to advise the Premier on policy matters; an Executive Secretary to the Premier, to coordinate the Premier's clerical staff and to serve as a gatekeeper; a Press Secretary, to advise the Premier on public relations matters and communications with the media; and a Director of the Southern Alberta Premier's Office, to provide whatever support the Premier needed regarding the southern part of the province.[131] Most notably, in 1976, Lougheed appointed an Executive Director of the Premier's Office.[132] This position, also known as the Chief of Staff, answered directly to the Premier and oversaw all operations of the Office of the Premier.[133] The structure and role of the Premier's Office, with minor organizational changes, remained stable throughout Lougheed's tenure and those of his successors, Premiers Getty and Klein.[134]

Under Premier Klein, the Chief of Staff coordinates the duties of four other notable officials. One is the Deputy Chief of Staff, who assists the Chief of Staff and handles the day-to-day functions of the Premier's Office, including financial and human resources management.[135] The Deputy Chief of Staff also coordinates the Government's legislative agenda and serves as a liaison between the Premier's Office and Government Committees, the Cabinet and the caucus.[136] Another key position, the Director of Communications, is responsible for coordinating and disseminating information from the Premier's Office to the media, and for advising the Premier and Executive Council on communications strategies.[137] A Director of Scheduling organizes the Premier's day-to-day schedule and coordinates travel itineraries, appointments and briefings. The individual filling this role arranges access to the Premier through meetings and conferences as well as responses to invitations.[138] The fourth of the major posts in the Premier's Office is that of the Executive Director, Southern Alberta Office of the Premier. This position provides all of the administrative support required by the Premier and responds to most media and public information requests from the areas in the south of the province.[139]

### Deputy Premier

In describing the role of the Premier, it is also appropriate to examine the role played by the Deputy Premier. The role of Deputy Premier is modelled on that of the Deputy Prime Minister. Deputy Premier, like Deputy Prime Minister, "is strictly an honorary title conferred at the discretion of the [Premier] on a member of the Cabinet. It has no standing in law, and does not carry any formal duties or tasks, though the [Premier] may negotiate or assign specific tasks in conjunction with the title."[140] The duties of the Deputy Premier are performed in addition to other Cabinet duties for which this individual is responsible.* However, "Deputy Premiers are not merely administrative conveniences"; their "presence denotes another power centre in cabinet."[141] In 1971, Premier Lougheed explained that the 'unusual' step of appointing a Deputy Premier was to 'avoid being tied to a desk,' and to allow him increased flexibility to create greater opportunities to meet with Albertans. He said that "Dr. [Hugh] Horner, as Deputy Premier, will be able to handle various delegations to the Government and permit me to travel extensively across the province."[142] Since this initial appointment, the Deputy Premier has, in effect, become a 'second-in-command' to the Premier and often serves as 'Acting-Premier,' be it in the House or at important functions, during the absence of the Premier. He or she might also act as the Government's representative at functions or events that the Premier is unable to attend.[143]

### Conclusion

The importance of leadership in parliamentary democracies cannot be overestimated, and its particular impact on Alberta's legislative tradition cannot be overstated. It has even been said that "since 1935, leadership has probably been the single most important factor in Alberta politics … . Indeed, this emphasis on leadership has sometimes bordered on hero worship."[144] Over the course of Alberta's parliamentary history, the characters and personalities of certain Premiers have proven vital to their enduring electoral success. The Premier functions as the most prominent

---

* For example, Alberta's Shirley McClellan, after winning her fifth consecutive election, was appointed Deputy Premier and Minister of Agriculture, Food and Rural Development, on March 19, 2001. The Hon. Kenneth R. Kowalski, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta (1997– ), served as Deputy Premier from December 15, 1992 to October 20, 1994. During that period, he also held the positions of Minister of Public Works, Supply and Services, Minister of Economic Development and Tourism and Goverment House Leader, and was Minister responsible for a number of government agencies. "Biography for Honourable Shirley McClellan," Elected Members, *Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 25 November 2004), accessed 14 January 2006, available from http://www.assembly.ab.ca/net/index.aspx?p=mla_bio&rnumber=52

and influential member of Alberta's governing executive, and his character determines how effectively this influence is employed for the success of his party, his Government and, most importantly, for the success of the Province of Alberta.

## Notes

[1] *British North America Act, 1867* (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3; *North-West Territories Act, 1875*, S.C. 1875, c. 49; *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19; *An Act further to amend the Acts respecting the North-west Territories*, S.C. 1897, c. 28; *An Act to amend the Acts respecting the North-West Territories*, S.C. 1891, c. 22; *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3. Note that the name of the *British North America Act, 1867* was changed in 1982 to the *Constitution Act, 1867*. For more information, see the Glossary.

[2] Christopher Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," in *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics*, ed. Christopher Dunn (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996), p. 165.

[3] Walter D. Young and J. Terence Morley, "The Premier and the Cabinet," in *The Reins of Power: Governing British Columbia*, ed. J. Terence Morley et al. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), p. 54.

[4] Ibid., p. 55.

[5] Rand Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, 4th ed. (Scarborough, ON: Nelson, 2004), p. 502; Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," pp. 168–169.

[6] Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," pp. 168–169.

[7] F. L. Morton, "The Living Constitution," in *Introductory Readings in Canadian Government and Politics*, 1st ed., ed. R. H. and Robert M. Krause Wagenburg (Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman, 1991), pp. 45–46.

[8] Ronald Ian Cheffins, "The Royal Prerogative and the Office of the Lieutenant Governor," *Canadian Parliamentary Review* vol. 23, no. 1 (Spring 2000): p. 15; *British North America Act, 1867* (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict. c. 3, ss. 57, 90.

[9] Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), pp. 273–274; John T. Saywell, *The Office of Lieutenant-Governor: A Study in Canadian Government and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957; reprint, Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), pp. 215–218; J. R. Mallory, *Social Credit and the Federal Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954), p. 87; Eugene A. Forsey, "Canada and Alberta: The Revival of Dominion Control over the Province," *Politica* vol. 4 (June 1939): p. 110.

[10] Eugene A. Forsey, *How Canadians Govern Themselves*, 5th ed. (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, Public Information Office, 2003), pp. 4–5.

[11] Robert Marleau and Camille Montpetit, eds., *House of Commons Procedure and Practice* (Ottawa: Chenelière/McGraw-Hill, 2000), p. 43.

[12] Andrew Heard, *Canadian Constitutional Conventions: The Marriage of Law and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 34–35.

[13] Marleau and Montpetit, eds., *House of Commons Procedure and Practice*, p. 44.

[14] John McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics: A Guide to Important Terms and Concepts*, 3rd ed. (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), p. 215.

[15] Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, pp. 591–592; R. M. Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, Canadian Controversies Series (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977), p. 122.

[16] John E. Brownlee, Interview by Una McLean, 28 March–12 May 1961, [Transcript], p. 13, United Farmers of Alberta Oral History Project Collection, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M-4079.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 5th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XVIII, 10 March 1922, pp. 97–99; *The Dairymen's Act*, S.A. 1907, c. 16; *An Act to amend The Dairymen's Act*, S.A. 1922, c. 75; Brownlee, Interview by Maclean, 28 March–12 May 1961, pp. 15–16.

[19] Brownlee, Interview by Maclean, 28 March–12 May 1961, pp. 15–16.

[20] Carl Frederick Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship between the Agricultural Organization and the Government of Alberta" (MA Thesis, University of Alberta, Fall 1971), p. 54.

[21] Bob Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 138.

[22] Alvin Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 61–62.

[23] Ibid., pp. 58–62.

[24] Frederick C. Engelmann, "The Legislature," in *Government and Politics in Alberta*, ed. Allan Tupper and Roger Gibbins (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), p. 145.

[25] Keith Brownsey, "The Post-Institutionalized Cabinet: The Administrative Style of Alberta," in *Executive Styles in Canada: Cabinet Structures and Leadership Practices in Canadian Government*, ed. Luc Bernier, Keith Brownsey, and Michael Howlett, Institute of Public Administration of Canada Series in Public Management and Governance (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 219, 221; "Government-at-a-Glance: Government Committees," *Government of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1995–2006), accessed 14 February 2006, available from http://www.gov.ab.ca/home/index.cfm?Page=24

[26] Brownsey, "The Post-Institutionalized Cabinet," p. 219.

[27] Ibid., pp. 221–222.

[28] "Agenda & Priorities Committee," Government-at-a-Glance: Government Committees, *Government of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Alberta Protocol Office, 1995–2006), accessed 3 March 2006, available from http://www.gov.ab.ca/home/index.cfm?Page=63

[29] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, p. 119–120.

[30] Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," p. 165.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, p. 58.

[33] Norman Wilding and Philip Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, 4th rev. ed. (London: Cassell, 1972), p. 67.

[34] Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1908 ed. (Ottawa: E. J. Chambers, 1908), p. 450; "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 1, 31 October 1905, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 3.

[35] Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada: Towards the Turn of the Century*, 3rd ed. (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1996), p. 15.

[36] Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1992 ed. (Toronto: Globe and Mail Publishing, 1992), pp. 490–491.

[37] Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1993 ed. (Toronto: Globe and Mail Publishing, 1993), pp. 501–502; Patrick Nagle, "Klein Reduces Size of Cabinet to Show He's Cost-Conscious," *Vancouver Sun*, 2 July 1993, p. A6; Evert A. Lindquist and Karen B. Murray, "Administrative Reform During the Early 1990s," in *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics*, ed. Christopher Dunn (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996), p. 280.

[38] Young and Morley, "The Premier and the Cabinet," p. 60.

[39] Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada*, p. 15; Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, p. 65.

[40] Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," p. 169.

[41] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, pp. 180–181.

[42] David G. Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1985), pp. 93–94; Allan Hustak, *Peter Lougheed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), pp. 97, 139.

[43] Stuart Barber, "City Must Be On Klein Team: Edmonton Misses the Boat When It Has No Voice in Cabinet," [Editorial], *Edmonton Journal*, 15 January 1997, p. A11.

[44] Nagle, "Klein Reduces Size of Cabinet," p. A6.

[45] "Edmonton's Voice in Cabinet Grows: Premier Klein Mixes and Matches to Boost Total Number by 4 to 24," *Edmonton Journal*, 17 March 2001, p. A7.

[46] Young and Morley, "The Premier and the Cabinet," p. 61.

[47] Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, pp. 68–69.

[48] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, pp. 62–63.

[49] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, p. 228; Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, p. 68; Young and Morley, "The Premier and the Cabinet," pp. 54–55; Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," p. 168.

[50] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, p. 228.

[51] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, p. 70.

[52] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, p. 228.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, p. 580.

[56] Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, p. 481.

[57] Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada*, p. 15.

[58] Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," p. 168.

[59] Alistair Fraser, W. F. Dawson and John A. Holtby, *Beauchesne's Rules & Forms of the House of Commons of Canada with Annotations, Comments and Precedents*, 6th ed. (Toronto: Carswell Co., 1989), p. 4, s. 3.

[60] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, p. 243.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., p. 244.

[63] Marleau and Montpetit, eds., *House of Commons Procedure and Practice*, p. 432.

[64] Frank Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature: A Celebration* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1987), p. 48.

[65] David John Carter, Interview by LAO Staff, October 2003–February 2004.

[66] Franklin L. Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography* (Lloydminster, AB: Foster Learning, 1996), pp. 64, 107; "Brownlee Succeeds Greenfield as Premier," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 23 November 1925, p. 1.

[67] David R. Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* (Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1987), p. 281; "Social Credit Not Forsaken - Premier Aberhart," *Albertan* (Calgary), 18 February 1939, p. 1.

[68] *The Canadian Encyclopedia 2000 World Edition*, [CD-ROM], (n.p.: McClelland & Stewart, 1999), s.v. "Commonwealth (The British)."

[69] "About Us: History," *CPA: Commonwealth Parliamentary Association*, [Internet], (Ethical Media), accessed 8 June 2006, available from http://www.cpahq.org/aboutus/History/

[70] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Members' Guide: Information for Members on Indemnities, Benefits, Allowances, Services, House Procedure and Interparliamentary Relations* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, October 2005), ss. 112–114.

[71] Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, pp. 428–431, 656; McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, pp. 57–58; Donald C. Wallace, "Friends and Foes: Prime Ministers and Premiers in Intergovernmental Relations," in *Prime Ministers and Premiers: Political Leadership and Public Policy in Canada*, ed. Leslie A. Pal and David Taras (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988), pp. 71–74.

[72] Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, p. 430.

[73] Richard Foot, "New Council to Give Voice to Regions," *National Post*, 6 December 2003, p. A4.

[74] Canada. Meeting of the Premiers on the Council of the Federation, *Council of the Federation Founding Agreement* (Charlottetown: Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat, 2003), pp. 1–2.

[75] Ibid., p. 4.

[76] Ibid., p. 3.

[77] "Participating Governments," *Western Premiers' Conference 2004: Inuvik, Northwest Territories, July 7 to 9, 2004*, accessed 14 February 2006, available from http://www.gov.nt.ca/wpc2004/participants/index.htm; "Western Premiers' Conference," Canadian Intergovernmental Relations: Interprovincial Relations, *International and Intergovernmental Relations*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2004), accessed 14 February 2006, available from http://www.iir.gov.ab.ca/canadian_intergovernmental_relations/interprovincial_relations_western_premiers_conference.asp

[78] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Klein to Join Team Canada and Lead Mission to Asia, 30 January 2002, [News Release]; Bruce Wallace, "'We've Ignored Europe': Klein: Chretien, Premiers Want More Trade with Europe," *Ottawa Citizen*, 22 February 2002, p. E3; Kim Richard Nossal, "Anything But Provincial: The Provinces and Foreign Affairs," in *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics*, ed. Christopher Dunn (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996), p. 509.

[79] Hustak, *Peter Lougheed*, pp. 216–218, 229–237.

[80] Nossal, "Anything But Provincial," p. 510.

[81] Ibid., pp. 510– 511.

[82] "WGA's North American Energy Summit to Mobilize Efforts for Secure Energy Future," Press Release, *Western Governors' Association*, [Internet], (Denver, CO: Western Governors' Association, 15 January 2004), accessed 3 March 2006, available from http://www.westgov.org/wga/press/energy-summit.htm; Stephen Handelman, "49th Parallel: A Place in the Sun," *Time (Canadian Edition)* vol. 163, no. 17 (26 April 2004): p. 35; "Leaders Meet for Power Talks," *Calgary Herald*, 13 April 2004, p. D2.

[83] Tom Olson, "Klein Hopes to Cash in U.S. Chips: Premier Could Help Resume Beef Exports," *Calgary Herald,* 23 June 2003, p. A1; "Final Report: Premier Klein's Mission to Washington, D.C. and New York, June 22–23, 2003," International and Intergovernmental Relations, *Government of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2003), accessed 14 January 2006, available from http://www.iir.gov.ab.ca/international_relations/pdfs/(3.7.1)%202003Wash_and_NYMissionReport.pdf; Nossal, "Anything But Provincial," pp. 503, 505, 507–511.

[84] Alberta. Dept. of International and Intergovernmental Relations. International Relations, *United Kingdom - Alberta Relations* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, April 2006), [p. 1].

[85] *Premier's Mission to Japan and China, 1999: Mission Report* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1999), pp. 5, 8; Alberta. Dept. of International and Intergovernmental Relations. International Relations, *Taiwan - Alberta Relations* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, March 2005), [p. 1]; Alberta. Dept. Of International and Intergovernmental Relations. International Relations, *Republic of Korea - Alberta Relations* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, October 2005), [p. 1]; Alberta. Office of the Premier, Premier Officially Opens Alberta Office during Mission to Washington, D.C. and Boston, 16 March 2005, [News Release]; Alberta. Dept. of International and Intergovernmental Relations. International Relations, *Germany - Alberta Relations* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, August 2005), [p. 1]; Alberta. Dept. of International and Intergovernmental Relations. International Relations, *Mexico - Alberta Relations* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, September 2005), [p. 1].

[86] *Alberta Mexico Office*, [Internet], (Government of Alberta, 2006), accessed 16 May 2006, available from http://www.alberta-canada.com/mexico; *Alberta Taiwan Office*, [Internet], (Government of Alberta, 2006), accessed 26 July 2006, available from http://www.alberta-canada.com/taiwan; *Alberta Japan Office*, [Internet], (Government of Alberta), accessed 16 May 2006, available from http://www.altanet.or.jp

[87] Alberta. Dept. of International and Intergovernmental Relations. International Relations, *Germany - Alberta Relations*, [p. 1].

[88] "Friendly Reception: Gandhi Finds Peace in West," *Calgary Herald*, 23 June 1973, p. 2.

[89] "Cheering Thousands Welcome Pope John Paul," *Edmonton Journal*, 17 September 1984, p. 2.

[90] Alberta. Dept. of Culture. Alberta 75th Anniversary Commission, *Alberta, 1905–1980: A Year To Remember, Alberta 75th Anniversary Commission* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1981), p. 31.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid., pp. 31–32; Alberta. Dept. of Culture, *Interim Report on the 75th Anniversary Celebrations Tabled by Hon. Mary J. LeMessurier Chairman of the 75th Anniversary Cabinet Committee, November 19, 1980* (Edmonton: Dept. of Culture, 1980), pp. 15–16.

[93] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, p. 51.

[94] "Edmonton Will Be in Gala Attire to Welcome Duke," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 3 September 1912, p. 22; "Duke Opened New Alberta Buildings," *Globe* (Toronto), 5 September 1912, p. 11; "Royalty Banquetted in New Legislative Building," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 4 September 1912, p. 10.

[95] "Duke Saw Great Crops of Grain," *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 9 September 1912, p. 5.

[96] David Howell, Sarah O'Donnell and Elizabeth Withey, "Crowds Brave Rain to Meet the Queen: Edmonton Visit Kicks Off Centenary," *National Post*, 24 May 2005, p. A6; "Royal Visit 2005," *Government of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2005), accessed 18 February 2006, available from http://www.gov.ab.ca/premier/royalvisit/index_the_visit.cfm

[97] Alberta. Dept. of Community Development, The Provincial Museum of Alberta to be Renamed During Royal Visit, 6 May 2005, [News Release]; David Howell and Elizabeth Withey, "Queen Opens 'Royal Museum'," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 May 2005, p. B1; Tamara Cherry, "John A. Macdonald Ready to Meet The Queen," *Calgary Herald*, 13 May 2005, p. B3; Emma Poole, "A Feast Made in Calgary: An 'Honour, Privilege ... and Nerve Racking'," *Calgary Herald*, 26 May 2005, p. B4.

[98] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, pp. 7–8, 22–23.

[99] Norman J. Ruff, "Premier," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Year 2000 ed., ed. James H. Marsh (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999), p. 1892.

[100] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, pp. 22–24.

[101] Keith Archer, "Voting Behaviour and Political Dominance, 1971–1991," in *Government and Politics in Alberta*, ed. Allan Tupper and Roger Gibbins (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), p. 111; Nelson Wiseman, "The Pattern of Prairie Leadership," in *Prime Ministers and Premiers: Political Leadership and Public Policy in Canada*, ed. Leslie A. Pal and David Taras (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988), p. 190; Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada*, p. 516.

[102] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, p. 20.

[103] Ibid., p. 23.

[104] Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, pp. 591–593.

[105] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *The Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the General Election of the Twenty-Second Legislative Assembly Monday, March 20, 1989* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1989), Appendix B, p. B7; Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, "By-elections 1979–2002," Comparative Statistics, *Elections Alberta: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Elections Alberta), accessed 9 October 2005, available from http://www.electionsalberta.ab.ca/statistics.html

[106] Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, p. 580.

[107] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, pp. 51–52.

[108] Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, pp. 73–78.

[109] Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada*, p. 540; David K. Elton and Arthur M. Goddard, "The Conservative Takeover, 1971– ," in *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers*, ed. Carlo Caldarola (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979), pp. 52–59.

[110] Ivor Jennings, *Cabinet Government*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 173.

[111] Ibid.; Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, p. 23.

[112] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, p. 20.

[113] Ibid., p. 23.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Allan Kornberg, William Mishler and Harold D. Clarke, *Representative Democracy in the Canadian Provinces* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1982), p. 110.

[116] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, p. 22.

[117] Ibid., p. 51.

[118] Ibid., p. 53.

[119] David Taras and Leslie A. Pal, "The Changing Faces of Political Power in Canada," in *Prime Ministers and Premiers: Political Leadership and Public Policy in Canada*, ed. Leslie A. Pal and David Taras (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988), p. xiii.

[120] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, pp. 74–75; "How Government Works," Employee Information Centre, *Government of Alberta Personnel Administration Office*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2004), accessed 3 March 2006, available from http://www.pao.gov.ab.ca/infocentre/government/govt%2Dworks/

[121] Punnett, *The Prime Minister in Canadian Government and Politics*, p. 75.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Alberta. Public Affairs Bureau, *Government Services Guide 1968* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1968), p. T1.

[124] Alberta. Public Affairs Bureau, *Government Services Guide 1969* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1969), p. T1; Wendy Coffin, *The Reorganization of the Alberta Government Under the Lougheed Administration* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1976), p. 4.

[125] John J. Barr, *The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), pp. 173, 190–192.

[126] Brownsey, "The Post-Institutionalized Cabinet," pp. 208, 210, 217.

[127] Ibid., p. 208.

[128] Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," p. 187; Brownsey, "The Post-Institutionalized Cabinet," p. 217; Leslie A. Pal, "The Political Executive and Political Leadership in Alberta," in *Government and Politics in Alberta*, ed. Allan Tupper and Roger Gibbins (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), p. 20.

[129] Hustak, *Peter Lougheed*, p. 140.

[130] Ibid., pp. 140–142.

[131] Brownsey, "The Post-Institutionalized Cabinet," pp. 217–218; Alberta. Public Affairs Bureau, *Government Services Guide 1972* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1972), pp. i, v; Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, pp. 84–85.

[132] Alberta. Public Affairs Bureau, *Government of Alberta Telephone Directory of Departments, Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Key Personnel, March 1976* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta), p. 5; Wood, The Lougheed Legacy, pp. 84–85.

[133] Brownsey, "The Post-Institutionalized Cabinet," pp. 217–218.

[134] Ibid., p. 218; Pal, "The Political Executive and Political Leadership in Alberta," p. 22.

[135] "Cabinet and Alberta Executive Council Office," Alberta Office of the Premier, *Government of Alberta Personnel Administration Office*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 2004), accessed 14 January 2006, available from http://www.pao.gov.ab.ca/staff/execsrch/dm-adm-orientation/govtworks/office-of-the-premier.htm

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Canada. Library of Parliament, "Deputy Prime Minister of Canada: 1977 to Date," House of Commons - Historical Information, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 9 October 2005, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp

[141] Dunn, "Premiers and Cabinets," p. 182.

[142] "PCs Enlarge Cabinet at Alberta Takeover; Name Deputy Premier," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 11 September 1971, p. 11.

[143] Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, "Treasury Board of Canada Main Estimates: Privy Council Department," Estimates for the Government of Canada and Other Supporting Documents, *Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat*, [Internet], (Ottawa: 2003–2004), accessed 10 October 2005, available from http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/est-pre/20032004/page.asp?page=002_e_275.htm; Monte Stewart, "MLAs Can't Play When Klein's Away," *Calgary Herald*, 26 March 1995, p. A4; Sydney Sharpe, "Gender Not a Barrier in Politics," *Calgary Herald*, 16 March 2001, p. A25.

[144] Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada*, p. 516.

# Leader of the Opposition

# LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

The position of Leader of the Opposition is an important one in Alberta's parliamentary system, as it is in other jurisdictions that adhere to the Westminster tradition. The Leader of the Official Opposition presides over the caucus that wins the second largest number of seats in the Legislative Assembly and *opposes* the Government caucus, holding it to account by challenging its policies and initiatives. In effect, the Leader of the Opposition is the Premier's opposite.[1] As with the positions of Premier or Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition is not mentioned in the Constitution. Rather, this role has evolved out of practice, legislation and the development of procedural rules, although it has emerged much more recently than the position of the first minister.[2]

Parliamentary governance is an adversarial system characterized by debate between those who form the Government and those who form the Opposition. The existence of a vigorous opposition that questions and holds the Government accountable for its actions is not an expression of disloyalty.[3] Rather, this dialogue, following strict rules of procedure, is necessary for the proper functioning of the Westminster parliamentary system by allowing for "potent government and political stability … along with political accountability through debate."[4] In fact, the caucus that forms the Official Opposition is formally termed 'Her/His Majesty's Loyal Opposition' or simply 'His/Her Majesty's Opposition.'[5] Reportedly, the phrase 'His Majesty's Opposition' was first used in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom in 1826 by John C. Hobhouse, who employed it to emphasize that, although his caucus was opposed to the Government, it remained loyal to the Crown and to the United Kingdom.[6]

Parliamentary procedure provides that the party that secures the largest number of seats in a Legislative Assembly will form the Government; all other parties will then form the Opposition. Typically, the leader of the caucus with the second-largest number of seats receives the designation of Leader of the Official Opposition,* and takes his or her seat in the Chamber directly across from the first minister.[7] The Official Opposition is seen as being a 'government-in-waiting,' or an alternative government to the one currently in power.[8] If the Government loses the confidence of the Legislative Assembly, the role of the Lieutenant Governor comes into play.[9]

---

* There have been exceptions to this common practice. In 1921, the western-based Progressives elected the second-largest number of Members to the federal Parliament, including 10 United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) Members. However, the Progressives refused to accept the designation of Official Opposition, characterizing it as contrary to their belief in non-partisanship. Their refusal meant that the third-ranking Conservative Party became the Official Opposition. Also, after the 1925 election, the federal Conservative Party elected the largest number of Members of Parliament and expected to form the Government. However, the second-place Liberal Party, which ordinarily would have formed the Official Opposition, held onto power with the assistance of the third-place Progressives and the Labour and Independent Members of Parliament. John McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics: A Guide to Important Terms and Concepts*, 3rd ed. (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), pp. 203–204; John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, *Canada, 1922–1939: Decades of Discord*, The Canadian Centenary Series, no. 15 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), pp. 27–28, 117–120.

In an instance such as this, the Premier typically seeks from the Lieutenant Governor the dissolution* of the Legislature.[10] By convention, the Lieutenant Governor usually accepts the Premier's advice. If the Lieutenant Governor chooses to give another caucus the opportunity to form a government, he or she would almost certainly turn to the Official Opposition, as it is the group most likely to secure the confidence of the Legislative Assembly. The Official Opposition was likely to have been the caucus that had introduced the motion of no-confidence, which defeated the Government.[11]

Although all Members not in the government caucus are considered to be the Opposition, the Official Opposition is expected to take the lead role in holding the Government accountable by examining, evaluating and questioning Government decisions and legislation and by suggesting alternative courses of action.[12] To help his group work more efficiently, the Leader of the Opposition organizes the members of his caucus into a 'shadow cabinet.' In the shadow cabinet, Members of the Official Opposition are assigned the role of critics of specific Government portfolios. This arrangement allows them to concentrate their efforts on analyzing the policies and legislation coming from particular Government ministries.[13] Another possible benefit of this practice is that, if the Official Opposition finds itself forming the Government after a vote of no-confidence or an election, it has a body of Members with knowledge of certain portfolios, potentially a ready-made Cabinet.[14] Ideally, as in Cabinet, shadow cabinets include only the most experienced Opposition Members. However, in Alberta, because the number of Opposition Members in the Legislative Assembly has tended to be small, all Official Opposition Members are often included in the shadow cabinet, and each Member frequently has had to cover more than one portfolio.[15]

Even though the Official Opposition often acts in concert with the other opposition parties, the leader of the party that forms the Official Opposition receives additional funding and procedural benefits to enable him and his party to function more effectively as the chief critics of the Government.[16] In a departure from the general course of parliamentary development, the Canadian Parliament took the lead role in the Commonwealth by establishing, in 1905, the provision of granting the Leader of the Opposition added financial benefits. The Parliament of the United Kingdom did not make this provision until 1937.[17]

The history of the position of Leader of the Official Opposition in Alberta is a convoluted one. Alberta's first election resulted in an overwhelming majority for the Liberal Party under Premier Alexander C. Rutherford (1905–1910). The Conservative Party had elected only three Members to the 25-seat Legislative Assembly, and the leader of the Conservatives, Richard B. Bennett (1905), had failed to win his seat.† Therefore, the position of Leader of the

---

* There have been examples in which the Government resigns instead of seeking dissolution. Robert Marleau and Camille Montpetit, eds., *House of Commons Procedure and Practice* (Ottawa: Chenelière/McGraw-Hill, 2000), pp. 43, 43n28.

† Bennett was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta in the 1909 provincial election. He would serve as Leader of the Opposition for the First Session of the Second Legislature, after which he resigned from the Legislative Assembly and entered federal politics. He later became Canada's 11th Prime Minister (1930–1935).

A.J. Robertson, Member (Conservative) for High River, Alberta's first Leader of the Opposition (1906–1909).

Opposition was filled by Albert J. Robertson (1906–1909), Conservative Member for High River.[*][18] In 1909, the Legislative Assembly passed the Legislative Assembly of Alberta Act, which outlined the procedures of the Assembly. The Act made no mention of a Leader of the Official Opposition.[19]

In 1913, during the First Session of the Third Legislature, the Government of Premier Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917) proposed increases in salaries for all Members of the Executive Council and the Leader of the Opposition.[20] The Leader of the Opposition would receive an extra indemnity of $2,500 in addition to his regular Member's sessional indemnity.[21] Premier Sifton argued that the extra indemnity was deserved and needed because "the Leader of the Opposition was put to a considerable amount of expenditure above that paid by private members."[22] Surprisingly, the Opposition (Conservative) caucus voted against both the increase in Cabinet members' indemnities and the granting of an indemnity to their own leader.[23] Despite the efforts of the Conservatives, the measure amending the *Legislative Assembly Act* was passed and the extra funding was granted.[†][24]

---

[*] There have been periods in Alberta's history in which the leader of the Opposition caucus did not have a seat in the Legislative Assembly. In these cases, an elected member of the Opposition caucus has often served as House Leader. For example, in 1926, the leaderless Liberal caucus selected John C. Bowen (future Lieutenant Governor, 1937–1950), to serve as House Leader and as Leader of the Opposition. Joseph T. Shaw was eventually selected as the Liberal Party leader, but he did not have a seat in the Assembly. Bowen would continue to serve as Liberal House Leader and as Acting Leader of the Opposition. "J. C. Bowen Succeeds Mitchell as Liberal Chief," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 15 March 1926, p. 1; "Alberta Liberals to Select Leader," *Globe* (Toronto), 2 April 1926, p. 18; "Shaw is Endorsed as Liberal Leader," *Globe* (Toronto), 22 April 1926, p. 3. The position of House Leader still exists today, although its purpose has changed considerably. Today, House Leaders are Members of the Legislative Assembly who, with the sanction and authority of their caucus leader, manage their caucus' business in the Assembly. The Government House Leader, a member of Cabinet, works with the House Leaders of the recognized opposition parties to reach agreements on the Assembly's legislative agenda and debate schedule. It is then the responsibility of each House Leader to ensure that his or her caucus adheres to the agreed-upon timetable. Although in the past House Leaders have filled the role of acting caucus leaders when the caucus leader has been unavailable, it has become more common to appoint a Deputy Leader to serve this function. McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, p. 127; Rand Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, 4th ed. (Scarborough, ON: Nelson, 2004), p. 586.

[†] The *Legislative Assembly Act* also had to be amended to legally allow the Member who was recognized as Leader of the Opposition to accept the additional sessional indemnity. The Act prohibited any person receiving compensation, salary or benefits from the Crown from sitting and voting as a Member of the Assembly. Special provisions within the existing Act exempted the Speaker, Deputy Speaker and members of the Executive Council from this provision. Sifton's amendment broadened this exemption to include the Leader of the Opposition. *An Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, S.A. 1909, c. 2, s. 9; *The Statute Law Amendment Act, 1911*, S.A. 1911, c. 4, s. 32; David Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," *Prairie Forum* vol. 9, no. 1 (Spring 1984): pp. 48–49.

This recognition, and the indemnity that went with it, lasted until the election of the non-partisan United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) Government in 1921.* During UFA conventions in the early 1920s, proposals to eliminate the recognition of and indemnity for the Leader of the Official Opposition had been raised. On March 19, 1925, William G. Farquharson, UFA Member for Ribstone, urged the Government to end the indemnity, arguing that it was a "waste of money."[25] The UFA newspaper stated that Farquharson argued for the abolishment of the recognition of the Leader of the Opposition because it was an "outworn convention of the party system … that a particular party in the Assembly should be there for the sole purpose of opposing and destroying."[26] A few weeks later, John C. Buckley, UFA Member for Gleichen, also moved that the sessional indemnity be eliminated. He argued that the Member recognized as Opposition Leader "performed no special service … [and] did no more than any other Member of the Assembly should do if he were attending to his legislative duties."[27] In response, Liberal Member for Calgary, Robert C. Marshall, introduced a motion to instead reduce the Leader of the Opposition's sessional indemnity by $1,000. Leader of the Opposition Charles R. Mitchell (1925–1926), himself a Liberal, was away from the Legislative Assembly that day due to illness. Both motions were defeated.[28]

In January 1927, the UFA convention again resolved to abolish the custom of recognizing a Leader of the Opposition and of paying that Member any special indemnity, citing that the indemnity had "nothing whatever to do with British constitutional practice" but was instead a blatant example of the traditional parties looking out for each other's interests.[29] As a compromise, UFA Premier John E. Brownlee (1925–1934) amended the statute to allow the indemnity to be split amongst the leaders of the groups that formed the Opposition in the Assembly.[30] The 1927 amendment did not eliminate the recognition of a Leader of the Opposition; rather, it allowed for the payment of the extra indemnity to any Member who was the "recognized leader of any party or group of members."[31]

The funding would continue to be split, and no single Leader of the Opposition would be formally recognized by the Legislative Assembly until 1941. At that time, all Opposition Members, including the Liberals, Conservatives and UFA Members, formed a loose coalition, called themselves Independents and united in their opposition to the Social Credit Government.[32] The Independent Opposition Members held a caucus meeting and chose James H. Walker, Member for Warner, to serve as their leader in the Assembly, expecting him to be recognized as the Leader of the Opposition and to be awarded the privileges that came with that position.[33] However, Walker was not to receive the full indemnity apportioned to the Leader of the Opposition because on April 1, 1941 a motion for the Leader of the Opposition's indemnity to be reduced by $900 to $1,500 was introduced and was carried.[34] Some Social Credit Members opposed recognizing Walker as Leader of the Official Opposition, arguing that the loosely organized Independent Members should not be recognized as a party.[35] However, Provincial Treasurer Solon E. Low (1937–1944)* countered that, although the Opposition was made up of Independents, that group, with a leader, could coalesce into a true party.[36] Low also stated that the practice of providing the Leader of the Opposition with a special allowance had been well-established in Canadian parliamentary tradition and that "it would not be wise to eliminate the vote for the opposition leader."[37] Before each Session of the Ninth Legislature, the Independent caucus selected one of its own to serve as its leader in the Legislative Assembly for the duration of that Session.[38]

---

* The UFA was a movement that advanced the interests of farmers. Members of the movement advocated group government and believed that co-operation amongst the classes would triumph over class competition. The movement aimed to abolish party politics as it felt that the traditional parties owed their success and survival to certain class interests. Instead, UFA members aimed to have all Government policies endorsed by periodic conventions and also made a move toward direct democracy by encouraging more referendums. Carl F. Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935," in *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Essays*, ed. Carlo Caldarola (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979), p. 15; Leslie A. Pal, "The Political Executive and Political Leadership in Alberta," in *Government and Politics in Alberta*, ed. Allan Tupper and Roger Gibbins (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), p. 11.

Before the 1944 election, the Independents rechristened themselves the Independent Citizens' Association of Alberta (ICAA), and James Walker was selected as leader.[39] Walker would, however, lose his seat to Solon Low in the 1944 election in which the Opposition was reduced to only six Members of the Legislative Assembly.[40] J. Percy Page,† president of the ICAA, was recognized as the Leader of the Opposition throughout the entire 10th Legislature.[41] The 1948 election resulted in an opposition consisting of six Members—two Liberal Members, two Members from the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), one Independent Social Credit Member and one Independent Member.[42] The Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Peter Dawson (1937–1963), decided that none of the groups could legitimately claim to be the Official Opposition, so no indemnity was paid to the leader of any of the opposition groups.[43] This was a controversial decision, and in 1951, for the Fourth Session of the 11th Legislature, the Speaker reversed his ruling. The indemnity would be paid, but would be split between Elmer E. Roper, leader of the CCF caucus, and J. Harper Prowse, leader of the Liberal caucus.[44] A 1951 by-election resulted in the election of a third Liberal Member.‡[45] After this development, Prowse was recognized as Leader of the Opposition. However, Premier Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) indicated that "it would be unfair to stop paying Mr. Roper the $750 merely on the strength of a by-election result."[46] Consequently, Prowse was still required to share the indemnity with Roper. Prowse would receive $1,000 and Roper was granted $500.[47] The 1952 election resulted in three Liberal Opposition Members.[48] Prowse continued to be recognized as Leader of the Opposition, a position that he would hold until his retirement in 1958.[49] He fought tenaciously for the continued recognition of the Official Opposition and succeeded in securing from the Social Credit Government an amendment to the *Legislative Assembly Act* that provided for payment "to the recognized leader of Her Majesty's loyal opposition such allowance as may be voted by the Legislative Assembly."[50]

---

* Solon Low had lost his seat representing the constituency of Warner to James Walker in the 1940 election. Low was later elected by acclamation in a by-election in the constituency of Vegreville on June 20, 1940. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 58, 178.

† J. Percy Page would later serve as the Lieutenant Governor of Alberta (1959–1966).

‡ In the 1951 by-election in the Grouard constituency, the Liberal candidate, Joseph R. Desfosses, defeated the Social Credit candidate, Douglas S. McLaughlin, by 78 votes. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 179.

After the 1959 election, there was again no clearly identifiable Official Opposition. The Liberal Party, the Progressive Conservative Party and the Coalition Party had each elected one Member, and there was also one Independent Social Credit Member elected.[51] As the 1954 amendment to the *Legislative Assembly Act* had made payment of the indemnity mandatory regardless of the number of Opposition Members, a compromise was necessary. Premier Manning worked out an agreement with the four Opposition Members in which none of their caucuses would be recognized as the Official Opposition. Rather the sessional allowance would be split amongst the leaders, and each member of the Opposition would be given equal time to speak during debates and would be afforded an equal opportunity to question the Government.[52] To make the sharing of the sessional indemnity possible, a further amendment was made to the *Legislative Assembly Act*, and the sessional indemnity was split amongst the four Opposition Members.[53]

Further development of the position of the Leader of the Opposition continued during the administration of Premier E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985).* In 1972, the Legislative Assembly again amended the *Legislative Assembly Act*, this time to remove any provision allowing the indemnity for the Leader of the Opposition to be split, and also to extend the tenure of the position to include the period between Sessions.[54] The 1982 election again raised the problem of recognition of a Leader of the Opposition. This election resulted in a large majority for the Progressive Conservative Party, while only four Opposition Members were elected from other parties—two representing the New Democrat Party (ND) and two Independents.[55] The Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Gerard J. Amerongen (1972–1986), ruled that because "the NDP contested every seat in the province with possibly one or two exceptions," while the "so-called Independents contested two seats," the ND was in a position to use the additional funding to represent the people of the Alberta more effectively.[56] On March 11, 1983, Speaker Gerard Amerongen therefore recognized the ND caucus as the Official Opposition, and consequently its leader, W. Grant Notley, would receive the benefits associated with the position of Leader of the Opposition.[57]

Amerongen's ruling established three important principles regarding the recognition of the Official Opposition. Firstly, it determined that previous precedents for not recognizing the Official Opposition should be rejected.[58] Secondly, it established the precedent that the title of Official Opposition should be given, whenever possible, to an opposition group with a set party structure.[59] Thirdly, and most significantly, Amerongen's ruling established that "the question of recognition is a duty of the Speaker. It is not a government matter nor a political or a party matter."[60] This ruling re-affirmed the supremacy of the Legislative Assembly and of the Speaker as the embodiment of its impartial authority in resolving issues that involved the Assembly and its officers.[61] Amerongen's ruling was enshrined in statute by a further amendment to the *Legislative Assembly Act* in 1983, which remains in effect.[62]

---

* Progressive Conservative E. Peter Lougheed and Harry E. Strom of the Social Credit Party are the only Members to have filled the roles of both Premier and Leader of the Opposition in Alberta. Lougheed was Leader of the Opposition from 1968 to 1971, at which time his party defeated Strom's Social Credit Party. After the electoral defeat of the Social Credit Government in 1971, Strom served as Leader of the Opposition from 1971 to 1972. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 3.

The salaries and benefits of all Members of the Legislative Assembly are determined by the *Special Standing Committee on Members' Services*, normally simply referred to as the *Members' Services Committee*.*[63] Today, in addition to his regular salary and benefits as an elected Member of the Legislative Assembly, the Leader of the Opposition is granted an indemnity equal to that of the Speaker and of Cabinet Ministers who are responsible for a department.[64] The leaders of the other caucuses in the Assembly each receive an indemnity that is 'not less than' 25 per cent of that received by a member of the Executive Council without portfolio.[65]

N.J. MacBeth, Member (Liberal) for Edmonton-McClung, Leader of the Official Opposition (1998–2001).

In addition to the financial compensation necessary to effectively undertake the responsibilities of Leader of the Official Opposition, there are certain procedural privileges associated with the role. The Leader of the Opposition is expected to take the lead role in holding the Government accountable. To ensure that the Leader of the Opposition is able to perform this function, he or she is given certain privileges that other Members do not have.[66] These privileges concern the role of the Leader of the Opposition specifically during sittings of the Legislative Assembly. As debate in the House is the core component of the parliamentary system, it is important that it be allowed to progress in an efficient and orderly manner. Therefore rules have been developed to regulate how the debates proceed. These rules are outlined in the Legislative Assembly's *Standing Orders*. As the Leader of the Opposition is considered to be the counterpart of the Premier, he or she is given speaking time during debates equal to that provided to the Premier.[67] Also, although all Members have access through the Legislature Library to any document tabled in the Assembly, one copy of all documents required to be tabled in the Legislative Assembly is provided to the Official Opposition, and responses to written questions and returns ordered by the Assembly are automatically forwarded to the Leader of the Opposition.[68]

The Leader of the Official Opposition is also accorded certain privileges during the budget debate. Developing the budget is one of the Government's most important tasks because it outlines how the Government proposes to allocate resources to achieve the goals outlined in its agenda.[69] In order to ensure that areas of particular importance are thoroughly analyzed, or to highlight areas of potential problems, the Leader of the Official Opposition is permitted to designate a specific department's estimates to be examined on any Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday afternoon,

---

[*] The *Special Standing Committee on Members' Services* is composed of Members of the Legislative Assembly who represent all recognized parties. It is normally chaired by the Speaker. In addition to determining Members' allowances and benefits, it also approves the annual estimates of the Legislative Assembly and establishes policy on human resources, library services, information technology and financial management for the Legislative Assembly Office (LAO). Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Members' Guide: Information for Members on Indemnities, Benefits, Allowances, Services, House Procedure and Interparliamentary Relations* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, October 2005), s. 44; "Special Standing Committee: Members' Services Committee Mandate," Assembly Documents and Records, *Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta), accessed 10 March 2006, available from http://www.assembly.ab.ca/net/index.aspx?p=adr_home

provided that he or she makes the request in writing and presents it to the Government House Leader and the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly by noon on the day following the Budget Address.[70]

During Question Period,* a 50-minute period in which the Opposition and Private Members may ask questions of the Government, the Leader of the Opposition is given the right to ask 'three main questions,' each of which may be followed by two related supplementary questions.[71] Once the Leader of the Official Opposition has completed his or her queries, the leaders of the other recognized opposition parties are each allowed one main and two supplementary questions before the same opportunity is provided to the other Members of the House.[72] This is important because Question Period is followed closely by the media and the public and hence is the most publicly visible forum in which the Opposition can question the Government.[73]

The Leader of the Opposition also performs a number of ceremonial roles. The Leader of the Official Opposition is a Vice-President of the Alberta Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA).† In a colourful bit of pantomime, after the election of a Speaker, the Leader of the Opposition, along with the Premier, pretends to forcibly drag the newly elected Speaker to his Chair at the front of the Chamber. This is a custom that harkens back to the early years of parliamentary development, when being the Speaker of the House was a dangerous position, as it was the Speaker who had to deliver the consensus opinions of Parliament to the monarch, whose displeasure the Speaker often had to endure.[74]

---

* Question Period is the time period in a sitting day during which Members may question Cabinet Ministers on current matters related to the Minister's portfolio. For more information, see the Glossary and the Background section *Role of the Premier*.

† The CPA is a Commonwealth-wide organization formed by members of the Commonwealth of Nations that operate under the Westminster system of parliamentary governance. Its purpose is to promote relations amongst parliaments in order to study the further development of parliamentary government and to benefit from the parliamentary experiences of other societies and nations. The Alberta Branch is a member of the Canadian Region, which includes the Assemblies of the other nine provinces, the three territories and the House of Commons. The Premier of Alberta serves as a Vice-President; the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly serves as the Branch's President; and the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly serves as Secretary. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Members' Guide, 2005*, ss. 112–114.

## Leaders of the Opposition

| *Years* | *Name* | *Constituency* | *Party Affiliation* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1906–1909* | Albert J. Robertson | High River | Conservative |
| 1910 | Richard B. Bennett | Calgary | Conservative |
| 1910–1917 | Edward Michener | Red Deer | Conservative |
| 1918–1919 | George Hoadley | Okotoks | Conservative |
| 1920 | James Ramsey | Edmonton East | Conservative |
| 1921 | Albert F. Ewing | Edmonton West | Conservative |
| 1922–1924 | John R. Boyle | Edmonton | Liberal |
| 1925–1926 | Charles R. Mitchell | Bow Valley | Liberal |
| 1926 | John C. Bowen | Edmonton | Liberal |
| 1926–1930 | No Recognized Leader of the Official Opposition[†] | | |
| 1931–1935 | No Recognized Leader of the Official Opposition[‡] | | |
| 1936–1940 | No Recognized Leader of the Official Opposition[§] | | |

---

[*] From 1906 until an amendment to *The Legislative Assembly Act* came into effect in 1972, the tenures of Leaders of the Official Opposition are based on actual Session dates. This meant that the Leader of the second largest caucus in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta would be recognized as Leader of the Official Opposition from the first day of a Session until the day upon which that Session was prorogued.

[†] On March 28, 1927, a motion passed that discontinued the sessional indemnity to the Leader of the Official Opposition and replaced it with a special sessional allowance to recognized leaders of the "Liberal, Labour and Conservative groups" in the Legislative Assembly. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 6th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XXIV, 28 March 1927, p. 115; *The Legislative Assembly Act Amendment Act, 1927*, S.A. 1927, c. 3, s. 2. The allowance was divided amongst the following party leaders: Joseph T. Shaw (Liberal Member for Bow Valley), Alexander A. McGillivray (Conservative Member for Calgary) and Frederick J. White (Labour Member for Calgary).

[‡] During this period, the sessional allowance was divided amongst the following caucus leaders: David M. Duggan (Conservative Member for Edmonton), George H. Webster (Liberal Member for Calgary) and his successor William R. Howson (Member for Edmonton), as well as Francis C. Moyer (Independent Member for Drumheller) and Frederick J. White (Labour Member for Calgary).

[§] During the Eighth Legislature, the allowance was divided amongst the leaders of the Liberal and Conservative caucuses: Liberal leader William R. Howson (Member for Edmonton), and his successors John J. Bowlen (Member for Calgary) and Edward L. Gray (Member for Edmonton); and Conservative leader David M. Duggan (Member for Edmonton).

### Leaders of the Opposition *(Continued)*

| *Years* | *Name* | *Constituency* | *Party Affiliation* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1941 | James H. Walker | Warner | Independent |
| 1942 | Alfred Speakman | Red Deer | Independent |
| 1943 | James C. Mahaffy | Calgary | Independent |
| 1944 | James H. Walker | Warner | Independent |
| 1945–1948 | J. Percy Page | Edmonton | Independent |
| 1949–1950 | No Recognized Leader of the Official Opposition* | | |
| 1951 | No Recognized Leader of the Official Opposition† | | |
| 1952–1958 | J. Harper Prowse | Edmonton | Liberal |
| 1959 | J.W. Grant MacEwan | Calgary | Liberal |
| 1960–1963 | No Recognized Leader of the Official Opposition‡ | | |
| 1964–1967 | Michael Maccagno | Lac La Biche | Liberal |
| 1968–1971 | E. Peter Lougheed | Calgary-West | Progressive Conservative |

---

[*] Speaker Peter Dawson rose in the House on February 17, 1949 and stated that "he would not recognize any one political party as the official Opposition." Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 11th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LI, 17 February 1949, p. 14. No sessional allowances were paid to any Members in Opposition.

[†] A sessional allowance was divided between Elmer E. Roper (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation [CCF] Member for Edmonton) and J. Harper Prowse (Liberal Member for Edmonton).

[‡] An Amendment Act allowed the sessional allowance to be "paid to each member sitting in opposition." *The Legislative Assembly Amendment Act, 1960*, S.A. 1960, c. 55, s. 3(d). The allowance was divided amongst four Members: R. Earl Ansley (Independent Social Credit Member for Leduc), Francis L. Gainer (Coalition Member for Banff-Cochrane), Michael Maccagno (Liberal Member for Lac La Biche) and Ernest S. Watkins (Progressive Conservative Member for Calgary Glenmore).

### Leaders of the Opposition *(Continued)*

| *Years* | *Name* | *Constituency* | *Party Affiliation* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1971–1972* | Harry E. Strom | Cypress | Social Credit |
| 1973 | James D. Henderson | Wetaskiwin-Leduc | Social Credit |
| 1973–1980 | Robert C. Clark | Olds-Didsbury | Social Credit |
| 1980–1982 | Raymond A. Speaker | Little Bow | Social Credit |
| 1982–1984† | W. Grant Notley | Spirit River-Fairview | New Democrat |
| 1984–1993 | Raymond J. Martin | Edmonton-Norwood | New Democrat |
| 1993–1994 | Laurence G. Decore | Edmonton-Glengarry | Liberal |
| 1994–1998 | D. Grant Mitchell | Edmonton-McClung | Liberal |
| 1998–2001 | Nancy J. MacBeth | Edmonton-McClung | Liberal |
| 2001–2004 | Kenneth J. Nicol | Lethbridge-East | Liberal |
| 2004– | Kevin E. Taft | Edmonton-Riverview | Liberal |

---

* Granted Royal Assent on June 1, 1972, *The Legislative Assembly Act, 1972* was the first legislation to address the actual tenure of the Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition. For the purpose of calculating allowances payable, the individual was "deemed to have occupied the position from the polling day on which he was elected … until the day preceding polling day following the dissolution [of the Legislature] or until his death, whichever first occurs." *The Legislative Assembly Amendment Act, 1972*, S.A. 1972, c. 60, s. 2. Section 2 of the Act was "deemed to have come into force on September 1, 1971."

† On October 19, 1984, W. Grant Notley was killed in a plane crash. This tragic accident left the New Democrat caucus without a leader and with only one Member in the Legislative Assembly. On October 29, Speaker Gerard J. Amerongen (1972–1986) announced that to address this 'unprecedented situation' the privileges of the Leader of the Official Opposition during Oral Question Period would temporarily alternate between Raymond J. Martin, the sole remaining New Democrat Member, and Raymond A. Speaker, the leader of the Independent caucus. Also, with the agreement of all opposition Members, the other privileges associated with the position of Leader of the Official Opposition would be held in abeyance until a more suitable and long-term solution could be found. *Alberta Hansard*, 29 October 1984, p. 1249. On November 6, 1984, after studying possible solutions, Speaker Gerard Amerongen announced that he would recognize Ray Martin, the New Democrat Member, as the Leader of the Official Opposition. *Alberta Hansard*, 6 November 1984, p. 1381.

# Notes

[1] Norman Wilding and Philip Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, 4th rev. ed. (London: Cassell, 1972), p. 428.

[2] Ibid.

[3] David Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," *Prairie Forum* vol. 9, no. 1 (Spring 1984): p. 45.

[4] Rand Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, 4th ed. (Scarborough, ON: Nelson, 2004), p. 572.

[5] Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, p. 428; John McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics: A Guide to Important Terms and Concepts*, 3rd ed. (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), p. 203.

[6] Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," p. 45; *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 2, 15th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2002), s.v. "Broughton (de Gyfford), John Cam Hobhouse, Baron."

[7] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, p. 203; Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," p. 46; *Inside Canada's Parliament: An Introduction to How the Canadian Parliament Works* (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, 2002), p. 14.

[8] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, p. 203; Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, p. 428.

[9] Eugene A. Forsey, *How Canadians Govern Themselves*, 5th ed. (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, Public Information Office, 2003), pp. 4–5.

[10] Robert Marleau and Camille Montpetit, eds., *House of Commons Procedure and Practice* (Ottawa: Chenelière/McGraw-Hill, 2000), p. 43.

[11] *Inside Canada's Parliament*, p. 11; John T. Saywell, *The Office of Lieutenant-Governor: A Study in Canadian Government and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957; reprint, Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), pp. 88–89; George F. G. Stanley, *The Role of the Lieutenant-Governor* (Fredericton: New Brunswick Office of the Lieutenant-Governor, 1992), pp. 23–24.

[12] *Inside Canada's Parliament*, p. 14.

[13] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics,* pp. 267–277; Mark O. Dickerson and Thomas Flanagan, *An Introduction to Government & Politics: A Conceptual Approach*, 7th ed. (Toronto: Nelson, 2006), p. 307.

[14] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, p. 276.

[15] Ibid., pp. 276–277; "Caucus Members," *Alberta Liberal Opposition: We are the Alternative*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Alberta Liberal Opposition, 2005), accessed 3 March 2006, available from http://www.liberalopposition.com/index.php/caucus_members/caucus_list

[16] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, pp. 203–204.

[17] Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," p. 46; Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, p. 428.

[18] "Alberta's First Legislature Was Opened Yesterday," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 16 March 1906, p. 1; "At the Legislature," *High River Times,* 22 March 1906, p. 1.

[19] *An Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, S.A. 1909, c. 2.

[20] "More Money for Cabinet Ministers," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 18 October 1913, p. 1.

[21] Ibid.; *An Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, S.A. 1909, c. 2, s. 53.

[22] "More Money for Cabinet Ministers," p. 1.

[23] "Salaries Were under Discussion," *Lethbridge Herald*, 18 October 1913, p. 1.

[24] *The Statute Law Amendment Act, 1911*, S.A. 1911, c. 4, s. 32.

[25] "Opposes Special Allowance to Opposition Leader," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 25 March 1925, p. 12.

[26] Ibid.

[27] "Buckley Opposed to Opposition Indemnity," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 8 April 1925, p. 11.

[28] "Farmers Very Wary," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 1 April 1925, p. 18.

[29] "Unanimously Oppose Payment of Any Extra Indemnity to Leader of Any Opposition Party," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 15 February 1927, p. 26.

[30] *The Legislative Assembly Act Amendment Act, 1927,* S.A. 1927, c. 3, s. 2.

[31] *The Legislative Assembly Act Amendment Act, 1927,* S.A. 1927, c. 3, s. 2.

[32] "Social Credit Fate Decided by Vote Today," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 21 March 1940, p. 7; Meir Serfaty, "The Unity Movement in Alberta," *Alberta Historical Review* vol. 21, no. 2 (Spring 1973): pp. 5–6.

[33] Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," pp. 49–50.

[34] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 9th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XLII, 1 April 1941, pp. 100–102.

[35] "Independent Leader Will Receive Pay," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 March 1941, p. 15.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," p. 57.

[39] "J. H. Walker, Warner M.L.A. Elected Independent Leader," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 January 1944, pp. 1, 3.

[40] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 14, 64.

[41] "Name J. P. Page House Leader," *Albertan* (Calgary), 13 December 1944, p. 14.

[42] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 14.

[43] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 11th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LI, 17 February 1949, p. 14.

[44] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta for the Year Ended March 31, 1951* (Edmonton: A. Shnitka, King's Printer, 1951), p. 288.

[45] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 179.

[46] *Calgary Herald*, 20 February 1952, cited in Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," p. 51.

[47] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta for the Year Ended March 31, 1952*, 1952, p. 296.

[48] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 71–75.

[49] "Prowse Steps Down," *Calgary Albertan*, 1 May 1958, p. 24.

[50] *An Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, S.A. 1955, c. 62, s. 54(6); Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," pp. 51–52.

[51] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 16.

[52] Bill Gold, "Opposition Agrees to Share Indemnity," *Calgary Herald*, 13 February 1960, p. 30; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 14th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LXIV, 12 February 1960; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Rules, Orders and Forms of Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1954), Standing Order 28.

[53] *An Act to amend The Legislative Assembly Act*, S.A. 1960, c. 55, s. 3(d); Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," p. 53; Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta for the Year Ended March 31, 1960* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1960).

[54] *The Legislative Assembly Amendment Act, 1972*, S.A. 1972, c. 60, s. 2; Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," p. 54.

[55] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 18.

[56] Gerard Amerongen, Interview by LAO Staff, 24 April 2002.

[57] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 20th Legislature, 1st Session*, 11 March 1983, pp. 10–11.

[58] Ibid., p. 9; Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," p. 54.

[59] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 20th Legislature, 1st Session*, 11 March 1983, p. 10; Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," p. 55.

[60] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 20th Legislature, 1st Session*, 11 March 1983, p. 9; Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," p. 55.

[61] Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," p. 55.

[62] *Legislative Assembly Act*, S.A. 1983, c. L-10.1, s. 47.

[63] *Legislative Assembly Act*, R.S.A. 2000, c. L-9, ss. 33(1), 34, 35(1), 36(1), 39, 43(1); Frederick C. Engelmann, "The Legislature," in *Government and Politics in Alberta*, ed. Allan Tupper and Roger Gibbins (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), p. 144; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Members' Guide: Information for Members on Indemnities, Benefits, Allowances, Services, House Procedure and Interparliamentary Relations* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, October 2005), ss. 2, 41.

[64] *Legislative Assembly Act*, R.S.A. 2000, c. L-9, s. 41(1); Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Members' Guide 2005*, p. 34.

[65] *Legislative Assembly Act*, R.S.A. 2000, c. L-9, s. 42(2).

[66] Byron, "The Recognition of Leaders of the Opposition in Alberta, 1905–1983," pp. 45–46; Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada: Towards the Turn of the Century*, 3rd ed. (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1996), p. 525.

[67] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Standing Orders of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Effective February 26, 2002, Amended April 7, 2003* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 2003), Standing Orders 29(1)(a), 29(3)(a).

[68] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Members' Guide 2005*, p. 102; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Standing Orders, 2003*, Standing Orders 37(1), 37(2).

[69] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, pp. 13–15.

[70] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Members' Guide 2005*, p. 109; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Standing Orders, 2003*, Standing Order 58(6).

[71] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Members' Guide 2005*, p. 105.

[72] Ibid.

[73] McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics*, p. 243.

[74] Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, pp. 706–707.

Hansard

*Hansard* is the official report of the proceedings of a parliament and its committees. The *Hansard* tradition began in the United Kingdom in the early-19th century, when William Cobbett produced the first record of its parliamentary proceedings.[1] In 1812, printer Thomas Curson Hansard purchased Cobbett's publishing business, and the Hansard family continued to publish the proceedings of Parliament for close to a century.[2] Although the principle of parliamentary privilege protected Members against legal action, it was unclear whether or not private companies such as the Hansards' should have similar protection. Consequently, during the 1830s, the Hansard family was involved in numerous legal battles concerning libellous statements.[3] The Hansards lost several of these cases, but the House of Commons covered the cost of the judgments against them. The House eventually put an end to the lawsuits by passing the *Parliamentary Papers Act, 1840*, which extended parliamentary privilege to all papers arising from parliamentary proceedings.[4] Despite the subscriptions of Members, newspapers and clubs, the Hansard operation was not profitable and starting in 1878, had to rely on subsidies from the House, until the company was sold in 1889.[5] In 1909, the United Kingdom Parliament dispensed with private contractors and began to publish in-house the official report of its proceedings.[6] Although the Hansards no longer produced records of House proceedings, these records continued to bear the Hansard name, both in the United Kingdom and throughout the Commonwealth.*[7]

The reporting of the proceedings of Canada's Parliament began in 1875. As in the United Kingdom, these proceedings were initially published by private contractors. Over time, this arrangement was found wanting, and the Canadian Parliament began producing an official *Hansard* in 1880.[8] Shortly after its adoption, however, the value of *Hansard* was questioned in the House of Commons. On March 7, 1881, Liberal Opposition Member of Parliament for Inverness, Nova Scotia, Samuel MacDonnell (1872–1882),† moved that "the official reporting and publication of the speeches and debates of [the] House be discontinued," maintaining that in the House of Commons, "the publication of *Hansard* offers irresistible inducement to many

---

* When the publication of proceedings was taken over by the House in 1909, it became the *Parliamentary Debates, Official Report*. It was not until 1943 that the Hansard name was officially restored. Norman W. Wilding and Philip Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, 4th rev. ed. (London: Cassell, 1972), p. 345.

† Samuel MacDonnell was first elected to the House of Commons in 1872 as a Conservative. In January 1874, he crossed the floor to join the Liberal Party. Canada. Library of Parliament, "McDonnell, Samuel," Federal Political Experience, *Parliament of Canada*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 27 November 2005, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/people/key/bio.asp?Language=E&query=13704&s=M. There are conflicting spellings of Samuel MacDonnell's name. *The Debates of the House of Commons of Canada*, the official name of the federal *Hansard*, and the *Canadian Parliamentary Companion and Annual Register* spell his name 'MacDonnell,' while the website of the Parliament of Canada uses the spelling 'McDonnell.' Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 4th Parliament, 3rd Session*, 7 March 1881, p. 1245; Charles H. Mackintosh, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Companion and Annual Register*, 1877 ed. (Ottawa: Citizen Printing and Publishing, 1877), p. 166; Canada. Library of Parliament, "McDonnell, Samuel," [Internet].

of its members to make unnecessarily lengthy and frequent speeches to the great prolongation of said Sessions,"[9] and that "[a]s an educator of the people, as a vehicle by which the knowledge of the proceedings of [the] House is communicated to the people, the Hansard is of no value whatever."[10] Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald (1867–1873, 1878–1891) made an impassioned reply to the motion, championing what he regarded as the indubitable worth of *Hansard*:

> I think it would be a retrograde step, it would be unjust to the great body of the House. … [I]t would be a historical blunder. … As a matter of history, it is of the very greatest importance that the remarks of every hon. member, who has a responsibility as the representative of the people, should, if we can afford it—and we can afford it—be as fully recorded in the official report as those of a leader. I hope we shall not commit such a great mistake, I hope we shall not make such a relapse into barbarism as to throw over the only means by which after generations shall be able to learn what were the subjects of interest engaging our attention, what was the style of speaking and the style of thought, and what were the moving impulses of the people and their representatives in Parliament.[11]

Samuel MacDonnell's motion was defeated, and the publication of *Hansard* has continued uninterrupted in the Canadian House of Commons since 1880.[12]

Although at the federal level *Hansard* quickly became institutionalized and did not face any serious challenges, its establishment in the provinces proved to be more difficult. Today, in Alberta, the value of having the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly comprehensively and accurately recorded is widely accepted. However, while considered on a number of occasions, the publication of *Hansard* was not instituted in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta until 1972, later than in most other Canadian legislative assemblies.*[13] As early as February 5, 1919, the matter had been raised in the Assembly as one of 'pressing importance and necessity' by George Hoadley, Leader of the Opposition (1918–1919).[14] Premier Charles Stewart (1917–1921), aware that a number of other provinces did not have a *Hansard*, indicated that "[a]s the cost would be considerable, and but comparatively few would require the reports when published, he had come to the conclusion that there was no necessity for this Legislative Assembly to have a *Hansard*."[15]

Debate over the recording of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly continued throughout successive administrations. The matter arose again during the period in which the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) formed the Government. In 1922 and 1923, the Leader of the Official Opposition (1922–1924), Liberal Member for Edmonton John R. Boyle, raised a question of privilege to draw the Assembly's attention "to the fact that an employee of the Government appeared to be publishing what purported to be a report of the debates of the House,"[16] and alleged that the result was "not a full and unbiased account, but a report favouring the Government side."[17] On both occasions Premier Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) responded by indicating that in all communications issued by the Government "no reference would be made to speeches made by the Members on the floor of the House, but will be confined to Departmental Information and a brief outline of Legislation dealt with by the House and the effect of same."[18]

---

* At the time, although all provinces except Prince Edward Island and Alberta had begun to publish an official report of proceedings, the methods and level of comprehensiveness varied from province to province. For example, Newfoundland produced an official record, but it was an internal document and was not published. J. Peter Swann, *A Report Relating to the Publication of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1972), p. 73, Appendix B.

The Social Credit administrations also had to deal with the *Hansard* issue. In 1955, Liberal Member for Calgary Hugh J. MacDonald put forward a motion that the Assembly request that the Government consider making arrangements for a record of the Assembly proceedings. He argued that "such a record would tend to reduce misunderstandings, facilitate accuracy in reports of proceedings, and impose on all Honourable Members an increased sense of responsibility … and would permit accurate reference to previous debates, discussions and decisions."[19] Two days later, during debate, Premier Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) was reported as saying that "the government had no strong feelings on the matter but [that] … the advantages of a *Hansard*-type recording are limited. The method of recording House of Commons business was costly and out of date."[20] John C. Landeryou, Social Credit Member for Lethbridge, spoke against the motion saying that the costs and inconvenience that would be created made the establishment of a *Hansard* inadvisable, and the lack of public interest made it unnecessary.[21] The motion was defeated.[22] In 1959, a similar motion was introduced by Liberal Member for Edmonton Abe W. Miller; it was also defeated.[23] Further motions were introduced in 1960, 1961 and in 1963, by the sole Progressive Conservative Member, Ernest S. Watkins. These three motions were also defeated.[24]

Prior to the publication of *Alberta Hansard*, other methods were employed to keep a record of the events and proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. Legislature Librarians in particular realized the importance of keeping a record of House proceedings. In the absence of an official verbatim account, the Library employed other methods to preserve a record of the events and proceedings of the Legislative Assembly. Historically, the most comprehensive coverage of Legislative Assembly proceedings was found in newspapers, which library staff diligently clipped and indexed to compile *Scrapbook Hansard* for the North-West Territories from 1888 to 1905, and for Alberta from 1905 to 1971.[25] The clippings, primarily from Edmonton and Calgary newspapers, were pasted into large albums, then dated and indexed for ease of reference. Newspapers were the only source that reliably recorded the proceedings of the Assembly, and early press coverage typically included more description and less commentary than is found in modern newspaper articles. Incomplete though they may have been, these articles often included detailed information on the proceedings of the House, including Members' statements and votes, and at times, verbatim copies of Members' speeches. In 1976, in a project that Legislature Librarian D. Blake McDougall (1974–1993) stated would "contribute greatly toward improving the rest of Canada's knowledge concerning the Alberta political experience," *Scrapbook Hansard*, for the years 1906 to 1964, was made available on microfilm.[26] In an effort to improve accessibility and ease of use, in 2002, the Legislature Library began to digitize *Scrapbook Hansard.*

In 1964, a motion was passed to initiate the tape-recording of the proceedings of the Assembly.[27] A sound amplification and recording system was installed in the Chamber, and audiotapes of House proceedings started to be produced in 1965.[28] These recordings were used by the Office of the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly to transcribe speeches and debates. At first, only special proceedings, such as the Speech from the Throne, were transcribed. However, as demand for the service increased, a transcription of Question Period started to be produced on a regular basis. The increased demand for an accurate record of House proceedings came not only from Members, but also from the media. By 1971, there were so many regular requests for transcripts that, in order to meet the demand, everything that transpired in the House was automatically recorded and transcribed.*[29] The audio recordings of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta from February 1965 until April 1999 are housed at the Provincial Archives of Alberta.[30]

In 1971, the Alberta Progressive Conservative Party came to power, and E. Peter Lougheed was appointed Premier (1971–1985). As the first change in governing party in 36 years, the Lougheed administration was anxious to bring about many changes to the processes of governance and to proceedings in the Legislative Assembly. The Progressive Conservative platform, unveiled by Lougheed during the January 28, 1966 party convention, had stated that "the public has a right to know," that "[p]ublic laws should be made public" and that Albertans must be wary of the "comfortable drift to government by cabinet or through orders in council."[31] Accordingly, Lougheed proposed "to encourage public participation in public affairs so that administration within a vacuum could be avoided."[32] These policy statements would eventually form the core of the Lougheed administration's 'Open Government' policy that was outlined in the 1972 Speech from the Throne.[33] Prior to the 1971 election campaign, Lougheed had developed an agenda for his party in which the Progressive Conservative Party offered "New Directions for Alberta in the Seventies."[34] As part of the 'New Directions' program, Premier Lougheed wished to make the workings of government more comprehensible to the public and to increase contact between Albertans and their representatives. His platform was thus aimed at heightening the accessibility, visibility and accountability of the Legislative Assembly.[35] Establishing *Hansard* in Alberta was one of the initiatives that his Government brought in to implement these changes.

Soon after being appointed to Cabinet, Minister of Education Louis D. Hyndman (1971–1975) commissioned an investigation to "inquire into all matters relating to the possible improvement and expansion of publication of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta."[36] The study, conducted by J. Peter Swann, was released as *A Report Relating to the Publication of the*

---

* Notably, background noise and remarks made by those Members not recognized by the Chair are not included unless needed to make sense of a subsequent remark by the Chair or a Member. Editorial comments are also added, if necessary.

*Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*.* The report explored the various issues surrounding the implementation of *Hansard* and presented them "as objectively and impartially as possible," so that the Assembly might make an informed decision.[37] It pointedly addressed the major objections to introducing *Hansard*. Questions had been raised about whether maintaining *Hansard* would be worth the financial costs. Swann responded to such concerns by asking: "[H]ow can you place a monetary value on a historical record? ... How much better will Alberta be if it has a populace better informed about and more involved in events in the Legislative Chamber?"[38] Another question that had been posed was whether the efficiency of House proceedings would be compromised.[39] Part of this concern was that making the proceedings available to a wider audience would prolong Session and turn the Assembly into an unproductive institution by encouraging a change in the behaviour of some Members through increased opportunities to grandstand and have every opinion, question or doubt recorded.[40] The reluctance of the previous Social Credit Government to adopt a *Hansard* had apparently been due to a similar apprehension "that it would lead to political bickering in the House, with unnecessary attention to minute implications of speech or choice of words."[41] The Swann Report indicated that other provinces had not found their Members' performance to be affected in this way. Moreover, some parliamentary experts, such as Marcel J. A. Lambert, former Speaker of the House of Commons (1962–1963), maintained that the lack of a *Hansard* "allows a minister to be very careless, if not dishonest," because he or she can more easily deny having said something altogether.[42] Thus, *Hansard* can be regarded as an additional tool that helps to maintain ministerial accountability.

The Swann Report also analyzed earlier efforts to record Assembly proceedings. It concluded that the limitations of most other methods were so severe that they should be ruled out as viable alternatives.[43] For example, in regard to the *Scrapbook Hansard*, which had been so diligently maintained for decades, Swann concluded that, while the collections of newspaper clippings were undoubtedly valuable, especially in the absence of an official *Hansard*, they could not provide complete verbatim coverage of proceedings and were therefore inadequate.[44] Perhaps the strongest argument articulated in favour of the Government's plan to introduce *Hansard* related to the reality of responsible government in which a government must maintain the confidence of the Assembly. The Swann report stated that

> [d]emocratically elected legislators are therefore faced with the challenge of re-establishing in their electors a degree of confidence in their sincerity, and in their competence (and that of the system of which they are a part) to manage the affairs of the people. There is surely no better time to face up to such a challenge than when a new government has taken office, and when the majority of the elected representatives are new to these responsibilities.[45]

---

* In 1972, J. Peter Swann became the first editor of *Alberta Hansard*, and held the position for the First Session of the 17th Legislature. He later served as Chief of Protocol for the Commonwealth Games. James Adams, "Hansard: How Legislature Debates are Recorded," *Edmonton Journal*, 16 February 1978, p. B9; J. Peter Swann to Peter Brannan, Chief of Hansard Reporting Services, Parliament Buildings, Toronto, ON, 5 January 1973, [Letter], HAC Correspondence, no. 3, *Hansard Association of Canada*, [Internet], accessed 27 February 2005, available from http://www.hansard.ca/HACarchive/HAC-Correspondence-3.pdf; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 18th Legislature, 4th Session*, 3 March 1978, p. 9.

In other words, in order to convince the electorate that their Government is truly acting in the best interests of the province, a government should make legislative processes as open as possible. The Report suggested that the publication of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly would be beneficial to all Members, the media, the civil service, businesses, students, academics and the general public. It also concluded that in producing a record of proceedings, the needs of all these groups should be taken into account.[46]

Alberta Hansard sound-recording console in Speaker's Gallery.

In the Speech from the Throne in the First Session of the 17th Legislature, on March 2, 1972, Lieutenant Governor J. W. Grant MacEwan (1966–1974) articulated the new Progressive Conservative administration's commitment to "the principle of open government [by] providing citizens with easier access to their Legislature and its deliberations."[47] In this vein, he revealed the Government's intention to introduce a resolution "to provide a continuous and easily available written record of the business proceedings of the Assembly," thereby providing Albertans with "an accurate, up-to-date report on the manner in which issues affecting people in all walks of life and in all parts of the province are being dealt with by their M.L.A.'s."[48] Less than a week later, on March 8, 1972, *Hansard* officially became part of Alberta's legislative tradition when the Minister of Mines and Minerals William D. Dickie (1971–1975) introduced a Government motion to create and publish a complete record of Legislative Assembly proceedings, retroactive to March 2, 1972.[49] In his remarks, Dickie commented that he found it very appropriate that on the "historical and memorable occasion of the first week of the sittings of the first Progressive Conservative government of the Province of Alberta that one of the first major resolutions that [the] Assembly will be invited to consider, will be a resolution establishing a daily Alberta *Hansard*."[50] The motion received wide support from both sides of the House.[51]

Since its implementation in the 1972 spring sitting, *Alberta Hansard* has provided 'gavel-to-gavel coverage' of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, "forming an historical record that outlines why decisions were made and what policies were adopted and legislation passed."[52] The preservation of this historical record has been of great benefit to all Members of the Legislative Assembly. In 2005, when asked about his thoughts on the value of his Government's having introduced *Hansard*, former Premier Peter Lougheed replied that, in his opinion,

> the advantage of *Hansard* was an advantage for all parties … in opposition or government. [Y]ou could go back and say: 'You know, I thought that last year I answered that question, Mr. Speaker. Could I reserve on that matter and check *Hansard* and come back tomorrow and tell you?' … I'd go back the next day and say that I was asked a question by the Member for such and such last year, and I answered it this way. Our *Hansard* played a big role. But it was good for the Opposition too. … Can you imagine not having *Hansard*? … I just can't conceive of it.[53]

In the fall sitting of 1974, Alberta Hansard began to produce and distribute the *Hansard* '*Blues*.'[54] The *Blues* are unofficial copies of the debates, with preliminary editing.*[55] Members may submit corrections for inaccuracies during a period of up to one hour after the *Blues* have been posted, unless the Speaker has given consent otherwise.† In submitting corrections, Members must be able to demonstrate to the Speaker either that their remarks have been misrepresented or that "the record of [their] remarks is manifestly erroneous."[56] Members may not suggest changes that alter the "sense of anything that the member has been recorded as saying, nor shall the member be permitted to make any insertion nor strike out any passage which the member regrets having uttered."[57] In this way, then, *Hansard* remains "a plain, ungarnished record."[58] *Hansard* is the only verbatim recording of Assembly proceedings; it

> is an enduring historical record and nothing is allowed which would impair its accuracy. … No pride of place is given to any speech, and the immortal perorations of Sir Winston Churchill appear upon equal terms with the less inspired utterances of the humblest of back-benchers.[59]

*Alberta Hansard* is produced and distributed by the Legislative Assembly Office under the authority of the Speaker. *Alberta Hansard* continues to be produced in paper format, but can also be accessed and searched online on the Legislative Assembly of Alberta website.[60]

---

* The term '*Blues*' is derived from "the printing tool known as blueline, a blue-toned print used to check the layout of elements on a page." The *Blues* provide a reference for the Table Officers who frequently require an immediate transcript of what was said when they need to advise the Speaker on a ruling. In addition to the paper copy, Alberta's *Blues* are also available to Members and staff on the Assembly's internal computer network. Deirdre Grist, "Indexing Legislative Text: *Alberta Hansard*," *The Indexer* vol. 23, no. 3 (April 2003): p. 129; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Member's Guide: Information for Members on Indemnities, Benefits, Allowances, Services, House Procedure and Interparliamentary Relations* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, October 2005), s. 69.1.

† Hansard allows Members to submit corrections up to 10:00 p.m. that day for an afternoon sitting and up to 10:00 a.m. the following day for an evening sitting. Alberta, Legislative Assembly, *Members' Guide 2005*, s. 69.1; Alberta. Legislative Assembly Office. Public Information Branch, Member's Suggested Corrections to the Hansard Blues, 2001, [Form], Alberta Legislature Library, Edmonton. Formally, Standing Order 24a(5)(d) in the 1973 edition was the first to make the provision for corrections to *Alberta Hansard* (within 30 minutes of the adjournment of any sitting). Alberta, Legislative Assembly, *Rules, Orders and Forms of Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly, 1973), Standing Order 24a(5)(d). It was Standing Order 108, effective January 1, 1984, that first made reference to the *Blues* and allowed Members to make corrections within one hour of their posting. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Standing Orders of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Effective January 1, 1984* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly, 1984), Standing Order 108(d). Improved technology currently allows Alberta Hansard staff to process requested changes more quickly, and a greater window of opportunity to request corrections is therefore available to Members.

## Notes

[1] Norman Wilding and Philip Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, 4th rev. ed. (London: Cassell, 1972), p. 141; Bryan Keith Lucas, *The Hansard Society: The First Forty Years* (London: Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, 1984), p. 28.

[2] Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, p. 346.

[3] Joseph Maingot, *Parliamentary Privilege in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Montreal: House of Commons and McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), pp. 281–285. Maingot provides a concise summary of the actions in his book.

[4] Ibid., p. 52; Terry Moore and James Robertson, "An Introduction to Parliamentary Privilege," *Canadian Parliamentary Review* vol. 24, no. 3 (Autumn 2001): p. 19.

[5] Keith Lucas, *The Hansard Society: The First Forty Years*, pp. 28–29.

[6] Ibid., p. 29; Sir Thomas Erskine May, *Erskine May's Treatise on the Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament*, 23rd ed., ed. W. R. McKay (London: LexisNexis UK, 2004), p. 259.

[7] Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, p. 345.

[8] Marc Bosc, "The Commons Then and Now: Before Hansard," *Canadian Parliamentary Review* vol. 11, no. 3 (Autumn 1988): p. 32; Robert Marleau and Camille Montpetit, eds., *House of Commons Procedure and Practice* (Ottawa: Chenelière/McGraw-Hill, 2000), p. 966.

[9] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 4th Parliament, 3rd Session*, 7 March 1881, p. 1245.

[10] Ibid., 7 March 1881, p. 1246.

[11] Ibid., 7 March 1881, p. 1251.

[12] J. Peter Swann, *A Report Relating to the Publication of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1972), p. 12; "Tradition and Innovation: Celebrating 125 Years of *Hansard*," *Hansard Association of Canada*, [Internet], (Ottawa: House of Commons, 2005), pp. 42–45, accessed 7 March 2006, available from http://www.hansard.ca/125TraditionInnovation_E_clr.pdf

[13] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LXXVIII, 8 March 1972, pp. 28–30; Swann, *A Report Relating to the Publication of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, p. 2.

[14] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 4th Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. XV, 5 February 1919, p. 11.

[15] Ibid., 6 February 1919, p. 13.

[16] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 5th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XVIII, 15 February 1922, p. 27; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 5th Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. XX, 19 February 1923, pp. 58–59.

[17] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 5th Legislature, 3rd Session*, 19 February 1923, pp. 58–59.

[18] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 5th Legislature, 1st Session*, 16 February 1922, p. 32; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 5th Legislature, 3rd Session*, 19 February 1923, pp. 58–59.

[19] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 12th Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. LVIII, 22 March 1955, p. 76; Bill Drever, "Calgarian Seeks Hansard for House," *Calgary Herald*, 23 March 1955, p. 17.

[20] "Hansard Voted Down for Legislature," *Calgary Herald*, 25 March 1955, p. 12.

[21] Ibid., p. 12.

[22] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 12th Legislature, 3rd Session*, 24 March 1955, pp. 88–90.

[23] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 13th Legislature, 5th Session*, vol. LXIII, 10 February 1959, pp. 17–18; "Hansard Goes Down to Fourth Defeat," *Edmonton Journal*, 11 February 1959, p. 29.

[24] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 14th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LXIV, 16 February 1960, pp. 16–17; Bill Gold, "House Rejects Hansard Plea," *Calgary Herald*, 17 February 1960, p. 1; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 14th Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. LXV, 23 February 1961, p. 20; Ibid., 2 March 1961, pp. 30–31; Bill Gold, "Socred Members Veto House Debate Records," *Calgary Herald*, 24 February 1961, p. 6; "Debate Record of Legislature Vetoed Officially," *Calgary Herald*, 24 February 1961, p. 2; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 14th Legislature, 5th Session*, vol. LXVIII, 26 February 1963, pp. 28–29; Douglas Sagi, "Minister Considers Recording Debates," *Calgary Herald*, 27 February 1963, p. 31; "Government to Study Tape Recorder Use," *Edmonton Journal*, 27 February 1963, p. 54.

[25] "The Story of *Alberta Hansard*: Scrapbook *Hansard*," All About *Hansard*: History of *Hansard* in Alberta, *Legislative Assembly of Alberta: Public Information*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta), accessed 3 January 2006, available from http://www.assembly.ab.ca/lao/pib/hansard_AB_history2.htm

[26] "Microfilm Sorts Out Alberta's 'Scrapbook Hansard'," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 August 1976, p. 25.

[27] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 15th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LXIX, 12 March 1964, pp. 61–63.

[28] Swann, *A Report Relating to the Publication of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, p. 13.

[29] "The Story of *Alberta Hansard*: A Sound Decision," All About *Hansard*: History of *Hansard* in Alberta, *Legislative Assembly of Alberta: Public Information,* [Internet], (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta), accessed 3 January 2006, available from http://www.assembly.ab.ca/lao/pib/hansard_AB_history3.htm; Swann, *A Report Relating to the Publication of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, pp. 13–14.

[30] E-mail from Sharry Watson, Government Records Archivist, Government Records and Preservation Services, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 27 August 2003.

[31] Allan Hustak, *Peter Lougheed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), p. 82.

[32] Ibid., p. 83.

[33] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, 2 March 1972, p. 5.

[34] David G. Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1985), p. 93.

[35] Ibid.; David K. Elton and Arthur M. Goddard, "The Conservative Takeover, 1971– ," in *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers*, ed. Carlo Caldarola (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979), p. 59.

[36] Swann, *A Report Relating to the Publication of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, p. 1.

[37] Ibid., pp. 4, 3.

[38] Ibid., p. 60.

[39] Ibid., p. 2.

[40] Ibid., p. 57.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid., p. 58.

[43] Ibid., pp. 52–53.

[44] Ibid., p. 53.

[45] Ibid., pp. 6–7.

[46] Ibid., pp. 33–52.

[47] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, 2 March 1972, p. 5.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid., 8 March 1972, pp. 28–30.

[50] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, 8 March 1972, p. 5–20.

[51] Ibid., 8 March 1972, pp. 5–27, 5–35.

[52] Deirdre Grist, "Indexing Legislative Text: *Alberta Hansard*," *The Indexer* vol. 23, no. 3 (April 2003): p. 129.

[53] E. Peter Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[54] Alberta. Legislative Assembly. Hansard, *Alberta Hansard Annual Report, 1974/75* (Edmonton: Alberta Legislative Assembly, [1976]), p. 2.

[55] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Members' Guide: Information for Members on Indemnities, Benefits, Allowances, Services, House Procedure and Interparliamentary Relations* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, October 2005), s. 69.1.

[56] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Standing Orders of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Effective February 26, 2002, Amended April 7, 2003* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 2003), Standing Order 108(e).

[57] Ibid.

[58] Wilding and Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, p. 342.

[59] Ibid.

[60] "Assembly Documents," *Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta), accessed 3 January 2006, available from http://www.assembly.ab.ca/net/index.aspx?p=adr_home

# Broadcasting of Proceedings

# BROADCASTING OF PROCEEDINGS

To function effectively, Canadian parliamentary democracy requires an independent and informed populace that is aware of the issues that affect it and of the actions of the individuals who represent it. If the electorate is not afforded opportunities to inform itself, it will not be able to make educated decisions, which would be detrimental to the democratic process.[1] With the development of broadcast technology, it was suggested that the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly should be broadcast so that all Albertans would be able to hear them and understand how their Legislature operates. Motions for Assembly proceedings to be broadcast were first made in the 1930s, but these proposals met with limited success. Specific concerns with respect to this issue included the cost of broadcasting the proceedings; the potential for statements to be taken out of context or presented irresponsibly; unease about potential grandstanding by Members; and the possibility that an uncomplimentary image of Members, or of the Assembly as a whole, would result.[2] Over the next 40 years, despite these objections, there continued to be periodic advocacy in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta of the broadcasting of proceedings. It would not be until the early 1970s that steps were taken by the Legislative Assembly to begin broadcasting its proceedings on a regular basis.

In 1934, Andrew Smeaton, Labour Member for Lethbridge, put forward a motion that it was in the public interest that the people of Alberta be well-informed on issues of the day. He stated that the Government of Alberta, through its ownership of radio station CKUA, had the technical capabilities to do its own broadcasting. Therefore, the Government should "make arrangements to provide adequate facilities for broadcasting the major debates in this Assembly, and particularly the speeches of Party leaders, and such other matters that may be deemed to be of public importance."[3] Frank R. Falconer, Liberal Member for Athabasca, amended the motion to allow the proposal to be investigated.[4] A report on the investigation was tabled the following year by George Hoadley, Minister of Public Health (1923–1935), Railways and Telephones (1934–1935) and Trade and Industry (1934–1935).[5] The report stated that, although the broadcasting of Assembly proceedings was technically possible, making the broadcasts available throughout the entire province would require the coordination of at least three radio stations. The Government concluded that the costs of purchasing adequate air-time on multiple radio stations were too high to permit its consideration of the proposal at that time.[6]

On occasion, the Assembly would consent to having the proceedings broadcast for a particular event. In 1937, for example, when the Legislative Assembly was unable to meet the large number of requests it received for the accommodation of spectators during the opening of the

Legislature,* radio station CJCA was permitted to broadcast the events of February 25, 1937, the opening of the Third Session of the Eighth Legislature.†[7]

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Legislative Assembly conducted studies on the feasibility and propriety of allowing television and sound recordings of the debates in the Chamber. On February 27, 1969, Donald R. Getty, Member for Strathcona West and future Premier of Alberta (1985–1992), put forward a motion that there be an amendment to the *Standing Orders*, allowing radio and television coverage of Session. Referring to "a growing interest in Canadian politics and political institutions by the citizens of Canada," Getty asserted in his motion that "it would be beneficial for the Citizens of Alberta to become more aware of, and familiar with, the workings of the Legislature of Alberta."[8] After some debate, the motion was referred to the *Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections*.[9] On April 9, 1969, the Committee presented its report and asked the Legislative Assembly to consider its recommendation that the media be invited to record an afternoon of proceedings by audio, video or photograph "for research purposes only and on the clear understanding that none of the material obtained be broadcast without permission of the Legislature."[10] It also requested that the recordings be turned over to the Legislative Assembly through the Office of the Speaker.[11] Although the motion reiterating the Committee's recommendation was carried on April 16, on May 2, the Committee asked that the issue be raised again in the next Session for further investigation, and that the Speaker "consider the merit of inviting a media representative to televise one full days [*sic*] proceedings of the House, and take appropriate action accordingly."[12] On April 9, 1970, Speaker Arthur J. Dixon (1963–1972), with the consent of the House, agreed to permit the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) Edmonton television station to broadcast Legislative Assembly proceedings for two days in the following week in order to test the potential for further broadcasting privileges. An additional purpose of this exercise was to provide an educational documentary of the procedures of the House. There was a clear understanding that the film would "not be used for news purposes."[13] At the time, no parliament

---

* The surprisingly large demand for seating in the galleries of the Legislative Assembly was likely due to strong interest in the Aberhart Government's response to the events of the previous week. On February 19, 1937, the Supreme Court of Canada had ruled that *The Reduction and Settlement of Debts Act* was *ultra vires*. This legislation had sought to impose limits on the interest payable on old debts. The Supreme Court had ruled that *The Provincial Securities Interest Act* was also *ultra vires*. This legislation was intended to cut interest rates on bonds, debentures and other securities guaranteed by the Government of Alberta. *The Reduction and Settlement of Debts Act*, S.A. 1936 (2nd Sess.), c. 2; *The Provincial Securities Interest Act*, S.A. 1936 (2nd Sess.), c. 11; J. R. Mallory, *Social Credit and the Federal Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954), pp. 100–101.

† In 1947, radio station CKUA broadcast commentary from the Press Gallery during Legislative Assembly Sessions. "News, Public Affairs and Politics," Programming, *CKUA Sound Archives*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Heritage Community Foundation), accessed 7 November 2005, available from http://66.244.199.219/CKUA_Archives/eng/programming/public.aspx. Jack Haggerman states that he broadcast the opening of the Legislature and Speech from the Throne on CKUA in 1951, and Jim Edwards, former Member of Parliament for Edmonton South (1984–1988) and Edmonton Southwest (1988–1993), also broadcast similar events on CKUA in later years. In addition, CKUA broadcast the Budget Speech on a number of occasions in the early 1950s. E-mail from Susan Mikytyshyn, Head Librarian, CKUA Radio Network, 7 April 2004.

in Canada allowed regular televised broadcasts of parliamentary proceedings. Nova Scotia was the only jurisdiction in Canada to have conducted tests of broadcasting prior to Alberta's experiment.[14]

During the Speech from the Throne in the First Session of the 17th Legislature, on March 2, 1972, Lieutenant Governor J. W. Grant MacEwan (1966–1974) introduced the recently elected Progressive Conservative Government's commitment, under the leadership of new Premier E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985), to a policy of 'open government.'[15] The fundamental principle of responsible government is the requirement that, to retain power, the Government must enjoy the continued support of the Legislative Assembly. In turn, the elected Assembly is responsible to the public. The Lougheed Government introduced a series of measures aimed at making the workings of government more comprehensible to the public by "providing citizens with easier access to their Legislature and its deliberations."[16] Amongst other 'innovations and reforms' to be implemented by the Lougheed Government was a decision that the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta would be broadcast both by radio and television.[17] The intent was that through broadcast proceedings, "Alberta citizens ... should be able to better understand and add their voices to the discussion of issues that are being debated and considered."[18]

One week after the Speech from the Throne, which had been broadcast in Alberta by the CTV network,[19] a related resolution was introduced by Louis D. Hyndman, Member for Edmonton-Glenora and Minister of Education (1971–1975), and seconded by Donald Getty. The thrust of the motion was to allow the media to record and broadcast the proceedings by audio or video, newspaper photographers to take still photographs, and anyone seated in the galleries to take notes or tape-record the proceedings, all under the guidance and advice of the Speaker.[20] Hyndman asserted that society and the Legislative Assembly could gain nothing "by ignoring the natural evolutionary advances in the process of communication," and he articulated several reasons why he thought it would be "appropriate, useful, and contemporary" to permit audio and visual broadcasting of proceedings.[21] Amongst these reasons was the conviction that increased coverage would not only fortify the "bond between the electorate and the elected," but would also promote "a more healthy balance of power within the governmental structure, because it [would] strengthen the parliamentary democracy."[22] In seconding the motion, Getty recalled a speech that he had made in 1969 as an Opposition Member, when he put forward a similar motion. He stated that he still believed what he had said at that time, that "[a]t a time in our history when Albertans can marvel at the view from the moon in their own living rooms, it is absurd that they are not able to watch their own Legislative Assembly."[23] Getty believed that "people must understand and have faith in democracy" and that "understanding can only come from knowledge." The resolution, he maintained, would offer Albertans this much needed insight into the "manner in which their province is governed."[24] For his part, Harry E. Strom, Member for Cypress, former Premier (1968–1971) and Leader of the Official Opposition (1971–1972), supported the motion and promised his caucus' full support. He did, however, express some concerns; namely that the broadcasting of proceedings not "in any way lengthen debates, that it may not cause any member to rise in his place to take part in a debate simply for the hope that he will be appearing on TV ..."[25] The leader of the third party, W. Grant Notley, New Democrat Member for Spirit River-Fairview, also supported the motion.[26]

Speaking to the Opposition's endorsement of the governing caucus' resolution, Premier Lougheed said:

> I feel very, very strongly that the broader the communication and the understanding throughout a province as widespread geographically as this, among people from all corners of it, the better it's going to be for our democratic traditions. I'm delighted with the response of the other side, and by all members, and I wholeheartedly endorse this step towards open government.[27]

Television cameras broadcast the Opening of the 17th Legislature (March 2, 1972). Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (J 797/5). Cropped photo.

The motion carried with the support of all political parties represented in the Legislative Assembly. The necessary renovations to accommodate television cameras and other recording devices in the Chamber were made, and by mid-March 1972, Legislative Assembly proceedings were being televised on a regular basis. Immediate changes to the Chamber included new wiring and the installation of two platforms for television cameras on the Opposition side of the House. The locations of the platforms did not meet with the approval of the Opposition Members because they allowed for an excellent view of the Government benches, while Opposition Members were seen only from behind.*[28] The renovations to the Chamber were the only costs to the Legislative Assembly associated with the broadcasting of proceedings; all other costs, such as staff and equipment, were covered by participating media outlets.[29]

The CTV affiliates—CFRN-TV in Edmonton and CFCN-TV in Calgary—began broadcasting regular sittings on March 15, 1972.[30] QCTV, an Edmonton-based cable-television provider, then began regular broadcasts of Friday's Question Period and a summary of the week's proceedings on Sunday afternoons.†[31] On October 11, 1978, QCTV began broadcasting gavel-to-gavel coverage of the Assembly's proceedings. At this time, to ensure the coverage was available to as many Albertans as possible, three additional cable-television providers—Edmonton-based Capital

---

* The Government felt that "it was not its responsibility to direct the broadcasters in this regard." The stations were free to choose what they televised. D. Blake McDougall, Assistant Deputy Minister/Legislature Librarian, "Televising Alberta's Legislative Proceedings," [Internal Document], 4 October 1990, Alberta Legislature Library, Edmonton, p. 1. In 1986, the practice of showing the faces of the Opposition Members whenever they stood to speak was begun. Frederick C. Engelmann, "Alberta: From One Overwhelming Majority to Another," *Provincial and Territorial Legislatures in Canada*, ed. Graham White and Gary Levy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 118.

† QCTV was a cable-television service provider, co-founded by Laurence G. Decore, mayor of Edmonton (1983–1988) and Leader of the Official Opposition (1993–1994), that provided service to Edmonton and other parts of Alberta. In 1986, Montreal-based cable-television provider Videotron purchased QCTV, and in 2000, it merged with Rogers Communications. "Died: Laurence Decore, 59, Former Mayor of Edmonton and Leader of the Alberta Liberal Party," *Report Newsmagazine* vol. 26, no. 42 (22 November 1999): p. 55; Robert Gibbens, "Rogers' Bold Move Grabs Lead in Convergence Race," *National Post*, 8 February 2000, p. C4.

Cable Television, Calgary-based Community Antenna Television and Calgary Cable Television—also began to air the broadcasts.[32] Eventually, coverage was reduced to include only Question Period, which remains the current practice.*[33]

Reaction to the first broadcasts of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly was mixed. Although there were no significant problems, opinions differed as to the success of the broadcasts.[34] Some critics found the coverage dry and suggested that the use of an announcer or narrator would be an appropriate way to provide information and explanations throughout the proceedings.[35] Others felt that the 'electronic Hansard' style, meaning a commercial-free format with no commentary, was well-suited to the material being broadcast.[36] Reports quickly concluded that many of the concerns that had caused politicians and government administrators to oppose the broadcasting of legislative proceedings proved to be unwarranted. Speaker Gerard J. Amerongen (1972–1986) was said to have described the broadcasting as "a decided success,"[37] maintaining that there was "no disruption of house proceedings" and that the Members quickly adjusted to the novelty of having cameras in the Chamber.[38] Some politicians had expressed concern that the coverage would limit their freedom of expression in the Legislative Assembly and make them vulnerable to lawsuits; however, the tradition of parliamentary privilege prevented such legal problems.[39]

Some observers now suggest that early concerns about Members' grandstanding in front of the cameras have proved largely unfounded. *Edmonton Journal* editorials held that "fears about TV in the House [were] groundless"[40] and that there was "basically no more grandstanding than ha[d] always existed."[41] If anything, Members are merely more "image conscious. Rambling speeches might get by in the Assembly, but politicians had to master the short clip to be a face on the evening news."[42] Concerns about the behaviour of Members during Assembly proceedings and debates, which are sometimes lively, also proved to be unwarranted. Premier Lougheed strongly believed that civility during debates was extremely important, and he and his fellow caucus members worked to ensure that Assembly proceedings were always conducted accordingly. Lougheed acknowledged that "we were lucky because Mr. Manning's and Mr. Aberhart's Governments had decorum in the House. … When we came into opposition, we made a rule: no heckling. … That was a fundamental rule: no heckling by us. People didn't want that."[43] Lougheed's desire to maintain this same level of decorum continued even with the advent of television cameras in the Legislative Assembly. Some criticisms of the Assembly broadcasts were that, although the program was successful, "[i]t hasn't produced the most compelling radio or

---

* In 1978, CKUA debuted the program *Question Period*, an hour-long, daily radio broadcast of the Legislative Assembly's Question Period with commentary by Warren C. Graves. Graves had served as Clerk Assistant in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta from 1967 to 1974. CKUA no longer broadcasts Question Period. It does, however, link to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta's webcasting service, making its listeners aware of the opportunity to hear Question Period via the Internet. "Awards & Firsts," Background, *CKUA Sound Archives*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Heritage Community Foundation), accessed 7 November 2005, available from http://66.244.199.219/CKUA_Archives/eng/background/awards.aspx; Marylu Walters, *CKUA: Radio Worth Fighting For* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2002), pp. 203–204; "Question Period Live," Select a Program, *CKUA Radionetwork*, [Internet], accessed 7 November 2005, available from www.ckua.com. Question Period is currently broadcast on the ACCESS Television Channel.

TV,"[44] and that, as a source of entertainment, the proceedings were "too regulated, too restrained to be a viable alternative" to regular television programming.[45]

While some of these views and other concerns may still exist today, televised proceedings are now considered a necessary part of Canada's democratic process and an important component of open government.[46] As stated by CBC political commentator, Donald 'Don' K. Newman, it is a Member's mandate to be "doing the public's business and allowing the public to see [the Member] doing the public's business."[47] Broadcasting of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta was an innovative experiment that spread from Alberta across the country. The reason for this, as simply stated by former Premier Lougheed, is because "television worked. … [I]t worked for all parties; it didn't just work for us."[48]

The *Standing Orders of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* give the Speaker the authority to set conditions for the broadcasting, recording and photographing of proceedings in the Chamber.[49] Despite the broad range of powers granted to the Speaker, media coverage of Legislative proceedings in Alberta is largely unrestricted. Broadcasting outlets have been permitted to make decisions on editing and commentary. The very few constraints placed on the media include prohibitions on close-ups of documents and papers on Members' desks*[50] and the limiting of coverage to the floor of the Chamber.[51] Two exceptions to these restrictions on camera angles are that wide-angle shots of the Chamber as a whole and of the galleries during the introduction of visitors and guests are permitted.[52]

Despite some challenges, broadcast coverage of parliamentary proceedings has become more common, both in Alberta and throughout Canada. All other provincial Legislative Assemblies and the federal House of Commons have opened their doors to various forms of coverage of their proceedings, including television broadcasts and live webcasting. In Alberta today, in addition to continued television and radio coverage of Question Period, broadcasting from the Chamber includes live streaming audio (gavel-to-gavel coverage) and video (of Question Period) on the Internet when the Legislative Assembly is sitting.† Increased public access to the democratic process through the broadcasting of proceedings has become standard practice throughout the Commonwealth. In February 2003, a study group of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), which comprised parliamentarians with particular expertise in parliamentary procedure and media law, published "Recommendations for an Informed Democracy." In recognizing the importance of public access to the proceedings, the group outlined the need for parliaments to provide "access and services to the media to facilitate their coverage of proceedings," suggested flexible guidelines for electronic coverage and encouraged parliaments to "provide live coverage of their proceedings on a dedicated channel and/or online."[53]

---

* According to Sergeant-at-Arms Brian Hodgson (1993– ), while this is not stated explicitly in the "Press Gallery Protocols," this is the ultimate aim of the rule that excludes cameras with telephoto lenses longer than 400 mm. Personal communication with Brian Hodgson, Sergeant-at-Arms, Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 8 April 2004; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, Press Gallery Protocols, April 2000.

† Closed captioning is available on the video stream of Question Period.

## Notes

[1] Russell Mills, "Reflections on the State of Canadian Media," *Canadian Parliamentary Review* vol. 26, no. 4 (Winter 2003–2004): p. 27; Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. Parliamentary Information and Reference Centre, *Broadcasting Commonwealth Parliaments* (London: Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, 2003), p. iii.

[2] Guy Demarino, "House and Office Television Runs into Critics," *Edmonton Journal*, 31 March 1971, p. 4; J. Peter Swann, *A Report Relating to the Publication of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1972), pp. 2, 21, 24; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, 9 March 1972, p. 6–62.

[3] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 7th Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. XXXI, 13 April, 1934, pp. 268–269; "Wants Broadcast of House Debates," *Edmonton Journal*, 28 March 1934, p. 7.

[4] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 7th Legislature, 4th Session*, 13 April 1934, pp. 268–269; "May Broadcast House Debates," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 14 April 1934, p. 18.

[5] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 7th Legislature, 5th Session*, vol. XXXII, 13 February 1935, p. 31.

[6] "House Broadcasts Seen Unlikely Now," *Edmonton Journal*, 16 February 1935, p. 18.

[7] "To Broadcast House Opening on Thursday," *Albertan* (Calgary), 25 February 1937, p. 1.

[8] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 16th Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. LXXV, 27 February 1969, pp. 54–55.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., 9 April 1969, p. 122.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., 16 April 1969, p. 136; Ibid., 2 May 1969, p. 175.

[13] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 16th Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. LXXVI, 9 April 1970, pp. 162–163.

[14] D. Blake McDougall, Assistant Deputy Minister/Legislature Librarian, "Televising Alberta's Legislative Proceedings," [Internal Document], 4 October 1990, Alberta Legislature Library, Edmonton, p. 1.

[15] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LXXVIII, 2 March 1972, pp. 4–5.

[16] Ibid., p. 5; David K. Elton and Arthur M. Goddard, "The Conservative Takeover, 1971– ," in *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers*, ed. Carlo Caldarola (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979), p. 59.

[17] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, 2 March 1972, pp. 4, 5.

[18] Ibid., p. 5.

[19] "Legislature Opening Televised," *Edmonton Journal*, 29 February 1972, p. 60; [Photograph of Legislative Assembly Opening], 3 March 1972, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, J-797/5.

[20] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LXXVIII, 9 March 1972, p. 36.

[21] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 1st Session, 17th Legislature*, 9 March 1972, p. 6–61.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., p. 6–64.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., p. 6–65.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., p. 6–66.

[28] McDougall, “Televising Alberta's Legislative Proceedings,” p. 1.

[29] Ibid.; Members' Services Committee, Minutes - Members' Services Committee Meeting No. 22, 25 October 1978, p. 3.

[30] John Lindblad, “No Bloopers in Session Televising,” *Edmonton Journal*, 16 March 1972, p. 57.

[31] McDougall, “Televising Alberta's Legislative Proceedings,” p. 1.

[32] Members' Services Committee, Minutes - Members' Services Committee Meeting No. 22, p. 2; McDougall, “Televising Alberta's Legislative Proceedings,” p. 1.

[33] McDougall, “Televising Alberta's Legislative Proceedings,” p. 1.

[34] Lindblad, “No Bloopers in Session Televising,” p. 57.

[35] Keith Ashwell, “...But Little Drama,” *Edmonton Journal*, 16 March 1972, p. 57.

[36] James R. Robertson, *Television and the House of Commons,* Background Paper, BP-242E (Ottawa: Library of Parliament Research Branch, 1998), p. 2; Munroe MacLeod, “TV in House,” [Letter to the Editor], *Edmonton Journal*, 29 March 1972, p. 4.

[37] “Legislature Broadcasting ‘Successful’,” *Edmonton Journal*, 12 September 1972, p. 48.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Frank Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature: A Celebration* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1987), p. 35; Robert Reynolds, “Parliament and Democracy in the 21st Century: Parliamentary Privilege,” *Canadian Parliamentary Review* vol. 25, no. 4 (Winter 2002–2003): pp. 2–3.

[40] “Televise Parliament,” [Editorial], *Edmonton Journal*, 16 January 1973, p. 4.

[41] “Role for TV,” [Editorial], *Edmonton Journal*, 17 June 1972, p. 4.

[42] Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature*, p. 84.

[43] E. Peter Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[44] “Role for TV,” p. 4.

[45] Lindblad, “No Bloopers in Session Televising,” p. 57; Ashwell, “...But Little Drama,” p. 57; “Televise Parliament,” p. 4.

[46] Robertson, *Television and the House of Commons*, p. 2.

[47] Don Newman, Director, Canadian Parliamentary Press Gallery cited in Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. Standing Committee on Elections Privileges Procedure and Private Members' Business and Chuck Cook, Chairman, *Watching The House At Work: The Ninth Report of the Standing Committee on Elections, Privileges, Procedure and Private Members' Business* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 1989), p. 7.

[48] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[49] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Standing Orders of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Effective February 26, 2002, Amended April 7, 2003* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 2003), Standing Order 110.

[50] McDougall, "Televising Alberta's Legislative Proceedings," p. 1.

[51] Neil Waugh, "CBC–TV Breaks Rules and Gets Tossed,"

[52] Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. Parliamentary Information and Reference Centre, *Broadcasting Commonwealth Parliaments*, p. 91.

[53] Ibid., p. iv.

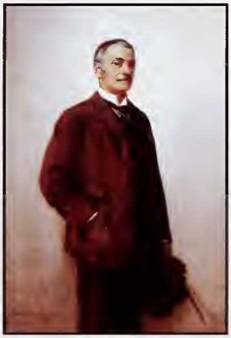
# Portraits

# PORTRAITS

Each of Alberta's Premiers has left his mark on the history of the province. While the legacies of the Premiers vary both in nature and scale, frequently as a result of the length of an individual's tenure, all of the Premiers played a considerable role in shaping Alberta's political and legislative heritage. Therefore, it is fitting that they be immortalized, like so many other prominent parliamentary figures, in official portraits.

Visitors to Alberta's Legislature Building can view the official portraits of one North-West Territories Premier and 11 Alberta Premiers on the walls of the third floor, in the area between the Lieutenant Governor's Suite and the Premier's Office. Portraits of the Lieutenant Governors of Alberta also hang on the walls of the third floor. Portraits of the Lieutenant Governors of the North-West Territories and of the Speakers of the North-West Territories and Alberta are displayed on the fourth floor of the Legislature Building. The tone of the portrait collections varies according to the offices represented. It is worth noting that, unlike the Offices of Speaker and Lieutenant Governor, the Office of Premier is not associated with any ceremonial or official dress. So while most of the portraits of the Speakers and the Lieutenant Governors portray their subjects wearing the apparel that is symbolic of their particular Office, the Premiers are depicted wearing business attire or gentlemen's dress of the day. As a result, the overall tone of the collection, while still formal, is somewhat less solemn than that of either the Speakers or the Lieutenant Governors.

Alberta proudly acknowledges its pre-provincial legislative heritage by displaying the portrait of the Premier of the North-West Territories, Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (1897–1905). This portrait hangs on a pillar, facing the portraits of the Premiers of Alberta. It was completed in 1912 by artist Victor Albert Long.* Painted with almost 'photographic detail' against a dark background, Haultain is shown from the waist up.[1] He is wearing formal dinner attire, yet he appears relaxed, comfortably holding a lit cigarette.



Official portrait of Premier F.W.A.G. Haultain, by H.I.J. Sheldon-Williams, Saskatchewan Legislative Building, Regina (1914). Saskatchewan Archives Board, 86-2244-92, and the Saskatchewan Legislative Building Art Collection.

Haultain is unique as he is the only Premier to have an official portrait in two provinces. He was the first and only Premier of the North-West Territories and, although he did not serve as Premier of either Alberta or Saskatchewan, he is recognized and honoured by both provinces for his hard-fought and successful efforts towards attaining autonomy for the Territories, which led to the creation of both provinces. The

---

* Victor A. Long was born in 1866, on Ontario's Niagara Peninsula but was raised in Ireland. He was known for his portraits of officials and dignitaries, which constitute the largest part of his body of work. Colin S. MacDonald, ed., *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists*, vol. 4 (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks, 1974), pp. 892–893; J. Russell Harper, *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1970), p. 200; Virginia G. Berry, ed., *Vistas of Promise, Manitoba 1874–1919: November 1st, 1987 to January 18th 1988* (Winnipeg: Winnipeg Art Gallery, 1987), p. 35.

Saskatchewan portrait of Haultain is on display in that province's Legislative Building. This portrait was painted by Henry Inglis Jodrell Sheldon-Williams in 1914.[*] Unlike the Long painting, the Sheldon-Williams portrait shows Haultain full length, standing against a light background. He is wearing a brown jacket, holding his hat, gloves and a cane in one hand, his other hand in his blazer pocket.[2]

The remainder of the Premiers' portraits hang in chronological order according to each individual's tenure as Premier. The portraits of Alberta's first three Premiers—Alexander C. Rutherford (1905–1910), Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917) and Charles Stewart (1917–1921)—were also painted by Victor Long in the same traditional, literal style as the Haultain portrait.[3] Of the four portraits of the Premiers created by Long, Rutherford's, which was painted around 1912, commands the most attention. Based on a 1911 photographic study taken at the Elliot and Fry studio in London, England, the portrait is larger than the others, and it portrays Rutherford at three-quarter length, seated in an armchair, unlike the portraits of his two successors, which display only the subjects' heads and shoulders.[†][4] It is not known if Long's portraits received official unveilings or if they were simply hung in the Legislature Building as each was completed. Sifton's portrait was finished in 1915, and Stewart's in 1916. About the same time that these paintings were completed, Long also painted portraits of other members of the Executive Council. These paintings are stored by the Alberta Foundation for the Arts, located in downtown Edmonton.[5]

More than 25 years would pass before the portrait of another Alberta Premier was hung on the walls of the Legislature Building. On February 10, 1944, less than a year after Premier William Aberhart (1935–1943) died in office, the portrait of the former Premier, painted by

---

[*] Sheldon-Williams was born in Hampshire, England, in 1870. He came to Canada in 1887, lived in Manitoba for a year and then settled near Regina, North-West Territories (Saskatchewan). His painting comprised a number of genres and subjects, including agricultural and city landscapes in both Canada and Europe, native scenes and portraits of British and Canadian dignitaries and politicians. Anthony R. Westbridge and Diana L. Bodnar, eds., *The Collector's Dictionary of Canadian Artists at Auction*, vol. 4: S-Z (Vancouver: Westbridge Publications, 2003), p. 20.

[†] Victor A. Long painted another portrait of Alexander Rutherford in 1911. Owned by the University of Alberta, it currently hangs in the University's Rutherford North Library—the Humanities and Social Sciences Library, which is named for the first Premier, who was a firm advocate of education and was largely responsible for founding the University. D. R. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona* (Calgary: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism, Friends of Rutherford House and University of Calgary Press, 1989), pp. 79, 81; E-mail from Jeannine Green, Special Collections Librarian, Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, University of Alberta, October 19, 2005.

Nicholas 'Nickola' Raphael de Grandmaison, was unveiled.[*][6] This painting is an excellent example of the way in which some official portraits integrate elements that capture the personality and career of their subjects. The portrait shows Aberhart—whose boundless energy and capacity for hard work has been well-documented—working at his desk in the Premier's office, pen in hand.[7] The other interesting element in this work is the inclusion of a radio microphone near Aberhart's hand, symbolizing Aberhart's masterful use of the new medium of radio, which, ultimately, helped to propel the Social Credit Party into government and Aberhart himself into the Premier's Office.

When Aberhart's portrait joined those of Alberta's first three Premiers and the North-West Territories' Premier on the walls of the Legislature Building, there were no portraits of the three United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) Premiers who had preceded Aberhart. In 1946, believing that the Premiers of the farmers' movement deserved the same recognition as that received by Alberta's other Premiers, the UFA commissioned portraits of Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925), John E. Brownlee (1925–1934) and Richard G. Reid (1934–1935)[8] and presented them to the Legislative Assembly in a ceremonial unveiling in October 1948.[†][9] Although it was reported that H. G. Glyde had received the original commission to paint Greenfield's portrait, it was actually painted by Kathleen Daly,[‡][10] while the portraits of

---

[*] Nicholas Raphael de Grandmaison was born in Russia of French parents. After studying in London and Paris, he came to Canada in 1923 and studied painting in Winnipeg. He settled in Banff in 1932. He also painted portraits of federal Cabinet Minister C. D. Howe and Prime Minister of Canada Richard B. Bennett (1930-1935). Colin S. MacDonald, ed. *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists*, vol. 2 (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks, 1975), p. 305; Anthony R. Westbridge and Diana L. Bodnar, eds., *The Collector's Dictionary of Canadian Artists at Auction*, vol. 1: A-F (Vancouver: Westbridge Publications, 1999), p. 87; "The Official Portraits of the University of Calgary: A Preliminary Listing," Publications: Occasional Paper no. 10, *University of Calgary Library: Special Collections*, [Internet], (Calgary, University of Calgary), accessed 27 June 2005, available from http://www.ucalgary.ca/lib-old/SpecColl/OccPaper/occ10.htm

[†] The unveiling ceremony for the three portraits was conducted by George N. Johnston, who was the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly (1927–1935) during the UFA administrations of Premiers Brownlee and Reid. "Present Portraits Former Premiers," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 October 1948, p. 21.

[‡] Kathleen Daly was born in Napanee, Ontario, in 1898. Her portraits concentrated on Aboriginal peoples, notably the Inuit of Labrador, the Arabs of Morocco and working-class subjects, such as Newfoundland fishermen, Alberta coal miners and agricultural workers throughout Canada. Westbridge and Bodnar, eds., *The Collector's Dictionary of Canadian Artists at Auction*, vol. 1: A-F, p. 82; Serge Gauthier, "Kathleen Daly and George Pepper, Capturing the Moment in Charlevoix," Past Exhibitions: Kathleen Daly and George D. Pepper, A Retrospective, *McMichael Canadian Art Collection*, [Internet], (Kleinburg, ON: McMichael Canadian Art Collection, 1996–1999), accessed 22 June 2004, available http://www.mcmichael.com/daly-pepper.htm; Colin S. MacDonald, ed., *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks Publishing, Ltd., 1975), pp. 166–167.

Brownlee and Reid were completed by Lilias Torrance Newton.*[11] Daly's interest in agriculture and underprivileged and disadvantaged groups as subject matter and Newton's efforts in achieving recognition for women in the art world made them fitting choices to paint the portraits of the UFA Premiers, who belonged to a movement that represented farmers and made inroads towards the recognition of women in politics.[12]

Premier E.C. Manning views his portrait with artist E.G. Fosbery (ca. 1951).

Some art critics have maintained that, due to popular preference for traditional, realistic-looking portraits, innovation in portraiture is generally rare, leading to portraiture's remaining a stylistically conservative genre of painting.[13] The paintings of UFA Premiers, however, differ markedly from the others hanging in the Legislature Building. Lilias Torrance Newton and her contemporary Kathleen Daly painted in a modernist style largely inspired by the Group of Seven. This style contrasts sharply with the realistic portraits and 'photographic detail' that distinguished the Long and de Grandmaison portraits.[14] Daly's portrait of Greenfield, with its brighter colours and softer tones, particularly stands out. Greenfield is posed against a light background and is sitting in a chair, appearing relaxed, wearing a bluish-grey business suit. His eyes are painted a striking blue, which draws the viewer's attention immediately to them. Newton's renderings of Brownlee and Reid are more muted than the Daly portrait, using darker tones. Both Brownlee and Reid are posed sitting against dark backgrounds. They are wearing three-piece business suits.

Alberta's longest-serving Premier to date, Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968), was painted by Ernest George Fosbery in 1950.† Fosbery's painting of Manning is austere and simple, and shows the Premier sitting against a dark brown background, looking calm, wearing a double-breasted business suit.

---

* Lilias Torrance Newton was born in Montreal, Quebec, in 1896. In the 1920s, she was a member of the Beaver Hall Hill Group, which was founded partly to give Canadian women a greater presence in what was perceived as being a male-dominated art world. She was also a founding member of the Canadian Group of Painters in 1933. She developed a reputation as a skilled portrait artist, and her services were in demand by numerous government officials, dignitaries and businessmen. In 1957, she received a commission to paint the portraits of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip, becoming the first Canadian "to paint portraits of the current British sovereigns." Westbridge and Bodnar, eds., *The Collector's Dictionary of Canadian Artists at Auction*, vol. 3: M-R, p. 53; Anne Newlands, *Canadian Art: From its Beginnings to 2000* (Toronto: Firefly Books, 2000), p. 232.

† Ernest George Fosbery was born in Ottawa, Ontario, in 1874. Fosbery is also referred to as George Ernest in some sources. Fosbery and future Group of Seven painter A. Y. Jackson convinced Lord Beaverbrook, W. Maxwell 'Max' Aitken, to commission Canadian artists to record Canada's wartime experiences on canvas. After the First World War, Fosbery became known as a portrait artist and was commissioned to paint the portraits of a number of dignitaries and politicians, including Canadian Victoria Cross recipients, Supreme Court Justices and Governor General Lord Byng (1921–1926). Westbridge and Bodnar, eds., *The Collector's Dictionary of Canadian Artists at Auction*, vol. 1: A-F, p. 119; Colin S. MacDonald, ed., *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists*, vol. 1 (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks, 1975), pp. 226–227.

Somewhat unusual is the portrait of Premier Harry E. Strom (1968–1971), painted by Illingworth 'Buck' Holey Kerr in 1971.* Because Strom was the first Premier of Alberta to be born in the province, it is fitting that his portrait was painted by Kerr, who was the first of the Premiers' portrait artists born in the Prairie Provinces—in Lumsden, Saskatchewan. Kerr's portrait of Strom is interesting in several respects. Unlike most of the other portrait subjects, Strom is depicted standing up. What is most intriguing about the Strom portrait, apart from the subject himself, is the background of the painting. Strom is posed in front of a colourful prairie landscape, which is remarkably similar to *Flatlands*, which is another of Kerr's works, also painted in 1971.†[15] The depiction of the landscape within the painting causes Strom's official portrait to contrast sharply with the darker or more subdued tones that are used in the backgrounds of the other portraits.

The portrait that has probably caused the most controversy is that of Premier E. Peter Lougheed (1971-1985). It was painted in 1988 by Cyril Leeper,‡ and was unveiled on June 9 that same year.[16] The painting shows Premier Lougheed wearing a grey suit with a blue shirt, seated in a brown leather chair. In 2001, a minor controversy arose when newspaper accounts reported that the shadowing of the Premier's right hand gave the appearance of adding an extra finger. Leeper has indicated that there was no extra digit and suggested that "his mildly impressionistic style might be to blame for the confusion."[17] Leeper offered to lighten the tones on the right hand if Mr. Lougheed so desired, but no further work on the painting was performed.[18] The former Premier has not commented on the controversy, but his son Stephen did jokingly say that his father's high energy and inability to sit still for long periods of time would make him a difficult subject for any artist, and the extra finger was likely "just a blur as he came in and out of the room so many times."[19]

---

* Illingworth Holey Kerr was art director of the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art (later the Alberta College of Art and Design) in Calgary. Although mainly known as a landscape and animal artist, he painted some notable portraits, including that of Alberta Lieutenant Governor John C. Bowen (1937–1950). MacDonald, ed., *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists,* vol. 3, pp. 633–634; Westbridge and Bodnar, eds., *The Collector's Dictionary of Canadian Artists and Auction*, vol. 2: G-L, p. 91; Suzanne Devonshire Baker, *Artists of Alberta* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1980), p. 44; "Reputation and History," About, *ACAD: Alberta College of Art & Design*, [Internet], (Calgary: Alberta College of Art & Design), accessed 22 February 2006, available from http://www.acad.ab.ca/rep_hist.html

† Legislature lore has it that, "when [Strom's] official portrait was done, the artist left a blank space behind Strohm's [*sic*] image, and the former premier painted in a landscape himself." Tom Olson, "Comrades in Sorrow," *Calgary Herald*, 16 September 2001, p. A12.

‡ Ontario artist Cyril Leeper received his general art training in Canada by studying under members of the Group of Seven. Leeper has also painted portraits of Alberta Lieutenant Governor W. Helen Hunley (1985–1991), Saskatchewan Premier D. Grant Devine (1982–1991) and Lieutenant Governors of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario, as well as numerous military officers, university presidents and chancellors, archbishops, business executives and royalty. In 1992, he was commissioned to paint a portrait of Queen Elizabeth II. "Biography," *Cyril Leeper: Portrait Artist*, [Internet], (Penetang, ON: cyrilleeper.com), accessed 24 October 2005, available from http://www.cyrilleeper.com/index.htm; "Copyright: Sources: The Hon. W. Helen Hunley," *Celebrating Women's Achievements* …, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, 2000), accessed 9 March 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/women/002026-150-e.php?uid=002026-xx010906&uidc=recKey; "Portraits: Dream of Painting Queen Comes True for Ontario Artist," *Vancouver Sun*, 7 April 1992, p. A4.

The most recent portrait in the Premiers' gallery at this time is that of Premier Donald R. Getty (1985–1992). It was painted by artist Tag Kim in 1993 and unveiled on December 9, 1994.*[20] It shows Getty sitting comfortably, with legs crossed, in a brown leather executive chair. He is wearing a black suit and is posed against dark wood panelling.

As Premier Ralph P. Klein (1992– ) is still in office, there is no official portrait of him hanging in the Legislature Building. The absence of Premier Klein's portrait is intentional. Whether due to the superstition that it is bad luck to exhibit an official portrait while the person is still in office, out of a desire to maintain modesty while in office or simply to build anticipation towards a well-deserved honour after a career of service to the province, it has become customary not to exhibit an official portrait until its subject has left office.[21]

The official portraits of Alberta's Premiers are an important part of Alberta's legislative and cultural heritage. Former Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons E. Preston Manning (1997–2000), son of Premier Ernest Manning, recalled memories from his youth while his father was Premier. He remembered listening to stories about Premier Haultain. Manning recalled that "[a]s a youngster, I came to recognize [Haultain's] austere portrait hanging in the legislature in Edmonton, and would nod respectfully in passing."[22] These official portraits serve to remind and inspire current and future generations of Alberta public servants and leaders. Premier Klein and the future leaders of the province can look forward to having their role in Alberta's history recognized through the honour of having their portraits displayed in the halls of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta for generations to come.

| Premier | Artist | Date Completed | Unveiling |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *North-West Territories* | | |
| Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (1897–1905) | Victor Albert Long | 1912 | Unknown |
| | *Alberta* | | |
| Alexander C. Rutherford (1905–1910) | Victor Albert Long | ca. 1912 | Unknown |
| Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917) | Victor Albert Long | 1915 | Unknown |
| Charles Stewart (1917–1921) | Victor Albert Long | 1916 | Unknown |

---

* Tag Kim was born in Seoul, Korea, in 1943, and came to Canada in 1976. In addition to Premier Getty's portrait, Kim has painted six other portraits that currently hang in the Alberta Legislature Building—three Lieutenant Governors and three Speakers of the Legislative Assembly. He was also commissioned to paint smaller portraits of six Lieutenant Governors for the Government House Foundation. Westbridge and Bodnar, eds., *The Collectors Dictionary of Canadian Artists at Auction*, vol. 2: G-L, pp. 93–94; Fax from Graeme Moorhouse, Art Collection Consultant, The Alberta Foundation for the Arts, Edmonton, 26 January 2004.

| Premier | Artist | Date Completed | Unveiling |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Alberta (Continued)* | | | |
| Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) | Kathleen Daly | 1947 | October 7, 1948 |
| John E. Brownlee (1925–1934) | Lilias Torrance Newton | Commissioned 1946 | October 7, 1948 |
| Richard G. Reid (1934–1935) | Lilias Torrance Newton | Commissioned 1946 | October 7, 1948 |
| William Aberhart (1935–1943) | Nicholas Raphael de Grandmaison | 1943 | February 10, 1944 |
| Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) | Ernest George Fosbery | 1950 | Unknown* |
| Harry E. Strom (1968–1971) | Illingworth Holey Kerr | 1971 | Unknown† |
| E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985) | Cyril Leeper | 1988 | June 9, 1988 |
| Donald R. Getty (1985–1992) | Tag Kim | 1993 | December 9, 1994 |
| Ralph P. Klein (1992– ) | Not Applicable | | |

---

* Manning's portrait was completed in 1950. It is not known when, or if, it received an official unveiling. Permanent Collection, Portrait Commissions, n.d., [Accession List], Alberta Community Development, Edmonton.

† Strom's portrait was completed in 1971. It is not known when, or if, it received an official unveiling. However, *Alberta Hansard* for May 8, 1972 makes reference to Strom's portrait and says that the Kerr portrait of 'the former Premier' is already hanging in the hallway of the Legislature Building. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, 8 May 1972, p. 45–86.

## Notes

[1] Rick Pedersen, "Political Portraits Line Hallowed Halls," *Edmonton Journal*, 2 January 1986, p. C12.

[2] "Legislative Building Art Collection: Premiers of Saskatchewan – Portraits," Office of Protocol and Honours, *Government Relations* (Government of Saskatchewan, 2005), accessed 3 November 2005, available from http://www.gr.gov.sk.ca/protocol/Art/lieutenant_governors.htm

[3] Pedersen, "Political Portraits Line Hallowed Halls," p. C12.

[4] D. R. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona* (Calgary: Friends of Rutherford House and University of Calgary Press, 1989), pp. 78, 80; "Chancellor Dies: Dr. Rutherford Passes in City Aged 84 Years," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 June 1941, p. 6.

[5] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 7th Legislature, 5th Session*, vol. XXXII, 21 March 1935, p. 158; Portraits by Victor Albert Long in the Government of Alberta Collection, 2000, [Accession List], Alberta Community Development, Edmonton.

[6] "Memory of Late Premier Honoured as Life-Sized Portrait Unveiled," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 10 February 1944, p. 9.

[7] Ibid.

[8] "Order Paintings of 3 Former Premiers," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 May 1946, p. 5.

[9] "Present Portraits Former Premiers," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 October 1948, p. 21; "Gallery of Alberta Premiers," [Editorial], *Edmonton Journal*, 9 October 1948, p. 4.

[10] "Order Paintings of 3 Former Premiers," p. 5; "Province Getting Greenfield Picture," *Edmonton Journal*, 31 December 1947, p. 13.

[11] "Order Paintings of 3 Former Premiers," p. 5; "Province Getting Greenfield Picture," p. 13.

[12] Serge Gauthier, "Kathleen Daly and George Pepper, Capturing the Moment in Charlevoix," Past Exhibitions: Kathleen Daly and George D. Pepper, A Retrospective, *McMichael Canadian Art Collection*, [Internet], (Kleinburg, ON: McMichael Canadian Art Collection, 1996–1999), accessed 22 June 2004, available from http://www.mcmichael.com/daly-pepper.htm; Dorota Kozinska, "In Their Own Image," *Gazette* (Montreal), 20 September 1999, p. F1.

[13] William Colgate, *Canadian Art: Its Origin and Development* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1943), pp. 228, 233.

[14] Ibid., pp. 228–229; Colin S. MacDonald, ed., *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists*, vol. 1, 3rd ed. (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks, 1975), pp. 166–167; Colin S. MacDonald, ed., *A Dictionary of Canadian Artists*, vol. 5 (Ottawa: Canadian Paperbacks Publishing, 1977), pp. 1370–1371; Pedersen, "Political Portraits Line Hallowed Halls," p. C12.

[15] Pedersen, "Political Portraits Line Hallowed Halls," p. C12; "Rural Route Artist Bios: Illingworth Kerr, 1905–1989," Commissions, Boards, Councils and Foundations: Government House Foundation, *Alberta Community Development: All About Us*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2005), accessed 21 November 2005, available from http://www.cd.gov.ab.ca

[16] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 21st Legislature, 3rd Session*, 1 June 1988, p. 1415.

[17] "It's Not a Finger Painting, but Alberta Portrait of Lougheed has Extra Digit," *Canadian Press Newswire*, 5 September 2001.

[18] Ibid.

[19] James Cudmore, "Lougheed Doesn't Like Official Portrait, Son Says," *National Post*, 6 September 2001, p. A6.

[20] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, Portraits of Former Premier Don Getty and Former Speaker David Carter Will be Unveiled at the Alberta Legislature, 9 December 1994, [News Release]; Greg Southam, “Lasting Impression: Getty Remembered,” [Photo and Caption], *Calgary Herald*, 10 December 1994, p. A2.

[21] Frank Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature: A Celebration* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1987), p. 99.

[22] Preston Manning and Roy Romanow, “Prairie Companions,” *Maclean’s* vol. 118, no. 27/28 (1 July 2005): p. 34.

# Protocol

# PROTOCOL

## Order of Precedence

The Order of Precedence recognizes the relative rank and pre-eminence of public figures. The Order of Precedence received legal recognition for the first time under *The Act for Placing of the Lords, 1539*.*[1] Adhering to the basic principles codified in the Act and in subsequent amendments to the Act, parliamentary jurisdictions in the Commonwealth, including Canada and its provinces and territories, have developed their own Orders of Precedence and accompanying Tables of Precedence. Used at official functions and on ceremonial occasions, these documents establish a hierarchy based on rank, for seating plans, introductions, speeches and toasts.[2] While the basic order outlined by conventions of protocol, including the Table of Precedence, has become well-established over time, it must "be flexible and adapt to the various players on the political or social stage" so as to keep pace with the continually changing mores of contemporary society.[3]

In Canada, the Governor General, on behalf of the Sovereign, with the advice of the Prime Minister, and on the recommendation of the Minister of Canadian Heritage, establishes the Table of Precedence.†[4] Although provincial officials and dignitaries are included in the Table of Precedence for Canada, each province also establishes its own rules, which mirror the federal Table. These rules reflect the provincial focus by providing more detail for the particular jurisdiction and typically give provincial Cabinet Ministers precedence over federal Ministers. For example, on the Alberta Order of Precedence, members of the provincial Cabinet are placed in the eighth position, while federal Cabinet Ministers are placed in the 10th position. On the federal Order of Precedence, federal Cabinet Ministers are in the seventh position, while provincial Cabinet Ministers are placed in the 25th position.[5]

---

* *The Act for Placing of the Lords, 1539*, often referred to as the *Act of Precedence*, was ostensibly about seating arrangements in Parliament, the Privy Council and the Star Chamber, amongst others. However, it was mainly concerned with establishing which offices of the state would be granted Privy Council membership. John Guy, *Tudor England* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 185–186.

† Previously, all matters concerning protocol were the responsibility of the federal Secretary of State, but in 1996, sections 46 and 47 of the *Department of Canadian Heritage Act* transferred this responsibility to the newly created Department of Canadian Heritage. This Department's mandate covers "all matters over which Parliament has jurisdiction … relating to Canadian identity and values, cultural development, heritage and areas of natural or historical significance to the nation." This includes "state ceremonial and Canadian symbols" under which protocol and the Order of Precedence falls. *Department of Canadian Heritage Act*, S.C. 1995, c. 11, ss. 46, 47, 4(1), 4(2)(h); "Our Mission," Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols Promotion, *Canadian Heritage*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed October 5, 2005, available from http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/mission/index_e.cfm

According to Canada's Table of Precedence, the 10 provincial Premiers are collectively listed in the 11th position. Within that rank, a sub-order of precedence applies to individual Premiers, which reflects the order in which their provinces joined Confederation. According to this prioritization scheme, the Premier of Alberta holds the ninth position,* followed by the Premier of Newfoundland and Labrador.[6] Government leaders from the three territories are located in the 12th position on the Table and are likewise arranged according to how long their respective territories have existed within Confederation.[7]

Alberta's own Table is based on the Canadian Table of Precedence, with attention to the Tables of Precedence in other provincial jurisdictions. The Order of Precedence in Alberta is determined by the Protocol Office, but it also contains input from the Office of the Premier and the Office of the Clerk of the Executive Council.[8] On occasions where federal or foreign dignitaries or officials are present, the Table of Precedence of Canada or international protocols may be observed, thus giving precedence to these dignitaries over certain provincial categories.[9] According to Alberta's Table, the Premier is second in order of precedence, preceded only by the Lieutenant Governor. Former Premiers occupy the fifth position, with precedence given to those whose service occurred earlier. Provincial Cabinet Ministers are listed at the eighth position, in an order within that position as determined by the Premier.[10] The Leader of the Official Opposition is accorded the ninth position, while all other Members of the Legislative Assembly are in the 11th position, ranked according to the date on which they were first elected to the Legislative Assembly.[11]

The first 10 positions in the Table of Precedence for the Province of Alberta are:

1. The Lieutenant Governor of Alberta;
2. **The Premier of Alberta** [bolding added];
3. The Chief Justice of Alberta;
4. Former Lieutenant Governors; precedence is determined by the date of their Commissions [earliest first];
5. **Former Premiers; precedence determined by the date of their swearing-in ceremony** [earliest first, bolding added];
6. The Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta;
7. Ambassadors and High Commissioners accredited to Canada;
8. Members of the Executive Council of Alberta, in relative order of precedence as determined by the Premier;
9. Leader of the Official Opposition;
10. Members of the Privy Council for Canada resident in Alberta, with relative precedence among them to, first, Members of the Canadian Cabinet and second, to those not in Cabinet.[12]

---

* Although Saskatchewan and Alberta joined Confederation together, in September 1905, as Canada's eighth and ninth provinces, Alberta holds the ninth position because, in 1905, it had a smaller population than did Saskatchewan.

## Forms of Address

The proper etiquette for addressing the Premier reflects his role as an elected representative and as the head of government. When addressing the Premier in writing, the protocol is as follows:

The Hon. Ralph Klein, M.L.A.,
Premier of the Province of Alberta,
Office of the Premier,
Etc.

| Salutation | Complimentary Close |
|---|---|
| Dear Sir: | Yours very truly, |
| My dear Premier: | Believe me, my dear Premier,<br>Yours sincerely, |
| Dear Mr. Klein: | With kind regards,<br>Yours sincerely,[13] |

In circumstances that require a formal style of conversation, such as a ceremonial event or in a discussion with a subordinate, the Premier is addressed as 'Sir.' On less formal occasions, or amongst friends, the Premier may be addressed as either 'Mr. Klein' or 'Mr. Premier.' The Premier is entitled to use the title 'The Honourable.'[14] When using this title in either speech or writing, it should be used in conjunction with the individual's full name, initials or other titles. For example, 'The Honourable Mr. Klein,' 'The Honourable Ralph Klein' and 'The Honourable Ralph P. Klein' would all be appropriate ways to address the Premier. Using the title directly before the Premier's last name, as in 'The Honourable Klein,' is incorrect.[15]

Although the Premier uses the title 'The Honourable' while in office, he does not retain this title after he has left office, unless he has been appointed to the Queen's Privy Council for Canada.[16] The Queen's Privy Council for Canada was established by the *British North America Act, 1867*, which makes provision for

> a Council to aid and advise in the Government of Canada, to be styled the Queen's Privy Council for Canada; and the Persons who are to be Members of that Council shall be from Time to Time chosen and summoned by the Governor General and sworn in as Privy Councillors, and Members thereof may be from Time to Time removed by the Governor General.[17]

Appointments to the Privy Council are made by the Governor General upon the recommendation of the Prime Minister. All current and former members of the federal Cabinet are members of the Privy Council, but the Prime Minister may recommend the appointment of other distinguished Canadians as well.[18] While the Privy Council is constitutionally an executive advisory body, convention has limited the advisory duties to those members who are currently members of the federal Cabinet.[19] An appointment to the Privy Council is considered a great honour.[20] A number of Alberta's Premiers have been appointed to the Privy Council, including Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917), appointed October 12, 1917, and Charles Stewart (1917–1921), appointed December 29, 1921.[21] Both Sifton and Stewart received their

appointments when they were named to the federal Cabinets of Prime Ministers Sir Robert L. Borden (1911–1920) and W. L. Mackenzie King (1921–1926, 1926–1930, 1935–1948), respectively.* Premier Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) was appointed to the Privy Council on July 5, 1967,[22] and Premier E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985) on April 17, 1982.†[23] Appointments to the Queen's Privy Council for Canada are for life.[24]

---

* In addition to his appointment to the King's Privy Council for Canada, on January 22, 1920, former Premier Sifton was also appointed to the Privy Council of the United Kingdom. With this appointment Sifton earned the title 'Right Honourable.' [Appointment of Arthur Lewis Sifton to the Privy Council of the United Kingdom], 22 January 1920, [Document], Arthur Lewis Sifton Fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, MG 27-II D19, vol. 6, p. 5; "Members of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada," Information Resources, *Government of Canada Privy Council Office*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 17 January 2006, available from http://www.pcobcp.gc.ca/default.asp?Language=E&Page=InformationResources&Sub=PrivyCouncilMembers; "Privy Council Members," Work of the Privy Council Office, *Privy Council Office*, [Internet], (London, UK: Privy Council Office), accessed 18 January 2006, available from http://www.privy-council.org.uk/output/Page25.asp; Howard Measures, *Styles of Address: A Manual of Usage in Writing and in Speech*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1969), p. 133.

† The appointments to the Privy Council of both Manning and Lougheed took place within the context of significant national historical events. Manning was one of the 10 Premiers appointed during Canada's Centennial celebrations in 1967. Lougheed was amongst the Premiers who were appointed to the Privy Council at the time of the patriation of the Canadian Constitution in 1982.

# Notes

[1] Norman Wilding and Philip Laundy, *An Encyclopaedia of Parliament*, 4th rev. ed. (London: Cassell, 1972), p. 569; *The Act for Placing of the Lords, 1539* (U.K.), 31 Hen. VIII, c. 10.

[2] Saskatchewan. Government Relations and Aboriginal Affairs. Office of Protocol and Honours, "Table of Precedence," Protocol in Practice, *Government Relations: Office of Protocol and Honours*, [Internet], (Regina, SK: Government Relations), accessed 16 October 2005, available from http://www.gr.gov.sk.ca/protocol/Practice/precedence.htm

[3] "Protocol," Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols Promotion, *Canadian Heritage*, [Internet], (Gatineau, QC: Department of Canadian Heritage), accessed 16 October 2005, available from http://www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/pe/index_e.cfm

[4] E-mail from Sylvie Guay, State Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols, Canadian Heritage, Ottawa, 15 June 2004.

[5] Alberta. Protocol Office, "Executive Council: Order of Precedence," *Government at a Glance: Premier, Government of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Alberta Protocol Office, September 1998), accessed 16 October 2005, available from http://www.gov.ab.ca/home/Index.cfm?Page=444; "Precedence," Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols Promotion: Protocol, *Canadian Heritage,* [Internet], (Ottawa: Dept. of Canadian Heritage), accessed 16 October 2005, available from http://www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/pe/index_e.cfm; E-mail from Betty Anne Spinks, Chief of Protocol, Executive Council, Government of Alberta, Edmonton, 27 February 2004.

[6] "Precedence," [Internet].

[7] Ibid.

[8] E-mail from Spinks, 27 February 2004.

[9] Alberta. Protocol Office, "Executive Council: Order of Precedence," [Internet].

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Howard Measures, *Styles of Address: A Manual of Usage in Writing and in Speech*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1969), pp. 125–126; Saskatchewan Provincial Secretary Office of Protocol and Honours, *Forms of Address* (Regina: Government of Saskatchewan: Office of Protocol and Honours, 2005), p. 5.

[14] Measures, *Styles of Address*, p. 126; Office of Protocol and Honours, *Forms of Address*, p. 5.

[15] Office of Protocol and Honours, *Forms of Address*, p. 6.

[16] Measures, *Styles of Address*, pp. 126, 133; Office of Protocol and Honours, *Forms of Address*, p. 5.

[17] *British North America Act, 1867* (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3. Note that the name of the *British North America Act, 1867* was changed in 1982 to the *Constitution Act, 1867*. For more information, see the Glossary.

[18] "The Queen's Privy Council for Canada," Information Resources: Description, *Government of Canada: Privy Council Office,* [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 17 January 2006, available from http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/default.asp?Language=E&Page=informationresources&Sub=QueensPrivyCouncil

[19] John McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics: A Guide to Important Terms and Concepts*, 3rd ed. (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), p. 232.

[20] "The Queen's Privy Council for Canada," [Internet].

[21] "Members of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada," Information Resources, *Government of Canada: Privy Council Office,* [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/default.asp?Language=E&Page=InformationResources&Sub=PrivyCouncilMembers

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Measures, *Styles of Address*, p. 133.

# Special Events

# SPECIAL EVENTS

The Premier of Alberta has numerous executive and legislative responsibilities that are fundamental to his role as head of government. However, the Premier also has many ceremonial duties to fulfill. The most publicly visible instances of such duties occur when the province marks an important milestone or when dignitaries visit the province. It is during these occasions that the legislative and administrative responsibilities that occupy most of the Premier's time can be overshadowed by the symbolic aspects of the position. Each Premier's participation during such events can vary, as the Premier does not have a constitutionally defined role during state functions. Rather, the Lieutenant Governor, as head of state, has the responsibility and privilege to represent Alberta on such occasions. However, Albertans look to the Premier, as the *de facto* leader of the Executive Branch and the leader of the elected government caucus, for symbolic and morale-building leadership. Society expects its elected leaders to be able to inspire, give purpose to and boost the morale of their community, and leaders are often chosen at least partly on their ability to "symbolize societal values and stand for principles that are cherished" by that society.[1] Therefore, it is important for the Premier to have a highly visible role during these occasions.

The Premier's involvement in ceremonial state functions and special events is significant on several levels. Firstly, the emotional impact of special events on the public cannot be underestimated, and it is important for first ministers, whether Prime Ministers or Premiers, to understand the importance of symbolic events.[2] The ceremonies associated with the early province-building stage of Alberta's history and anniversary celebrations are examples of these important symbolic events. Secondly, the Premier's involvement in greeting, escorting and hosting foreign heads of state and of government, celebrities and religious and business leaders, amongst others, can lead to political, economic and personal relationships that can be advantageous to the province.[3]

## Alberta's Inauguration, 1905

With the creation of the Province of Alberta in 1905 came the new province's first occasion of great symbolic importance, the inaugural ceremony of September 1, 1905. Alexander C. Rutherford, who, as leader of the Alberta Liberal Party, was widely acknowledged as inevitably becoming Alberta's first Premier, was personally involved with the Inaugural Ceremony Committee.[4] However, as he had not yet been sworn in as Premier, he did not participate in the official proceedings. The creation of the new province was brought about by an Act of the Parliament in Ottawa. Consequently, the event was a federal affair.[5] It was presided over by Governor General Earl Grey (1904–1911) and Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1896–1911). The swearing-in of Alberta's first Lieutenant Governor, George H. V. Bulyea (1905–1915), followed by the reading of the King's Proclamation, was the event that conferred provincial

status upon Alberta.[6] Rutherford (1905–1910) was named Premier-Designate by Bulyea the following day[*] during a ceremony accompanied by parades and fireworks.[7]

## Opening of the First Legislature, 1906

The first special event in which Rutherford personally played a role was the opening of the First Session of the First Legislature on March 15, 1906. Due to the large crowds expected for the occasion, the opening of the Legislature was held at the Thistle Rink.[†] During the proceedings, which the *Lethbridge Herald* described as 'unostentatious,' thousands of people crowded into the arena to watch Premier Rutherford nominate Charles W. Fisher (1906–1919) as Speaker. In his nomination speech, Rutherford noted the symbolic importance of the event. He said:

> It is an honor, a high honor, to be members of the First Legislature of the Province of Alberta. We are today entering upon the task of laying the foundations of empire in this new land. We will be called upon to solve for this great Province of Alberta many new and difficult problems. It is expected that we will prove ourselves equal to the task of their solution. It is expected that we will enact and carry into effect measures that will be to the lasting advantage of the people of this province, and for their welfare.[8]

Once Fisher had accepted the duties of Speaker, Lieutenant Governor Bulyea entered the Chamber and read the first Speech from the Throne in a sitting that lasted a little over an hour.[9] After the Assembly adjourned, Premier Rutherford and his wife hosted a reception at McKay Avenue School, which would serve as the meeting place for the Legislative Assembly over the next few years.[‡][10] The *Strathcona Plaindealer* reported that the Premier's reception was

---

[*] On September 8, 1905, along with his chosen Cabinet, Rutherford officially took his oath of office for the position of 'President of the Council.' Alexander C. Rutherford, President of the Council, 8 September 1905, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; "Portfolios Allotted: Three Appointments Made Yesterday," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 9 September 1905, p. 1. The *Alberta Gazette* has the notice of appointment to office dated September 9, 1905. "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 1, 31 October 1905, p. 3.

[†] There are discrepancies amongst the various accounts that speak to the number of people attending the opening of the First Session of the First Legislature. Contemporary newspaper accounts of the event stated that the Thistle Rink had a seating capacity of about 3,000. These same sources also stated that every seat was filled. Other sources suggest that more than 4,000 people attended the sitting. "The First Alberta Legislature Opens," *Lethbridge Herald*, 15 March 1906, p. 1; "Alberta Legislature Formally Opened," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 15 March 1906, p. 1; "Alberta's First Legislature Was Opened Yesterday," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 16 March 1906, p. 1; D. R. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona* (Calgary: Friends of Rutherford House and University of Calgary, 1989), p. 28.

[‡] The First Session of Legislative Assembly of Alberta convened at the Thistle Rink and McKay Avenue School because the Legislature Building had not yet been constructed. The First and Second Sessions of the First Legislature met on the third floor of McKay Avenue School. In 1908, for the Third Session of the First Legislature, the Assembly convened in Legislative Hall, an annex located next to the Terrace Building on 96th Avenue and 106th Street, until finally moving into the uncompleted Legislature Building in 1911. "Opening of the Third Session," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 16 January 1908, p. 1; Frank Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature: A Celebration* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1987), p. 22.

"a brilliant affair and an unqualified success. Upwards of a thousand ladies and gentlemen attended and were received by the Premier and his cabinet."[11]

## Opening of the Alberta Legislature Building, 1912

On the morning of September 3, 1912, the Governor General of Canada, the Duke of Connaught (1911–1916), arrived in Edmonton for a day of ceremony and celebration. The occasion was the official opening of Alberta's new, and still partially unfinished, Legislature Building.* The Vice-Regal Party arrived in Edmonton by train and was officially greeted by Premier Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917), Lieutenant Governor Bulyea and the Mayor of Edmonton, George S. Armstrong (1911–1912).[12] Later that afternoon, after attending a luncheon hosted by the Lieutenant Governor, the Governor General participated in the official opening of the Legislature Building.[13] Premier Sifton welcomed the Governor General, and, in a prepared address, pledged Alberta's loyalty to the King and impressed upon the Duke of Connaught Alberta's great agricultural contribution to the success of the Empire. The Premier told the Governor General and the crowds watching the proceedings about the efforts of Albertans in "converting the lands of this Province from an expanse of prairie, forest and mountain into one of the richest storehouses of the Empire."[†14] After Sifton's address, the Duke of Connaught was invited to use a ceremonial key,[‡] made of 'Saskatchewan River gold,' to open the front doors to the building.[15] Following the ceremony, the Duke and Duchess attended a dinner hosted by the Government and held in the Legislative Chamber, during which Premier Sifton toasted the Duke's health.[16] After the ceremonies in the capital were finished, Sifton accompanied the Vice–Regal Party to Calgary. On September 8, after breakfast

---

[*] At the time of the official opening, construction of the Legislature Building had not been completed. The main entrance, rotunda, Chamber, Library and the east wing, which contained some government offices, were mostly finished. Construction on the Building was not completed until 1913, although the Legislative Assembly had been convening in the Chamber since November 1911. Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature*, pp. 22–23.

[†] There are ambiguities in the various accounts of this speech. What is known is that a Loyal Address to the King was made, after which the Duke was invited to open the Legislature Building on behalf of his nephew the King. There are inconsistencies between the various reports as to who delivered the Loyal Address and invitation. Printed copies of the Loyal Address include the invitation to open the Building as part of the address, leading to the conclusion that one person did both. "Governor General Reaches Edmonton: Facsimile of Government Address to the Governor General," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 September 1912, p. 2. Some accounts suggest that Speaker Charles W. Fisher read both the Address and the invitation. "Royal Visitors in City Today," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 3 September 1912, p. 1; "Magnificent Pile Formally Opened by H. R. H. the Duke," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 4 September 1912, p. 2. Other newspaper accounts imply that Premier Sifton read both the Address and invitation. "Duke Opened New Alberta Buildings," *Globe* (Toronto), 5 September 1912, p. 11.

[‡] There is an amusing story that is told about this opening ceremony that involved a last-minute discovery that there was no lock (and thus no place to insert the ceremonial key) on the elaborately carved front doors of the as yet not completely finished Legislature Building. It was related in the book that commemorated the 75th anniversary of opening of the Building, and goes as follows: "When the Governor General was supposedly unlocking the doors, someone else was on the inside pulling them open. Fortunately there was no television to give Albertans a close-up of the arrival. That bit of play-acting didn't prevent provincial officials from presenting him with a replica of the key to the main doors." Frank Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature: A Celebration* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1987), p. 22.

at the residence of Senator James Lougheed,* the Duchess of Connaught and Princess Patricia attended the Calgary Stampede, and the Governor General proceeded to Gleichen for an automobile tour of area farms and visits to irrigation facilities constructed by the Southern Alberta Land Company. Later in the day, the Governor General attended a luncheon hosted by the company's executive officers. Premier Sifton escorted the Governor General throughout this trip.[17]

### Royal Tour of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, 1939

Premier William Aberhart (1935–1943) represented Alberta during the next major event, arguably the largest public celebration ever held in Alberta. In June of 1939, Alberta enthusiastically greeted King George VI and Queen Elizabeth during their tour of Canada, Newfoundland and the United States. The six-week-long 1939 Royal Tour was the first time that a reigning monarch had visited Canada,† and it came at an opportune time. After a decade of hardship brought about by the Great Depression, and with threat of war in Europe growing daily, Albertans, like all Canadians, were in dire need of a celebration.[18] During the Royal Couple's national tour, stops were made in Alberta at Medicine Hat, Calgary, Banff and Jasper, before the King and Queen arrived in Edmonton.

Aberhart, a master at public relations and pleasing crowds, was busy during the months immediately preceding the visit, in part in the making of arrangements for the Edmonton portion of the Royal Tour. Aberhart was heavily involved in planning the agenda of the official ceremony, and he personally travelled the route the Royal Procession would take to ensure that the proposed schedule was feasible.[19]

---

* Senator James Lougheed was the grandfather of future Alberta Premier E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985). Senator Lougheed's Calgary residence was a large mansion named 'Beaulieu,' which the Senator had had built in 1881. After Senator Lougheed's death in 1925 and the loss of the family's investments during the Great Depression, Beaulieu was forfeited to the City of Calgary in 1936 because of unpaid property taxes. In 1938, the estate was liquidated and, due to lack of maintenance, the property began to deteriorate. In 2005, after a 16-year restoration project, Beaulieu was opened to the public as 'Lougheed House.' Peter Lougheed was actively involved in the restoration of his grandparents' home and has since been given a room in the mansion to house his archives. "Last Tribute Paid to Leading Canadian," *Globe* (Toronto), 4 November 1925, p. 10; "The Early Years," Past and Present, *Beaulieu: The Historic Lougheed House*, [Internet], (Calgary: Lougheed House Conservation Society), accessed 18 January 2006, available from http://www.lougheedhouse.com/history.php; John Gilchrist, "Lougheed House Puts History on the Menu," *Calgary Herald*, 1 May 2005, p. E8; Fax from Trudy Cowan, Executive Director, Lougheed House Conservation Society, 13 September 2004; Peter Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

† King George V and Queen Mary had visited Canada in 1901, when they were the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York.

Premier W. Aberhart welcomes King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, on steps of the Legislature Building (June 2, 1939). National Film Board of Canada (NFB). Photothèque/Library and Archives Canada PA-209830.

On June 2, 1939, the Royal Couple and Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King (1921–1926, 1926–1930, 1935–1948), who had accompanied Their Majesties throughout the trip, were greeted by Premier Aberhart, Lieutenant Governor John C. Bowen (1937–1950) and Edmonton Mayor John W. Fry (1938–1945) at the Edmonton train station, whereupon the King inspected the guard of honour.[20] After proceeding to the steps of the Legislature Building, Premier Aberhart greeted the King and Queen by reading an address, assuring Their Majesties of Albertans' 'sincere and enduring loyalty.'[21] The Premier then presented Alberta's Victoria Cross recipients to the Royal Couple.[22] From the steps of the Building, the ceremonies moved into the Chamber, where Alberta officials, including Members of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, were presented to Their Majesties. The Legislature was not in session at the time, having prorogued on April 3, 1939; consequently, there was no formal address by the Sovereign. Subsequently, the King and Queen joined Lieutenant Governor Bowen and his wife for a private tea in the Vice-Regal Suite.[23] Later in the day, Premier Aberhart hosted a banquet for the Royal Couple at the Hotel Macdonald. The King escorted Mrs. Aberhart and the Premier escorted Queen Elizabeth into the dining hall, and they were all seated together at the centre of the table. Lieutenant Governor Bowen and his wife also attended.[24] After the banquet, King George, the Premier and the Prime Minister, who had also attended the dinner, engaged in conversation until the Royal Couple left for their train.[25]

## Alberta's Golden Jubilee, 1955

In 1955, Alberta celebrated its Golden Jubilee. Premier Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) presided over a number of the Golden Jubilee celebrations. The Speech from the Throne for the Third Session of the 12th Legislature stated that

> the year 1955 is of special significance to the people of Alberta in that it marks the fiftieth anniversary of our inauguration as a Province. Many activities which will commemorate fittingly this important anniversary will be held throughout the Province. It is the hope and desire of my Government that these activities will honour particularly the early pioneers whose foresight and perseverance made possible the progress and development we have experienced during our first half century as a province.[26]

The Social Credit Government of Premier Manning recognized the importance of this anniversary by initiating programs that recognized the contributions of pioneer Albertans and that would provide benefits to current and future generations of Albertans. These programs included a Golden Jubilee Special Allowance, which would be given to all Albertans receiving a pension under the federal *Old Age Security Act*, and also to any Alberta citizen receiving an allowance or a pension under various provincial acts.[27] On September 1, a special two-hour radio program was broadcast in honour of the 50th Anniversary of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. During the program, Premier Manning delivered a speech congratulating Albertans on the province's progress and read an address to Albertans on behalf of Queen Elizabeth II.[28]

Celebrations marking the Golden Jubilee were held in both Calgary and Edmonton. The ceremonies in Calgary began on September 6, when Prime Minister Louis S. St. Laurent (1948–1957) arrived. The day's festivities culminated in a revue at the Stampede Corral.[29] Premier Manning and Lieutenant Governor John J. Bowlen (1950–1959) accompanied the Prime Minister during the Calgary events. Late in the evening of September 6, the official party left for Edmonton. Premier Manning and Lieutenant Governor Bowlen arrived at the airport just before St. Laurent so that they could both be on hand to formally welcome the Prime Minister to the capital.[30]

The celebrations in the capital began early the next day on the Grounds of the Legislature Building. The Premier and Prime Minister unveiled an Historic Sites and Monuments of Canada cairn and plaque commemorating Alberta's inauguration,* after which both first ministers addressed the crowds.[31] During the program, Premier Manning presented copies of the *Golden Jubilee Anthology*, a collection of Alberta history, literature and art, to six senior citizens, several of whom had served as Members of the Legislative Assembly or as civil servants in Alberta's early years.[32] At the conclusion of the ceremony at the Legislature Building, the Premier and Lieutenant Governor joined the Prime Minister in a horse-drawn carriage and accompanied him to a luncheon hosted by the Premier at the Hotel Macdonald.[33]

After the luncheon, Bowlen rode with St. Laurent in the Jubilee Parade, which ended at Clarke Stadium, where a large celebration had been planned.[34] At the program's conclusion, Premier Manning spoke, paying tribute to the pioneers who had worked so hard to make Alberta strong: "[L]et's face the problems of the future with the strength of character we can draw from those pioneers. Let history record not only our material progress, but also that we were able to make to civilization a worthwhile contribution of spiritual, intellectual and cultural resources."[35]

### Alberta's Diamond Jubilee, 1980

In 1980, Alberta celebrated its 75th Anniversary. It did so against a backdrop of prosperity brought about by the rapid expansion of the oil industry. During the 1970s, Alberta had become "the wealthiest [province] in Canada" and "exuded a sense of vigour, optimism, and brash confidence."[36] The celebrations of the 75th Anniversary of the province provided an ideal occasion to highlight Alberta's achievements. In the Speech from the Throne, Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Lynch-Staunton (1979–1985) outlined the importance of celebrating the milestone when he affirmed that

> the thoughts of Albertans in this 75th Anniversary year are of thankfulness for the abundant blessings shared by our people. Marking such an occasion is more than a brief look into the past and the acknowledgement of the creative energies of our forefathers. My government believes that it is also an occasion for the ideas and initiatives from Albertans of today to set the tone for our province-wide anniversary activities.[37]

---

* The cairn and the plaque are located on the Legislature Grounds, between the Legislature Building and the Legislature Annex. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Self-Guided Grounds Tour: The Alberta Legislature* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 2002).

The Government of Premier E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985) worked with municipalities around the province to provide a number of "projects of lasting value and of the greatest local and community significance."[38] Numerous projects were planned that would enhance individual communities. These projects ranged from the relatively simple, such as upgrading playground equipment, to the construction of recreation centres and museums.[39]

The Premier played a very public and visible role during the celebrations, most of which occurred during the two months preceding the September 1 anniversary date. In July, Premier Lougheed, accompanied by a ceremonial escort of mounted Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officers, officially opened the 1980 Calgary Exhibition and Stampede by serving as marshal for the annual Stampede Parade.* The Lieutenant Governor officially closed the Stampede that year.[40] Later that month, Lougheed and Lynch-Staunton, along with former Premiers Ernest C. Manning and Harry E. Strom (1968–1971), and former Lieutenant Governors J. W. Grant MacEwan (1966–1974) and Ralph G. Steinhauer (1974–1979), served as marshals for Edmonton's annual Klondike Days Parade.[†41] The Premier also took part in smaller ceremonies that marked the anniversary. For example, on August 10, 1980, he unveiled a sculpture donated to the province by Alberta's Ukrainian community. Located at the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, 35 kilometres east of Edmonton, the sculpture depicted a pioneer Ukrainian family and was intended to show that community's appreciation for the opportunities Alberta had given it.[42] Lougheed even carried out his own personal tribute to Alberta. The Premier set out to climb Mount Lougheed, the 3,105-metre mountain located near Canmore[43] that was named after his grandfather Sir James A. Lougheed. After an initial attempt on August 17, 1980 had failed due to bad weather, the Premier, accompanied by his family and three guides, reached the summit on August 29.[44]

The weekend of the anniversary saw a number of events occur in the capital and around the province for which Premier Lougheed was officially considered to be the host.[45] Conveniently, September 1 fell on the Labour Day holiday, and the festivities were lavish. The official anniversary ceremony took place on the Legislature Grounds.[46] The events began at seven o'clock in the morning, but the official program of speeches, presentations and military salutes did not begin until 11:30 a.m. Premier Lougheed and Lieutenant Governor Lynch-Staunton were present along with other officials, including Governor General Edward R. Schreyer (1979–1984)

---

* This was the second time that Premier Lougheed served as Grand Marshal of the Calgary Stampede Parade. He had previously been honoured with the distinction in 1975. "Calgary Exhibition and Stampede: June 4–13, 1980," Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Archives, *Our Future, Our Past: The Alberta Heritage Digitization Project*, [Official Souvenir Program], [Internet], (Calgary: University of Calgary Press), accessed 19 February 2006, available from http://www.ourfutureourpast.ca/stampede/index.htm

† Former Alberta Premier Richard G. Reid (1934–1935) had been invited as well, but he was unable to attend due to poor health. Reid passed away three months later, at 101 years of age. "Past Premiers to Lead Parade," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 July 1980, p. B3. On September 1, 1980, former Premiers Manning and Strom, along with Hazel Rutherford McCuaig, daughter of Alexander C. Rutherford, joined Premier Lougheed for the ceremonial presentation in the Chamber of a new canopy for Speaker Gerard J. Amerongen's (1972–1986) Chair. "Canopy to Shield Speaker," *Edmonton Journal*, 2 September 1980, p. A18.

and Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau (1968–1979, 1980–1984), as well as international dignitaries, such as British High Commissioner Sir John Ford; the Lord Mayor of London, England, Sir Peter D. H. Gadsden; and a delegation of 16 people from Hokkaido, Japan.*[47] Both the Premier and the Prime Minister made speeches. Premier Lougheed reminded the assembled crowds and dignitaries of former Premier John E. Brownlee's (1925–1934) words after he secured for Alberta the ownership of its natural resources in 1930. Brownlee had said that it was probably the most important piece of legislation that had ever come, or ever would come, before the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.[48] After the ceremony ended, the Premier and the Lieutenant Governor jointly hosted a luncheon for 800 senior citizens at the Edmonton Plaza Hotel.[49]

Later in the year, Premier Lougheed declared that the 75th Anniversary celebrations had been a resounding success. He said that it was the hope of his Government that the

> celebrations have commemorated that proud past and paid tribute to the people and events which have played such an important role in the formation of Alberta. We can be proud of their achievements, their experience sets a noble example for current and future generations of Albertans as they strive to meet the challenges of tomorrow's Alberta.[50]

## Preparations for Alberta's Centennial Celebrations

In 2005, Alberta celebrates its Centennial. The celebrations were to be presided over by Premier Ralph P. Klein (1992– ) and Lieutenant Governor Lois E. Hole (2000–2005).† The Centennial celebrations were of such personal importance to Premier Klein that, amidst rumours of his possible retirement, he made it clear that he intended to remain as Premier throughout the Centennial year.[51]

On September 1, 2004, one year before the Centennial, the Premier participated in an event to mark the beginnings of preparations for the next year. During the event, Premier Klein unveiled the design of Centennial medallion that would be given to Alberta's students and Albertans who had reached their 100th birthday.[52] At the unveiling, the Premier indicated that each "medallion pays tribute to the people of this province—the Aboriginal Peoples, pioneers and modern-day visionaries who have made Alberta the best place in Canada and the world."[53] During that same event, the Premier, along with others, notably Lieutenant Governor Lois E. Hole and Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta Kenneth R. Kowalski (1997– ), was named an Honourary Centennial Ambassador.[54] The Ambassadors were to help motivate and encourage Albertans to become involved in the Centennial celebrations.[55]

---

* Sir Peter Gadsden was a native of Mannville, Alberta. He was invited to visit Alberta during the 75th Anniversary celebrations by a delegation from the Government of Alberta which had travelled to London to participate in Gadsden's 1979 inauguration parade. Gadsden visited Mannville, Calgary and Fort McMurray. The delegation from Japan was on hand for the signing of the Hokkaido/Alberta Proclamation of Friendship and Affiliation. Alberta. Dept. of Culture, *Interim Report on the 75th Anniversary Celebrations Tabled by Hon. Mary J. Lemessurier, Chairman of the 75th Anniversary Cabinet Committee, November 19, 1980* (Edmonton: Dept. of Culture, 1980), pp. 15–16.

† Lieutenant Governor Lois Hole had been previously diagnosed with cancer and, sadly, she passed away on January 6, 2005. Her successor, Norman L. Kwong (2005– ) was sworn in as Lieutenant Governor on January 20, 2005 and was to preside over many of the Centennial year celebrations. Alberta. Office of the Lieutenant Governor, Statement from the Office of the Lieutenant Governor of Alberta on the Passing of Lois E. Hole, 7 January 2005, [News Release]; Bill Mah, "Queen's Representative Mindful of Humble Origins," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 January 2005, p. A6.

Early in 2005, Premier Klein delivered a message to all Albertans. In it he said that

> Albertans have much to celebrate. Our province's natural beauty, its people and entrepreneurial spirit are sources of immense pride and strength. They have inspired us to achieve great things in the past, and will lead us to even greater accomplishments in the future. … It is an exciting year and I am looking forward to joining fellow Albertans in celebrating our past and imagining an even brighter future.[56]

He also encouraged all Albertans to get involved in the many events that would occur throughout the province. One Centennial program to which the Premier drew particular attention was the Centennial Invitation Program, under which Albertans could submit names of friends and relatives living outside the province, and the Premier would send them a personal invitation to visit Alberta during the 2005 Centennial year.[57]

### Visit of Queen Elizabeth II, 2005

The Centennial celebrations officially began on May 23, 2005, with the visit of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh. When the Queen arrived at the Edmonton City Centre Airport she was welcomed by Lieutenant Governor Norman L. Kwong, on behalf of the Province of Alberta, and by Deputy Prime Minister A. Anne McLellan (2003– ), on behalf of the Government of Canada. The Queen was then escorted to Commonwealth Stadium, where she was greeted by Premier Klein who assisted Her Majesty during a cake-cutting ceremony.[58] After the program at Commonwealth Stadium had concluded, the Royal Party attended a formal dinner hosted by the Government of Alberta, during which Premier Klein announced that Highway 2, the main transportation corridor between Calgary and Edmonton, was being renamed The Queen Elizabeth II Highway.[59]

Left to Right: Her Honour M. Kwong; Lieutenant Governor N.L. Kwong; Queen Elizabeth II; Premier R.P. Klein; and Prince Philip, at ceremonies at Commonwealth Stadium during 2005 royal visit (May 23, 2005).

The next day, at the Provincial Museum of Alberta, during a ceremony presided over by Premier Klein, the Queen announced that the museum would henceforth be known as the Royal Alberta Museum.[60] Subsequent to the museum ceremony, the Queen attended a reception hosted by the Lieutenant Governor, after which she addressed a Special Sitting of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.[61] The Queen was greeted at the entrance of the Legislature Building by Speaker Kenneth R. Kowalski. After escorting the Queen into the Chamber, the Speaker welcomed Her Majesty on behalf of the Legislative Assembly. After the Speaker's welcome, the Premier rose and said:

> On behalf of the government of Alberta it is my very great privilege to welcome Her Majesty the Queen to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. Albertans have long looked forward to this Royal visit as a highlight of our province's centennial celebrations. Her Majesty's presence during this special year is an honour graciously bestowed upon all people of this province, one that is deeply felt and appreciated by all Albertans. It is truly a centennial gift to be treasured.[62]

The Premier also noted that it was the first time that a reigning monarch had addressed the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.[63] After delivering her address, the Queen was escorted by Premier Klein on a walkabout on the South Grounds of the Legislature. Later in the visit, the Premier hosted a luncheon in Calgary for the Royal Couple.[64]

### Conclusion

Since Alberta's inauguration on September 1, 1905, the legislative and political duties of the Premier have grown as Alberta's society and its economy have developed and become increasingly complex. As the administrative and legislative roles of the Premier have increased and become more visible, the public's perception of the Premier as a prominent figure representing Albertans has increased as well. As the person to whom Albertans look for both practical and inspirational leadership, the Premier plays a truly important role during special events such as royal visits and anniversary celebrations.

## Notes

[1] David Taras and Robert Weyant, "Dreamers of the Day: A Guide to Roles, Character and Performance on the Political Stage," in *Prime Ministers and Premiers: Political Leadership and Public Policy in Canada*, ed. Leslie Pal and David Taras (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1988), p. 13.

[2] Walter D. Young and J. Terence Morley, "The Premier and the Cabinet," in *The Reins of Power: Governing British Columbia*, ed. J. Terence Morley et al. (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1983), pp. 67–68.

[3] Kim Richard Nossal, "Anything But Provincial: The Provinces and Foreign Affairs," in *Provinces: Canadian Provincial Politics*, ed. Christopher Dunn (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 1996), p. 508.

[4] L. G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 18; D. R. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona* (Calgary: Friends of Rutherford House and University of Calgary Press, 1989), p. 27.

[5] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3.

[6] Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), p. 134; "'Alberta, A Province,' *Edmonton Journal*, September 2, 1905," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), pp. 172–173.

[7] Alexander C. Rutherford, "Three Years of Autonomy: 1905–1908," *Alberta History* vol. 53, no. 4 (Autumn 2005): pp. 8–9; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 27.

[8] "Alberta's First Legislature Was Opened Yesterday," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 16 March 1906, p. 1.

[9] "First Alberta Legislature Opens," *Lethbridge Herald*, 15 March 1906, p. 1; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 28.

[10] "Progress of the Legislature," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 17 March 1906, p. 1.

[11] *Strathcona Plaindealer*, 16 March 1906; quoted in Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 28.

[12] "Edmonton Will Be in Gala Attire to Welcome Duke," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 3 September 1912, p. 22; "Edmonton's Welcome to Their Royal Highnesses," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 4 September 1912, p. 2.

[13] "Connaught Given Great Reception at Edmonton," *Calgary News-Telegram*, 4 September 1912, p. 14.

[14] "Duke Opened New Alberta Buildings," *Globe* (Toronto), 5 September 1912, p. 11; "Governor General Reaches Edmonton: Facsimile of Government Address to the Governor General," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 September 1912, p. 2.

[15] "Magnificent Pile Formally Opened by H. R. H. the Duke," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 4 September 1912, p. 2; "The Governor-General Formally Opens Alta.'s Parliament Building," *News-Plaindealer* (Edmonton), 6 September 1912, p. 1; "Royalty Banquetted in New Legislative Building," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 4 September 1912, p. 10.

[16] "Royalty Banquetted," p. 10.

[17] "Canada's Governor General Visits Gleichen," *Bow Valley Call* (Gleichen), 12 September 1912, p. 1; "Duke Saw Great Crops of Grain," *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 9 September 1912, p. 5; "The Duke Sees the Big Ditch," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 9 September 1912, p. 1.

[18] R. B. Fleming, *The Royal Tour of Canada: The 1939 Visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth* (Toronto: Lynx Images, 2002), p. 22.

[19] David R. Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* (Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1987), p. 283; Arthur Bousfield and Garry Toffoli, *Royal Spring: The Royal Tour of 1939 and the Queen Mother in Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1989), p. 53.

[20] "Edmonton Captured by King and Queen," *Red Deer Advocate*, 7 June 1939, p. 1.

[21] Fleming, *The Royal Tour of Canada*, p. 92; Douglas R. Oliver, "King and Queen on Balcony Cause Near-Bedlam in Crowd," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 3 June 1939, p. 3.

[22] "Edmonton Captured by King and Queen," p. 1.

[23] Fleming, *The Royal Tour of Canada*, p. 92.

[24] William Lyon Mackenzie King, "The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King, 1893–1950: June 2, 1939, p. 3," *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 19 February 2006, available from http://king.collectionscanada.ca/EN/default.asp

[25] Ibid., [Internet].

[26] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 12th Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. LVIII, 17 February 1955, p. 6.

[27] *The Golden Jubilee Special Allowance Act*, S.A. 1955 (2nd Sess.), c. 2.

[28] "Jubilee Programs Scheduled at Many Points Thursday," *Edmonton Journal*, 31 August 1955, p. 36; "Marks Alberta's Jubilee Huge Beacon Fire in City," *Edmonton Journal*, 2 September 1955, p. 8.

[29] "Alberta Will Celebrate Jubilee with a Bang," *Calgary Herald*, 1 September 1955, pp. 1, 11.

[30] "Details of Jubilee Fete for Edmonton Announced," *Edmonton Journal*, 30 August 1955, p. 17.

[31] Ibid.; "Pageantry, Bands Mark Birthday Celebrations," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 September 1955, p. 16.

[32] "Details of Jubilee Fete," p. 17; "Pageantry, Bands Mark Birthday Celebrations," p. 16.

[33] "Details of Jubilee Fete," p. 17; "Vigilance Tempers Optimism Expressed by St. Laurent," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 September 1955, p. 1.

[34] "Pageantry, Bands Mark Birthday Celebrations," pp. 16, 1; "Ride in Parade," [Photo Caption], *Edmonton Journal*, 8 September 1955, p. 7.

[35] "Pageantry, Bands Mark Birthday Celebrations," p. 16.

[36] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 327.

[37] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 19th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 20 March 1980, p. 7.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Alberta. Dept. of Culture, *Interim Report on the 75th Anniversary Celebrations Tabled by Hon. Mary J. LeMessurier Chairman of the 75th Anniversary Cabinet Committee, November 19, 1980* (Edmonton: Dept. of Culture, 1980), pp. 7–10.

[40] "Calgary Exhibition and Stampede: July 4–13, 1980," Calgary Exhibition & Stampede Archives, *Our Future, Our Past: The Alberta Heritage Digitization Project*, [Official Souvenir Program], [Internet], (Calgary: University of Calgary Press), p. 6, accessed 18 February 2006, available from http://www.ourfutureourpast.ca/stampede/index.htm; Crosbie Cotton and Sheila Pratt, "Parade Salutes Alberta's 75th in Old West Style," *Calgary Herald*, 29 September 1980, p. 3.

[41] "Past Premiers to Lead Parade," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 July 1980, p. B3.

[42] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 19th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 4 October 1980, p. 1228; "Ukrainian Pioneer Family by Leo Mol, Unveiling by Hon. Peter Lougheed," [Advertisement], *Edmonton Journal*, 7 August 1980, p. A9.

[43] Aphrodite Karamitsanis, ed., *Mountains, Mountain Parks and Foothills*, vol. 1, *Place Names of Alberta* (Edmonton: Alberta Community Development, Friends of Geographical Names of Alberta Society and University of Calgary Press, 1991), p. 145.

[44] Don Thomas, "When Premier Passed on Peak, Press Was Left High - and Wet," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 August 1980, p. A2; "Lougheed Reaches Summit of Grandfather's Mountain," *Edmonton Journal*, 30 August 1980, p. A3; "Bow River Corridor & Bow Valley Wildland Provincial Park Map," Parks and Protected Areas: Kananaskis Country, *Community Development*, [Internet], (Government of Alberta, 2004), accessed 8 March 2006, available from http://www.cd.gov.ab.ca/enjoying_alberta/parks/featured/kananaskis/pdfs/BRCorridorMap.pdf

[45] Alberta. Dept. of Culture. *Alberta 75th Anniversary Commission, Alberta, 1905–1980: A Year to Remember, Alberta 75th Anniversary Commission* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1981), p. 31.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid., pp. 31-32; Alberta. Dept. of Culture, *Interim Report on the 75th Anniversary Celebrations*, pp. 15-16.

[48] Nino Wischnewski, "75th Crowd Told Resources Make 'Full Province'," *Calgary Herald*, 2 September 1980, p. A1.

[49] Alberta. Dept. of Culture. *Alberta 75th Anniversary Commission, Alberta, 1905–1980*, p. 32.

[50] Ibid., p. 3.

[51] "Public Contentment," [Editorial], *Calgary Herald*, 7 May 2001, p. A12.

[52] Alberta. Dept. of Community Development, Alberta 2005 Centennial Celebrations Launched, 1 September 2004, [News Release].

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] "Message from the Honourable Ralph Klein, Premier of Alberta," Celebrating Centennial: Premier's Message, *Alberta Centennial*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2005), accessed 24 May 2005, available from http://www.albertacentennial.ca/celebrate/premier.aspx

[57] Ibid.

[58] David Howell, Sarah O'Donnell and Elizabeth Withey, "Crowds Brave Rain to Meet the Queen: Edmonton Visit Kicks Off Centenary," *National Post*, 24 May 2005, p. A6; "Royal Visit 2005," *Government of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2005), accessed 18 February 2006, available from http://www.gov.ab.ca/premier/royalvisit/index_the_visit.cfm

[59] Alberta. Dept. of Infrastructure and Transportation, Highway 2 Receives 'Royal' Treatment: Province Names Edmonton-Calgary Highway After The Queen, 23 May 2005, [News Release]; "Royal Visit 2005," [Internet].

[60] Alberta. Dept. of Community Development, The Provincial Museum of Alberta to be Renamed During Royal Visit, 6 May 2005, [News Release]; David Howell and Elizabeth Withey, "Queen Opens 'Royal Museum'," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 May 2005, p. B1.

[61] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 26th Legislature, 1st Session*, 24 May 2005, p. 1617; "The 2005 Royal Visit to Canada by Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh," Royal Visit 2005: Media/News, *Government of Alberta*, [Itinerary], [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2005), accessed 18 February 2006, available from http://www.gov.ab.ca/premier/royalvisit/images/OutlineItinerary(22–04–05).pdf

[62] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 26th Legislature, 1st Session,* 24 May 2005, p. 1617.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Tamara Cherry, "John A. Macdonald Ready to Meet The Queen," *Calgary Herald*, 13 May 2005, p. B3; Emma Poole, "A Feast Made in Calgary: An 'Honour, Privilege ... and Nerve Racking'," *Calgary Herald*, 26 May 2005, p. B4; "The 2005 Royal Visit to Canada," [Itinerary], [Internet].

# History of Governance of the North–West Territories

# HISTORY OF GOVERNANCE OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES

## Introduction

The history of governance of Alberta pre-dates its attainment of provincial status in 1905 and can be traced back to the early years following Canadian Confederation in 1867. The history of governance of the North-West Territories, of which the area now known as Alberta had been a part from the Territories' inception in 1870 until 1905, was characterized primarily by the quest to achieve representative government, embodied in the creation of an elected legislative assembly. The push for responsible government—a governance structure in which an elected executive is held responsible for its decisions by the Legislative Assembly—was the next major development in the legislative system of the North-West Territories. The move towards autonomy, beginning in the late-19th century, was the final stage in the evolution of a political and geographic entity that had begun as a mere 'dependency'[1] of the Dominion of Canada.

Prior to Confederation, the lands that were to constitute what is modern Canada existed within a colonial system, administered first by France and later, after the Conquest of 1760, by Great Britain. In both the French and British colonial systems, Governors administered the colonies. The role of Governor continued beyond the colonial period, after Confederation, in the figure of the Governor General, who was and remains the Crown's representative in Canada and the nation's Head of State. However, because of the implementation of responsible government, the position of Governor General was, at the time of Confederation, as it is today, largely ceremonial. Appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister of Canada, Lieutenant Governors are representatives of the Crown in Canada's provinces. During the early post-Confederation period, they acted in part as federal agents and in part as intermediaries between the federal government and the territorial and provincial governments, which were seen at that time as subordinate levels of government.[2] As these governments gained power and influence, the role of the Lieutenant Governor became primarily ceremonial and independent of federal control. For example, in 1888, with the establishment of the role of Speaker in the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, the Lieutenant Governor no longer presided over legislative proceedings. While ultimate executive authority continues to be held by the Crown or the Lieutenant Governor acting on behalf of the Crown, in actuality the Premier and his or her Cabinet execute this responsibility in today's provincial governments.

The newly constructed Legislature Building rises in the background in stark contrast to the old Hudson's Bay Company fort (1912).

The purpose of this section is to briefly outline the key stages in the evolution of Alberta's system of governance during the North-West Territories period, and to highlight major developments along the path to full provincial status.

## Hudson's Bay Company: Defining the Territories of the North West

European governance of the North West began centuries ago, in the early fur trade period. During this time, the territorial boundaries of what were to become the Prairie Provinces and the Northwest Territories began to be established. After early forays into the area by French coureurs de bois,[*] English fur traders established operations on the shores of Hudson Bay by the mid-17th century. On May 2, 1670, King Charles II incorporated by Royal Charter the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England tradeing into Hudsons Bay," thus providing the Hudson's Bay Company with exclusive trading rights and naming it as "true and absolute Lordes and Proprietors" of a territory that became known as "Rupert's Land."[3] The vast territory over which the Hudson's Bay Company henceforth claimed dominion was named after Prince Rupert, first Governor of the Company and cousin to Charles II.[4] The remaining area to which England laid claim came to be called the 'North-Western Territory'; however, neither the borders of Rupert's Land nor those of the North-Western Territory were ever authoritatively defined.[5] The Royal Charter granted the Hudson's Bay Company a territory that included the entire Hudson Bay watershed. However, at the time, much of the area that comprises the modern western provinces and the Northwest Territories had not been surveyed. Hence, neither the Crown nor Company officials understood how vast the Hudson Bay drainage system really was. Indeed, in modern geographical terms, the Hudson Bay watershed encompasses the northwestern region of Quebec, northern Ontario, the entire province of Manitoba, most of Saskatchewan, southern and parts of central Alberta, much of Nunavut and an eastern portion of the Northwest Territories.[6] It was only over time, after many surveys had been completed, that the extent of the territories held by the Hudson's Bay Company was realized.

## Canada's Growing Interest in the North West, 1840s–1860s

Well before Confederation, Canadian expansionists,[†] chiefly from Canada West, were beginning to express an interest in annexing the Hudson's Bay Company territories for their province.[7] There were a number of reasons why the Province of Canada became interested in annexing the North West. Most importantly, the Canadian Government would thereby acquire a territory into which settlers could be sent and which could be developed into a vast agricultural hinterland, of which Canada West would become the prime beneficiary.[8] Another key reason was concern about American expansionism.[9] The rush of American immigrants into the western reaches of North America and, in particular, the resulting Oregon boundary dispute,[‡] turned British and Canadian attention to uniting all of British

---

[*] The coureurs de bois—literally translated from the French as 'runners of the woods'—were unlicenced fur traders of New France. *Canadian Encyclopedia*, World Edition 2000, s.v. "Coureurs de bois."

[†] The term 'expansionist' is an artificial construct developed to refer to those individuals living in the established British North American colonies, especially Canada West (Ontario), who believed that Canada's destiny and long-term economic prosperity depended in large measure on the acquisition of the North West by a newly unified British North America. Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856–1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 3–6, 78.

[‡] The 1840s saw a major influx of American migrants to the Oregon Territory, to which both the United Kingdom and the United States laid claim. Tensions mounted to the level of potential warfare, and the United Kingdom, in no position to defend the territory, relinquished its claim. The Treaty of Oregon, signed on June 15, 1846, defined the international boundary west from the Rocky Mountains. Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, 2nd ed., ed. Lewis G. Thomas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 747–749.

North America, including the ill-defined Hudson's Bay Company territories in the west.[10] Another factor increasing interest in the acquisition of Rupert's Land was the importance of establishing a secure line of communication between the colony of British Columbia (which incorporated the Hudson's Bay Company colony of Vancouver Island in 1866) in the west and the other British North American colonies in the east.*

In 1857, with the Hudson's Bay Company's exclusive trading licence coming up for renewal, and in light of various external pressures, including the desire to settle arable portions of the area, a Select Committee of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom was established to review the boundaries of the Company's territories and the validity of the Company's claims.[11] The Committee recommended that "[m]eans should also be provided for the ultimate extension of the colony over any portion of the adjoining continent, to the west of the Rocky Mountains, on which permanent settlement may be found practicable."†[12] The Committee's report specified that "the districts on the Red River and the Saskatchewan are among those likely to be desired for early occupation" and that it was "of great importance that the peace and good order of those districts should be effectually secured."[13] The "general consensus," even among Company officials, was that "the fur trade must retreat in the face of settlement."[14] The Company's Licence for Exclusive Trade expired in 1859, facilitating the British Government's desire to prepare the way for the settlement of the North West.[15]

By the early 1850s, little was known of the topography, the climate or the soil conditions of the North West. In 1857, in response to increased interest in settlement possibilities, the British and Canadian Governments each sponsored scientific expeditions to gather information on the area's geographic characteristics. Both the Palliser‡ and Hind§ expeditions concluded that a substantial portion of the North West, the so-called 'fertile belt,'[16] was much more fecund than had been previously imagined.**[17] This newly obtained information, which revealed the economic

---

* The discovery of gold in the Fraser Valley during the 1850s and the resulting influx of mostly American prospectors, combined with the threat of American annexationism, were the main reasons behind the impulse to establish such lines of communication.

† The mainland colony of British Columbia was created August 2, 1858. Vancouver Island was annexed to British Columbia in 1866. Jean Barman, *The West beyond the West: A History of British Columbia*, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 70; J. M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada: A Pre-Confederation History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 376; Norman L. Nicholson, *The Boundaries of Canada, Its Provinces and Territories* (Ottawa: Geographical Branch, Mines and Technical Surveys, 1964), p. 33.

‡ The expedition was led by Captain John Palliser, a British explorer, and took place from 1857 to 1860. J. M. Bumsted, ed., *Documentary Problems in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, vol. 1 (Georgetown, ON: Irwin-Dorsey, 1969), pp. 220–221; Owram, *Promise of Eden*, pp. 64–68.

§ Trinity College professor, geologist and naturalist Henry Youle Hind, civil engineer Simon James Dawson, and titular head of the expedition, George Gladman, were involved in the expedition. Bumsted, ed., *Documentary Problems in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, vol. 1, pp. 220–221.

** However, designated later, Palliser's Triangle was defined as an arid territory "having as its base the 49th parallel from the longitude 100 degrees to 114 degrees w., with its apex reaching the 52 parallel of latitude." United Kingdom, *The Journals, Detailed Reports and Observations Relative to the Exploration by Captain Palliser, 1859*, "The General Report," p. 7, quoted in Owram, *Promise of Eden*, p. 67.

potential of the North West, fueled additional interest in the region, accentuated the drive to develop untapped resources and heightened the concern that the North West's fertile belt would be annexed by the United States if Canada did not acquire it first. Indeed, Canadian expansionists were concerned that American settlers might move into the area en masse and establish an independent government leading to annexation by the United States, as had happened in Oregon.[18]

## Prelude to Acquisition, 1864–1869

In 1864, at the Quebec Conference, the Fathers of Confederation identified Canada's acquisition of the North West as an important objective.[19] The earliest seeds of a political system for the region were planted in the provisions of the *British North America Act, 1867 (BNA Act, 1867)*, which allowed for the admission of both Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Dominion of Canada.[20] During the First Session of Canada's First Parliament, Minister of Public Works William McDougall gave an address that, in accordance with section 146 of the *BNA Act, 1867*, provided the substance of the forthcoming request to the United Kingdom for the acquisition of the North West.[21] In July of 1868, the Parliament of the United Kingdom responded to this request by passing the *Rupert's Land Act*, providing for the admittance of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Dominion of Canada.[22] However, the terms of cession had yet to be worked out. In late 1868, a delegation, composed of William McDougall and George-Étienne Cartier, was sent to London to negotiate these terms. By April of 1869, the delegates achieved their goal, as an agreement that handled the transfer and sale of Rupert's Land was struck between the Dominion of Canada and the United Kingdom.*[23] Later that year, the Dominion Government secured an agreement with the United Kingdom to borrow the funds needed to purchase the land from the Hudson's Bay Company for £300,000 ($1,460,000).[24] The United Kingdom also agreed to provide a second loan for the same amount "for the purpose of defraying the expense of opening up communication with and of the settlement and administration of the Government of the North-West Territories."[25]

### *Temporary Government Act*

In 1869, in order to accommodate the transition of governance from the Hudson's Bay Company, the Canadian Parliament passed *An Act for the temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada (Temporary Government Act)*. The *Temporary Government Act* provided for the provisional government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory.[26] In the Act, the region was formally named 'The North-West Territories,' and authority was given to appoint a Lieutenant Governor to establish and administer laws. The Lieutenant Governor was to be appointed by the Governor General of Canada on the advice of the Privy Council.[27] Provision was also made for the appointment, by the Governor General, of a North-West Council, consisting of no fewer than seven and no more than 15 members, to aid the Lieutenant Governor, although the selection of a Council would not actually take place until 1872.[28] On September 28, 1869, William McDougall was appointed

---

* The Imperial Government had first to extinguish the original Hudson's Bay Company Charter in order that the sale of the North West to the Dominion Government might be facilitated. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, p. 852.

as the first Lieutenant Governor. The appointment was to take effect on the date of union of the North-West Territories with Canada. However, McDougall was never sworn in.[29]

### *Manitoba Act, 1870*

The date of union was initially intended to take place on October 1, 1869, but because of a delay in securing a loan from the United Kingdom, the transfer was postponed until December 1 of that year.[30] After further delay, due in part to the Riel Rebellion of 1869–1870,* the transfer of the territory became effective in mid-1870.[31] On June 23, 1870, an Order in Council set the terms for the transfer of land from the Hudson's Bay Company, with the Territory to become part of the Dominion of Canada, effective July 15, 1870. In the transaction, the Company retained 120 trading posts with adjoining land and could claim one-twentieth of the land allocated in the next 50 years in the fertile belt, an area stretching across parts of present-day southern and central Alberta, southern and central Saskatchewan and southern Manitoba.[32]

Legislated in the aftermath of the Riel Rebellion of 1869–1870, the *Manitoba Act*, assented to May 12, 1870, both created the Province of Manitoba and provided for the governance of the North-West Territories.[33] Carved out of a portion of the North-West Territories and composed primarily of settlements in the Red River Valley, Manitoba, the so-called 'Postage-Stamp Province,' was small in size.†[34] While Manitoba gained most of the powers of the original four provinces of Confederation, it was not granted control over its natural resources, a right that was retained by the federal government.[35] The remainder of what was once Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory continued as the North-West Territories.

The *Manitoba Act, 1870* provided that the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba was also to act as the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories. Furthermore, the seat of government was to be Fort Garry (Winnipeg), from which the Lieutenant Governor administered the Territories under the provisions of the Act.[36] Adams George Archibald (1870–1872) became the first Lieutenant Governor[37] to be sworn in. He held office without the aid of a federally sanctioned North-West Council during his two-year tenure.‡[38]

---

* The details of the Riel Rebellion of 1869–1870 are not germane here except to say that many residents of the Red River Settlement, especially its Métis inhabitants, resented being shut out of the negotiations over the transfer of Rupert's Land to the Dominion Government. This resentment was a primary reason for the negative reaction against federal government preparations for the acquisition, governance and settlement of the North-West Territories, and was a leading contributory cause of the Riel Rebellion of 1869–1870. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 31, 34–44.

† From 1870 to 1912, the boundaries of Manitoba were adjusted significantly. In 1881, the northern, western and eastern boundaries were extended, although the eastern boundary with Ontario remained in dispute until 1889. In 1912, the northern boundary was extended to its present location at 60 degrees North. Canada. Department of Natural Resources, "Territorial Evolution," *The Atlas of Canada*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Dept. of Natural Resources, 2004), accessed 11 August 2004, available from http://atlas.gc.ca/site/english/maps/historyal/territorialevolution

‡ In 1872, Sir Francis Godschall Johnson was appointed the second Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, but the appointment was revoked. *Canada Gazette*, vol. V, no. 42, 13 April 1872, p. 959; Canada. Parliament. *House of Commons, House of Commons Debates, 1st Parliament, 4th Session*, 17 April 1872, cols. 44–45.

## First North-West Council, 1872–1874

In 1872, Alexander Morris was appointed Lieutenant Governor (1872–1876), and 11 members were appointed to the First Council of the North-West Territories.[*][39] The Dominion Government was criticized for the appointments,[†] and pressured to name more members to the Council. Consequently, in 1873, the maximum number of members on the Council was increased from 15 to 21 by an amendment to the *Temporary Government Act*.[40]

On February 12, 1873, an Order in Council was issued defining the powers of the Council, allowing for the "administration of justice" and generally making and establishing "such laws, institutions and ordinances as may be necessary for the peace, order and good government" of the North-West Territories.[41] It also stipulated that the Lieutenant Governor would preside over meetings, and that all proceedings were subject to his approval.[42]

During the tenure of the first Council, the Territories continued to develop as an increasing number of surveyors and explorers moved west.[43] The North-West Mounted Police (NWMP), predecessor to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), was established, two Indian Treaties (Treaties 3 [1873] and 4 [1874] of Canada's so-called numbered treaties) were signed and the Department of the Interior[‡] was created.[44] In 1875, work began to link Edmonton to Winnipeg via telegraph lines, and in 1876, mail service was introduced between the two settlements.[45]

### *North-West Territories Act, 1875*

Citing the expense and inefficiency of administering the Territories from Manitoba and responding to arguments highlighting the desirability of locating the seat of government closer to the frontier of settlement, Liberal Prime Minister Alexander Mackenzie (1873–1878) established a Territorial Government independent from that of Manitoba and with a capital that was closer

---

[*] This Council was constituted on December 28, 1872, and first met on March 8, 1873. The members were: Marc A. Girard, Henry J. Clarke, Donald A. Smith, Pascal Bréland, Alfred Boyd, Joseph Dubuc, Andrew G. B. Bannatyne, Dr. John C. Schultz, William Fraser, Robert Hamilton and William J. Christie. Only two of these, Hamilton and Christie, were residents of the Territories. Norman F. Black, *History of Saskatchewan and the North West Territories*, vol. I (Regina: Saskatchewan Historical Company, 1913), p. 172; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 54–55.

[†] Sectional interests argued that they were not being appropriately represented. There were complaints from those representing Ontario that its concerns were not sufficiently reflected on the Council, while Métis advocate Archbishop Alexandre-Antonin Taché was unhappy with the appointment of opponent Dr. John C. Schultz, an 'Ontario man,' and felt that only a larger contingent of French-speaking members could satisfy Francophone and Roman Catholic interests. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 54, 54–55

[‡] Created in 1873 by the Dominion Government, the Department of the Interior was responsible for, amongst other things, developing and implementing policy in the North-West Territories. *An Act to provide for the establishment of "The Department of the Interior,"* S.C. 1873, c. 4.

to the centre of population of the Territories than was Winnipeg.[46] Passed in 1875, the *North-West Territories Act* was brought into force by proclamation on October 7, 1876.[47] This Act provided for a Lieutenant Governor resident in the Territories and distinct from that position in Manitoba.[48] Once again, the Council was not elected; rather, its members continued to be appointed by the Governor General of Canada.[49] However, the Council was given more power in that its ordinances could come into effect without receiving prior approval from Ottawa.[50] The Act also provided for the gradual addition of elected representatives as population numbers warranted.* Once the number of elected members reached 21, the appointed members were to be completely replaced by elected members, who would hold office for two years, and a Legislative Assembly would replace the North-West Council.[51] The promise, if not the reality, of representative government had come to the North-West Territories.

### First Lieutenant Governor and Council, 1876

The first Lieutenant Governor responsible solely for the North-West Territories was David Laird (1876–1881).†[52] A North-West Territorial Council was constituted on October 7, 1876 and consisted of just three members.‡[53] The First Session of the Council was held on March 8, 1877, at Livingstone, on the Swan River, and located near the Manitoba border, approximately one-and-a-half kilometres northwest of present-day Pelly, Saskatchewan.§[54] In August of that year, the proceedings were moved to the more central location of Battleford, which had been chosen as the Territorial capital in October 1876.[55]

Government House at Battleford, North-West Territories (Saskatchewan) (ca. 1877). Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A2287.

---

* As soon as an area of 1,000 square miles contained 1,000 adult males owning the required amount of property, an electoral district could be established to return one member for a two-year term. Should the population of that district reach 2,000, a second member could be elected. *North-West Territories Act, 1875*, S.C. 1875, c. 49, s. 13 (1, 5); Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 76–77.

† From this date to 1905, there were six Lieutenant Governors of the North-West Territories: David Laird, Edgar Dewdney (1881–1888), Joseph Royal (1888–1893), Charles H. Mackintosh (1893–1898), Malcolm C. Cameron (1898) and Amédée E. M. Forget (1898–1905).

‡ These members were: Stipendiary Magistrates Matthew Ryan and Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Richardson, and appointed member Lieutenant Colonel James F. Macleod. Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000* (Regina: Saskatchewan Archives Board, 2001), pp. 1–6. Amédée E. M. Forget, future Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan, was appointed Clerk of the Council. North-West Territories Council, *Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories, Session of 1877*, 8 March 1877, p. 1.

§ This was a temporary location while appropriate accommodations at Battleford were being constructed. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 80. Battleford's historic Government House was destroyed by fire on June 7, 2003. James Parker, "Historic Building Burns," *Leader-Post* (Regina), 9 June 2003, p. B1.

The Council continued to meet in Battleford until 1882, after which the Territorial capital was moved to Regina.*[56] The move was a practical one based on a change of plans concerning the location of the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR). Initially surveyed to run through Battleford, Edmonton and the Yellowhead Pass, the proposed CPR route was changed to travel directly west from Manitoba, through Regina and Calgary, and then to cross the mountains via the Kicking Horse Pass.†[57] While the CPR facilitated immigration during the 1880s, western settlement attained consistently high levels only during the boom period of 1896 to 1914.[58]

## First Elected Representatives, 1881

By 1880, the population of the North-West Territories finally warranted the creation of three electoral districts—Salisbury, Kimberley and Lorne—each district having reached the threshold of 1,000 potential voters. However, Territorial elections were never held in Salisbury and Kimberley, as these districts were subsequently incorporated into Manitoba, whose borders were expanded in 1881.[59] The new electoral district of Lorne (in present-day Saskatchewan) included Prince Albert, Duck Lake, Batoche and Carlton.[60] Hudson's Bay Company Factor Lawrence Clarke (1881–1883) defeated Henry S. Moore in the first election held on March 23, 1881.[61]

## Provisional Districts, 1882

In order to accommodate postal service, and for the convenience of the settlers, a large portion of the North-West Territories was divided into four Provisional Districts‡ through an Order in Council issued on May 8, 1882 and approved by Parliament on May 16 of that year.[62] As Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald (1867–1873, 1878–1891) suggested, these Districts, named Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Athabasca and Alberta, 'simply topographical divisions' at the time, might subsequently become provinces.[63] In the end, the Districts were not to become independent jurisdictions, rather their

Members of the North-West Council outside Council Chamber (1884). Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B4.

---

* The last meeting of the Fourth Legislative Session was held in Battleford on June 11, 1881. The first meeting of the Fifth Legislative Session was held on August 20, 1883, at the new Legislative Building in Regina. North-West Territories. Council, *Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories of Canada, Session of 1881*, 26 May–11 June 1881, p. 1; North-West Territories. Council, *Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories of Canada, Session of 1883*, 20 August–4 October 1883, p. 1.

† The CPR began its endeavour to build a transcontinental rail line in 1881. The rail line reached Regina in 1882, the summit of the Rocky Mountains in June 1883 and was completed in 1885. Lewis H. Thomas, *The North-West Territories, 1870–1905*, Canadian Historical Association Booklet, no. 26 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1970), p. 7. The last spike was driven on November 7, 1885 at Craigellachie, British Columbia, which is near Revelstoke. J. M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada: A Post-Confederation History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 29.

‡ The Districts encompassed all of present-day Alberta and the southern portion of Saskatchewan. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 98.

designation led to a development of 'district consciousness,' making apparent the divisions that were emerging among the residents of the North-West Territories.[64]

## Roots of Discontent

With an increase in the number of settlers and thus a larger potential readership, by the early 1880s many newspapers were established, contributing to a greater dialogue on issues of territorial policy.*[65] Representation in the federal Parliament was one such issue. In 1884, Josiah B. Plumb, Conservative Senator from Ontario, made a speech in the Senate urging the Dominion Government to grant parliamentary representation to the Territories.[66] The Minister of the Interior, David L. Macpherson, whose department was responsible for territorial policy, rejected the proposal, arguing that further investigation was warranted.[67] At about the same time, Liberal Member of Parliament Malcolm C. Cameron, Member for Huron West (Ontario) and future Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories (1898), introduced a Private Bill on the very same issue. The Bill did not progress beyond the first reading, voted down by the governing Conservative caucus.[68]

Additional economic assistance from the federal government, greater control over finances, responsible government and even the attainment of provincial status were other issues that arose amongst residents of the North-West Territories during the mid-1880s. Efforts to promote more favourable treatment were widespread and evidenced in debates over "[p]arliamentary representation, responsible government, and provincial status" that occurred "at public meetings and in the press in all parts of the North-West."[69] However, the clamour for these and other reforms was loudest in the Lorne electoral division, located in the District of Saskatchewan. The Prince Albert area, situated within the Lorne constituency, was experiencing an economic downturn, exacerbated by declining immigration. A reduction in the rate of new settlement in the area was caused, in large part, by the change in the planning for the construction of the CPR's transcontinental rail line from its initially proposed northern route to one running instead through the southern prairies. The disappearance of the buffalo and maladjustment to agricultural settlement were causing social and economic suffering for the Métis and First Nations populations.[70] Furthermore, the Métis of the region had grown impatient and frustrated with the Dominion Government, which, despite Métis petitions urging it to recognize their land claims, had failed to acknowledge the legality of claims for river-lot farms that about 1,500 Métis had occupied near Prairie-Ronde and Prince Albert.[71]

In the summer of 1884, frustrated by what they perceived as government inaction, some of the Métis of the Lorne electoral division turned for help to Louis Riel.[72] In 1870, Riel had successfully rallied support and pressured the Dominion Government into granting provincial status to the Red River Settlement. With Riel's aid, a petition, which outlined grievances and demanded provincial status and various other economic and social reforms to improve the condition of the Métis, was written and sent to Ottawa in December of that year.[73] On March

---

* The newspapers included the *Edmonton Bulletin* (1880), *Prince Albert Times* (1882), *Regina Leader* (1883) and *Calgary Herald* (1883). Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 88, 104.

19, 1885, after the federal government again[74] failed to respond to the Métis petition quickly or effectively,* Louis Riel established a provisional government,[75] as he had done immediately prior to the outbreak of the Riel Rebellion of 1869–1870. On March 26, Riel's Métis followers took up arms in the name of the provisional government and attacked a force of North-West Mounted Police and civilian volunteers at Duck Lake.[76] After several more clashes during the spring of 1885, on May 12 the fighting between the Métis and government forces ended with the defeat of Riel and his men at the Battle of Batoche.†

Louis Riel was charged and found guilty of committing treason, and was hanged on November 16, 1885.[77] Clearly, the Riel Rebellion of 1885 had been crushed through military means. Nevertheless, Dominion Government officials understood that the fundamental grievances that had underpinned the strife would continue to fester unless they were satisfactorily addressed.‡[78] Accordingly, a number of reforms were granted in the aftermath of the Rebellion. In 1886, the North-West Territories was granted federal parliamentary representation, with two Members for Assiniboia and one each for Alberta and Saskatchewan elected to serve in Ottawa. In 1887, two Senators from the North-West Territories were appointed.[79]

### First Legislative Assembly, 1888

In 1888, the *North-West Territories Act* was amended, and the existing Council was abolished in favour of the creation of a Legislative Assembly. According to the amendment, the Legislative Assembly came to consist predominantly of elected representatives. In addition to the 22 elected Members, three non-voting legal advisers were appointed to the Assembly by the Governor General.[80] Furthermore, the Lieutenant Governor, who had presided over regular meetings of the North-West Council, did not preside over Sessions of the Legislative Assembly. Instead, provision was made for the election of a Speaker. The amended *North-West Territories Act* of 1888 stated, "The Legislative Assembly, on its first assembling after a general election, shall proceed with all practicable speed to elect one of its elected members to be Speaker."[81] The first Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories was Dr. Herbert C. Wilson (1888–1890), Member for the electoral district of Edmonton.§[82]

---

* In January 1885, the Government promised to establish a commission to study the petition further. However, this weak response and further delays afterwards played into the hands of Riel, who advocated "more forceful measures, in particular the creation of a provisional government," to pressure the Dominion Government. Bill Waiser, "North-West Rebellion," eds. Bob Hesketh and Chris Hackett, *Canada, Confederation to Present*, [CD-ROM], (Edmonton: Chinook Multimedia, 2001), pp. 9–10.

† While the vast majority of First Nations people stayed out of the conflict, several hundred fighters battled government forces until early July 1885, when they were defeated. Waiser, "North-West Rebellion," pp. 21–26.

‡ After the Rebellions ended, the federal government rewarded with food and gifts those within the Aboriginal population who had remained loyal to the Dominion during the conflict. George F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions*, 2nd ed., Reprints in Canadian History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 378.

§ A total of five Speakers would serve in the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories prior to the creation of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan: Herbert Charles Wilson, James Hamilton Ross (1891–1892, 1892–1894), John Felton Betts (1895–1898), William Eakin (1899–1902) and Archibald Beaton Gillis (1903–1904).

### Advisory Council, 1888–1891

Another important development emanating from the Act was the provision for a four-person Advisory Council. The Advisory Council was to be appointed by the Lieutenant Governor, from the membership of the Assembly, to assist him in matters of finance. The Lieutenant Governor presided over the Council and held voting privileges.[83] Frederick W. A. G. Haultain, Member for Macleod, was the first leader of this Council.[84] During this period, the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories had control over only those revenues that were raised from within the Territories. Moreover, these revenues accounted for only about 10 per cent of total Territorial expenditures.[85] As provided in the Act, the Council had no control over the most substantial portion of the total Territorial revenues, namely the grants from the Dominion Government that were administered by the Lieutenant Governor.[86] This limitation of powers was a primary source of conflict between the Lieutenant Governor and the Advisory Council, and eventually led to the replacement of the Advisory Council with an executive committee.

### Executive Committee, 1891–1897

Amendments made to the *North-West Territories Act* in 1891 eliminated the three non-voting legal advisors and allowed for the appointment of an executive committee.[87] Early in the First Session of the Second Legislature, a four-member Executive Committee was created by an Ordinance of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories.[88] This Executive Committee was a departure from the Advisory Council, which it had replaced,[89] and a step closer to responsible government in that its members took an oath of Office, one member was designated Chair, and the Lieutenant Governor was not included in its membership.[90] These new measures constituted "a major landmark in the autonomy movement" because they "opened the way for territorial control of Parliamentary appropriation …"[91] However, the achievement of responsible government was left to another day, since the Act, in the words of a prominent historian of the Canadian West, "was provokingly indefinite in regard to the status of the committee which might be set up to exercise these financial powers."*[92]

In late December 1891, Lieutenant Governor Joseph Royal asked Frederick Haultain to form the Executive Committee, and on December 31, three other Members agreed to serve with

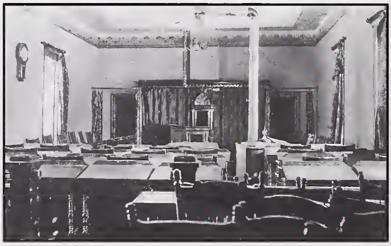
---

* The task of defining the structure and duties of the Executive Committee fell to the Council membership instead of being developed in Ottawa. Specifically, Frederick Haultain took on the responsibility of drafting the legislation to create the Committee. Haultain presented to the Assembly a Bill, which was subsequently amended so that "the Committee assumed the authority previously exercised by the Advisory Council wherever action by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council was required by territorial legislation." Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 206, 203–204; North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "An Ordinance respecting the Executive Government of the Territories," *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, no. 1, 1891–92, s. 1; North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "An Ordinance to Amend 'The Interpretation Ordinance,'" *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, no. 3, 1891–92.

Haultain.[93] Frederick W. A. G. Haultain thus became "in effect if not in name … premier and spokesman of the Northwest Territories."[94] At this point, he began to negotiate directly with Ottawa for funding to support sundry territorial initiatives and to defray various governmental expenses.*[95]

## Executive Council and the Advent of Responsible Government, 1897–1905

After years of agitation in favour of greater territorial rights, in 1897 the advocates of constitutional change achieved a measure of success.[96] A new Liberal Government in Ottawa, fresh from its 1896 election victory, provided hope that constitutional and financial revisions could be made to the existing governance structure of the North-West Territories. Taking advantage of this new opportunity to push forward their agenda for change, reform-minded members of the Executive Committee, including Frederick W. A. G. Haultain and former Speaker James H. Ross, prepared a memorial† for submission to the Laurier Government in Ottawa. This memorial subsequently "gave rise to the most notable debate in the parliamentary history of the North-West up to that time."[97] While the memorial of 1896 did not bear fruit immediately, it formed the basis of a continuing House of Commons debate that lasted until the fall of 1897.[98] At that time, Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, introduced a Bill that would "give the people of the Territories a government" in which they would have "Ministers who are responsible to the legislature" and in which "the rules and precedents that apply to the provincial governments [would] apply to the government of the Territories."[99]



Interior of the old North-West Territories Assembly Hall, Regina, Saskatchewan (ca. 1908). Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A46.

Accordingly, in 1897, the *North-West Territories Act* was amended again, providing for the establishment of an Executive Council with a President (Cabinet and Premier), appointed by the Lieutenant Governor.‡[100] The new structure was more reflective of British parliamentary practice than had been the locally developed Executive Committee. While the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories "had clothed the Executive Committee with … many of the vestments of a responsible executive"[101] during the mid-1890s, responsible government had not been incorporated into the legislation; indeed, it still required formal recognition by Parliament, which came at last with the legislative amendment of 1897.

---

* Haultain remained *de facto* premier until 1897 and Premier of the North-West Territories from that point until provincial status was granted in 1905, with one brief interruption in 1892, when his Committee resigned after losing a vote of no-confidence. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 216–217; MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain*, pp. 67, 105.

† A memorial is a written petition or a statement of facts put before a legislative body. For more information, see the Glossary.

‡ Following their appointments, every member of the new Executive Council, including Premier Frederick Haultain, had to stand for re-election, as per the contemporary statutory requirement. *An Act further to amend the Acts respecting the North-west Territories*, S.C. 1897, c. 28, s. 9; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 259n105.

### Yukon, 1898

Between 1870 and 1898, the lands that would become the Yukon Territory were part of the North-West Territories. During the mid-1890s, as news spread of the discoveries of great mineral wealth—specifically gold—in the Yukon Valley, the population of this area soared. In 1887, the number of miners had been estimated at 300. After the Klondike strike of August 17, 1896, that number shot into the thousands.[102] In order to create an administrative structure, in 1895 the federal government first established the Provisional District of Yukon, which remained part of the North-West Territories.* Indeed, this change was accompanied by no new governance structure, as the District continued to be governed from Regina.[103] Then, in 1898, federal legislation created the Yukon Territory out of this District.[104] The rapidly increasing population and need for services, precipitated by the Klondike Gold Rush, had necessitated a new governance structure for the Yukon. However, governmental authority for the Yukon rested not only within the new territory, but also partly in Ottawa.[105]

### Defining and Creating the Provinces, 1897–1905

With the advent of responsible government in 1897, the powers of the Territorial Government were now quite similar to those of the Canadian provinces. Nevertheless the Territories still did not have control over public lands and natural resources. This issue was not to be resolved until well after provincial status was attained.† Additionally, the Territories' powers of taxation remained very limited, and federal support for local services continued to be inadequate. Further, the Territorial Government lacked the ability to charter its own railways, an important consideration in a large region in which areas were being opened up for settlement and in which farmers required a cost-effective and efficient means by which to deliver their products to market.[106] Consequently, the struggle for autonomy persisted with increasing urgency as population growth outpaced financial resources and as the governance instruments required to administer the region were made conspicuous by their absence.[107]

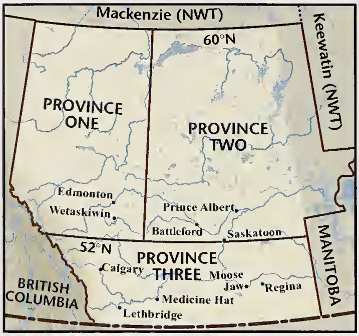
By the turn of the century, the Dominion Government still believed that the Territories were under-populated and therefore unprepared for provincial status.[108] Perhaps more importantly, the Laurier Government was reluctant to entertain discussions over autonomy as long as leading advocates of the autonomy movement, like Frederick Haultain, argued for the creation of one large province.*[109] The Dominion Government feared that such an entity would be too powerful a force, upsetting the existing balance of power among the provinces.[110]

---

* On October 2, 1895, the Dominion Parliament determined that "it [was] expedient for the convenience of settlers in the unorganized and unnamed districts of the North-West Territories and for postal purposes, that the whole of such territories should be divided into provisional districts ... to be named Ungava, Franklin, Mackenzie and Yukon." *Canada Gazette*, vol. XXIX, no. 16, 19 October 1895, pp. 683–684.

† It was not until the early 1930s that Alberta gained control over the natural resources of the Province. *Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21.

Differing opinions existed, however, as to the appropriate number and boundaries of the potential provinces.[111] Anywhere from one to four provinces and even partial annexation by Manitoba were considered.[112] Proponents of one province cited the lack of government duplication as the primary reason for their position.[113] Also, they argued that one province would help to facilitate the assimilation of new immigrants.[114] Those favouring a division into multiple provinces cited the following as factors influencing their stance: a 'diversity of interest' among the Districts of the Territories; the physical and climatic differences of the region (especially between north and south); and the elimination of the rivalry over the question of the capital.[115] Other alternatives were proposed, including: two provinces divided by the southern boundary of the District of Saskatchewan; two provinces divided by a border running north to south; and three provinces, merging Assiniboia with the southern part of Alberta, northern Alberta with the Peace River Country, and Saskatchewan with eastern Athabasca.[116]



The division of a large portion of the North-West Territories into three provinces, roughly equal in size, was one of several proposals put forth by the proponents of provincial autonomy. See Appendix M for additional maps.

The question of autonomy for the Territories, to which the issue of boundaries was closely related, and the matter of adequate financial allocations from the federal government, dominated communications between the Dominion and North-West Territories Governments during this period.[117] Autonomy also became a major focus in the federal parliamentary debates of 1903 and during the federal election campaign of the following year.[118] Pressured by the Conservative Opposition in Ottawa and a growing autonomy movement in the North-West Territories, the Liberal Party promised during the campaign that, if returned to power, it would grant autonomy to the Territories.[119] After its victory, the Laurier Government followed through on its commitment. On July 5, 1905 the Autonomy Acts were passed,[120] and on September 1, 1905, the federal government created two new provinces,† Alberta and Saskatchewan, out of part of the North-West Territories.

---

* Premier Haultain envisioned one province that would include all of the Territories. "Haultain opposes Manitoba extension and supports the one Province idea, Indian Head, December 18, 1901: from the pamphlet, Full Text of the Indian Head Debate," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), p. 183.

† The decision to create two provinces was based in part on the view that the southern prairies were simply too large an area for one province. Also anything north of the 60th parallel was deemed unfit for agriculture and therefore unsuitable for any significant permanent settlement, which was necessary for a stable provincial government. Norman L. Nicholson, *The Boundaries of the Canadian Confederation*, The Carleton Library, no. 115 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), p. 135.

Although Alberta had now achieved provincial status, there were still outstanding issues to be settled. Firstly, from amongst Edmonton, Red Deer and Calgary, the three primary contenders vying to become the capital, the Dominion Government chose Edmonton as a temporary capital on the understanding that the final selection would be left up to the Province.[121] Subsequently, Edmonton was declared the capital in the *Alberta Act*,[122] leading to charges of partisanship by the supporters of the other claimants and by certain editorialists.[123] Those opposing the selection argued that Edmonton was chosen only because of the influence of Edmonton Liberal Members of Parliament on their colleagues in the Dominion Government.[124] Nevertheless, in 1906 the Legislative Assembly of Alberta affirmed the selection of Edmonton as the new province's permanent capital.[125]

The matter of the role of politics in the governance of the new province was also in question. At issue was whether there would be party alignments in Alberta provincial politics, as was the case federally and in the other provinces. Frederick Haultain had felt that the new Legislative Assemblies of Alberta and Saskatchewan should continue the tradition established in the Territories and remain non-partisan.[126] However, Haultain's view did not prevail. In its founding convention in August of 1905, the Liberal Association of Alberta elected Alexander C. Rutherford as its leader. Days later, Richard B. Bennett was selected as the leader of the province's Conservative Party.[127] In addition, political alliances prevailed in choosing the Lieutenant Governors and Premiers of the provinces, all of whom were of the same political persuasion as the governing party in Ottawa.[128]

Perhaps the most contentious issue during this period was the matter of denominational schools. The school clause[129] of the Autonomy Bills of 1905 led to concern among Protestants in the North-West Territories that an education system controlled by the Roman Catholic Church would prevail. Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, was so concerned about these provisions that he resigned from the federal Cabinet. In an interesting twist, after the Minister's resignation, the clause that Sifton had proposed earlier advocating the 'educational status quo' replaced the Bills' original clauses.[130] As a result of this revision, the first or majority school within a district had to be a public school. Denominational, or separate, schools could only open once the public school had been established.[131]

Less contentious, but still very important, was the issue of natural resource ownership. Supporters of provincial autonomy had been advocating natural resources rights for over a decade. In 1905, the federal government opted against granting mineral and other natural resource rights to the two new Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan.[132] In Alberta, the issue gained renewed attention during the First World War and into the 1920s, during which period Alberta oil developers complained about Ottawa's management of petroleum resources in the province. Finally, in 1930, in response to years of agitation in favour of the right to control public lands, Alberta was granted jurisdiction over its natural resources.[133]

## Northwest Territories, 1906–Present

As a consequence of the creation of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, the North-West Territories had now become much smaller in terms of population and area. *The North-west Territories Amendment Act*, which was enacted in July of 1905, provided for the governance of the Territories by an officer called the Commissioner of the North-West Territories.[134] The new North-West Territories consisted of all that part of Canada located north of the 60th parallel of north latitude, except the portions of that area that constituted the Yukon Territory, the District of Keewatin, and parts of

Quebec and Newfoundland and Labrador.[135] Then, in 1906, the revised *Northwest Territories Act* redefined the Territories' boundaries and altered the name, dropping the hyphen.[136] Frederick D. White was appointed the Commissioner of the North-West Territories on August 24, 1905 and continued as Commissioner of the newly constituted Northwest Territories until 1919.[137]

Members of Alberta's First Legislature with Premier A.C. Rutherford (front row, centre) on the steps of McKay Avenue School, Edmonton, Alberta (1906).

### Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905

The first general elections of the new provinces were held on November 9, 1905 in Alberta and on December 13, 1905 in Saskatchewan. Elected Members affiliated with the Liberal Party formed Governments in both of the new provinces. As leader of the Provincial Rights Party, Frederick Haultain* served as the Leader of the Official Opposition in Saskatchewan's First Legislature. The Hon. T. Walter Scott, a Liberal, served as Saskatchewan's first Premier from 1905 to 1916, while the Hon. Alexander C. Rutherford, leader of the provincial Liberal Party, became the first Premier of Alberta, serving from 1905 to 1910. The Hon. Amédée E. M. Forget, the last Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories, became the first Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan, and served in that capacity from 1905 to 1910. The Hon. George H. V. Bulyea was appointed the first Lieutenant Governor of Alberta, and served in that role from 1905 to 1915. Thomas MacNutt was elected Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan, and held this post from 1906 to 1908. Charles W. Fisher was elected the first Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, serving from 1906 until 1919.

### Summary

In the 1870s, although not a 'colony,' the North-West Territories had had many of the associated trappings. Economically, it was a hinterland of the new Dominion of Canada. Governmentally, the Territories had a 'primitive'[138] governance structure in which government members were appointed and behaved as representatives of the centralized power. By the late-19th century, as the North-West Territories slowly began to be settled, reforms were made to the territorial governance structure: a wholly elected Legislative Assembly emerged; the Territories were redistributed into Provisional Districts; and, most importantly, responsible government evolved. Indeed, with the establishment of the Executive Council in 1897, the North-West Territories was, in many respects, governed in the same fashion as the provinces. As a result of self-government, moreover, the Territories lost most of the vestiges of dependency status, but still lacked full control over its finances and policy making. When Alberta and Saskatchewan became provinces in 1905, the yoke of dependency was cast aside for good as the new provinces achieved the status for which many had worked long and hard. In 1930, the remaining traces of territorial status disappeared as Alberta gained full control over its own lands and resources, thus becoming a full partner in Canadian Confederation.

---

* Haultain's active support for the federal Conservative Party and his criticism of the policies of the federal Liberal Government were well known. Because of his Conservative political leanings, Haultain was not appointed as Premier of either of the new provinces. J. William Brennan, "The 'Autonomy Question' and the Creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905," in *The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905–1980: 12th Western Canada Studies Conference*, ed. Howard Palmer and Donald Smith (Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1980), p. 49.

## Notes

[1] Lewis Herbert Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories*, 1870–97, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. ix.

[2] *British North America Act, 1867* (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3, s. 58; George F. G. Stanley, *The Role of the Lieutenant-Governor* (Fredericton: New Brunswick Office of the Lieutenant-Governor, 1992), p. 19; Peter W. Noonan, *The Crown and Constitutional Law in Canada* (Calgary: Scripnoon Publications, 1998), p. 125. Note that the name of the *British North America Act, 1867* was changed in 1982 to the *Constitution Act, 1867*. For more information, see the Glossary.

[3] Glyndwr Williams, *Highlights of the First 200 Years of the Hudson's Bay Company* (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1970; reprint, The Beaver: Magazine of the North, Autumn 1970), pp. 7–8.

[4] Arthur S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71,* 2nd ed., ed. Lewis G. Thomas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 59–60; Arthur Ray, "When Two Worlds Met," in *The Illustrated History of Canada*, ed. Craig Brown (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2002), p. 68.

[5] Williams, *Highlights of the First 200 Years*, p. 56; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 6.

[6] J. M. Bumstead, *The Peoples of Canada: A Pre-Confederation History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 306; Peter Waite, "Between Three Oceans: Challenges of a Continental Destiny (1840–1900)," in *The Illustrated History of Canada*, ed. Craig Brown (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2002), pp. 326–327; Ray, "When Two Worlds Met," p. 68.

[7] Doug Owram, *Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West*, 1856–1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), pp. 3–4, 38–39, 69.

[8] Ibid., pp. 45–49.

[9] E. E. Rich, *Hudson's Bay Company, 1670–1870*, vol. III: 1821–1870 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1960), p. 804; Williams, *Highlights of the First 200 Years*, p. 56.

[10] Owram, *Promise of Eden*, p. 28; Norman L. Nicholson, *The Boundaries of Canada, Its Provinces and Territories* (Ottawa: Geographical Branch, Mines and Technical Surveys, 1964), pp. 31–33.

[11] Canada. House of Commons. Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index* (Ottawa: House of Commons, 1857), p. iv; Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, pp. 831, 834.

[12] Canada. House of Commons. Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company*, p. iv.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Williams, *Highlights of the First 200 Years*, p. 57; Nicholson, *The Boundaries of Canada*, pp. 33–34.

[15] Note that after 1859, the Hudson's Bay Company retained administrative rights over Rupert's Land, according to the provisions of the original Charter of 1670, and in effect, if not in law, retained its trade monopoly over its lands. However, the British Government's action constituted notice that "the days of the Charter might be numbered." Williams, *Highlights of the First 200 Years*, p. 57; Nicholson, *The Boundaries of Canada*, pp. 33–34.

[16] Owram, *Promise of Eden*, p. 67.

[17] Ibid., pp. 61–72.

[18] Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, p. 750.

[19] Lewis H. Thomas, *The North-West Territories, 1870–1905*, Canadian Historical Association Booklet, no. 26 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1970), p. 3.

[20] *British North America Act, 1867* (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3, s. 146.

[21] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 7; Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Journals of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 1st Parliament, 1st Session*, vol. I, 11–12 December 1867, pp. 64–68.

[22] *Rupert's Land Act* (U.K.), 31 & 32 Vict. 1868, c. 105; Charles Cecil Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada: The Autonomy Question in the Old North-West Territories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), p. 3.

[23] *Order of Her Majesty in Council Admitting Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union*, 23 June 1870, U.K. Schedule (B), no. 1, Resolutions, 28 May 1869; R. S. Longley, "Cartier and McDougall, Emissaries to London," *Canadian Historical Review* vol. 26 (March 1945): pp. 40–41.

[24] *An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required to defray certain expenses of the public service, for the financial years ending respectively the 30th June, 1869, and the 30th June, 1870, and for other purposes relating to the public service*, S.C. 1869, c. 1, s. 3.

[25] *An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required to defray certain expenses of the public service, for the financial years ending respectively the 30th June, 1869, and the 30th June, 1870, and for other purposes relating to the public service*, S.C. 1869, c. 1, s. 4.

[26] *Temporary Government Act*, S.C. 1869, c. 3.

[27] *Temporary Government Act*, S.C. 1869, c. 3, ss. 1–2.

[28] *Temporary Government Act*, S.C. 1869, c. 3, s. 4; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 46–47, 51–56.

[29] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 19; Canada. Parliament, "Copy of a Report of a Committee of the Honorable the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General in Council on the 28th September 1869," *Sessional Papers, 1st Parliament, 3rd Session*, no. 12, 1870; George F. G. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada: A History of the Riel Rebellions*, 2nd ed., *Reprints in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 86; John Charles Dent, "The Hon. William McDougall, C. B.," in *Canadian Portrait Gallery*, vol. IV (Toronto: John B. Magurn, 1881), p. 153.

[30] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 16.

[31] Williams, *Highlights of the First 200 Years*, p. 59.

[32] "Order of Her Majesty in Council admitting Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union at the Court at Windsor, the 23rd day of June, 1870," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), pp. 28–33; Williams, *Highlights of the First 200 Years*, p. 59.

[33] *Manitoba Act, 1870*, S.C. 1870, c. 3.

[34] Ken Coates and Fred McGuinness, *Manitoba: The Province & The People* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1987), p. 21; Nicholson, *The Boundaries of Canada*, p. 69; J. M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada: A Pre-Confederation History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 375.

[35] Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870–71*, p. 914.

[36] *Manitoba Act, 1870*, S.C. 1870, c. 3, ss. 8, 35–36.

[37] *Canada Gazette*, vol. IV, no. 4, 23 July 1870, p. 46.

[38] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 47.

[39] *Canada Gazette*, vol. VI, no. 23, 7 December 1872, p. 485; Thomas, *The North-West Territories, 1870–1905*, p. 4.

[40] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 54–55, 71; *An Act to amend the Act intituled: An Act to make further provision for the Government of the North West Territories*, S.C. 1873, c. 5.

[41] Canada. Parliament, "Copies of all Orders of His Excellency the Governor General in Council; and of all Laws and Ordinances of the Lieutenant-Governor and Council of the North-West Territories, made under the provisions of 34 Vic., cap. 16, sec. 1," *Sessional Papers, 3rd Parliament, 3rd Session*, vol. IX, no. 70, 1876, p. 1.

[42] Ibid., p. 2; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 57.

[43] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 63.

[44] *An Act respecting the administration of Justice, and for the establishment of a Police Force in the North West Territories*, S.C. 1873, c. 35; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 59–60, 63.

[45] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 63.

[46] Ibid., p. 74.

[47] *North-West Territories Act, 1875*, S.C. 1875, c. 49; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government,* p. 79.

[48] *North-West Territories Act, 1875*, S.C. 1875, c. 49, s. 2.

[49] *North-West Territories Act, 1875,* S.C. 1875, c. 49, s. 3.

[50] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 78.

[51] *North-West Territories Act, 1875*, S.C. 1875, c. 49, s. 13.

[52] *Canada Gazette,* vol. X, no. 15, 7 October 1876, p. 457.

[53] Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000* (Regina: Saskatchewan Archives Board, 2001), p. 1–6.

[54] North-West Territories. Council, *Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories of Canada, Session of 1877*, 8 March 1877, p. 1.

[55] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 80.

[56] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 5.

[57] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 103; Thomas, *The North-West Territories,* 1870–1905, p. 7; Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 178.

[58] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 103–104; D. J. Hall, "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy, 1896–1905," in *The Settlement of the West*, ed. Howard Palmer (Calgary: University of Calgary, Comprint Publishing Company, 1977), pp. 62, 70–71, 81; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada Year Book*, 1970–71 ed. (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1971), p. 210.

[59] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 89; North-West Territories. Council, *Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories of Canada*, Session of 1881, 26 May 1881, pp. 5–6; *An Act to provide for the extension of the boundaries of the Province of Manitoba*, S.C. 1881, c. 14.

[60] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 114.

[61] Ibid., p. 115; Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000*, pp. 1–6, 1–15, 1–26; Thomas, *The North-West Territories, 1870–1905*, p. 5.

[62] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 97; Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Official Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 4th Parliament, 4th Session,* 16 May 1882, pp. 1567–1568.

[63] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates, 4th Parliament, 4th Session,* 16 May 1882, p. 1567.

[64] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 97–98.

[65] Ibid., pp. 88, 104.

[66] Canada. Parliament. Senate, *Debates of the Senate, 5th Parliament, 2nd Session*, 25 February 1884, pp. 143–152.

[67] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 120–121.

[68] Ibid., p. 121.

[69] Ibid., p. 127.

[70] Ibid., pp. 121–122.

[71] Bill Waiser, "The North-West Rebellion," eds. Bob Hesketh and Chris Hackett, *Canada, Confederation to Present: An Interactive History of Canada*, [CD-ROM], (Edmonton: Chinook Multimedia, 2001), p. 4.

[72] Ibid., p. 3.

[73] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 128.

[74] Thomas Flanagan, *Riel and the Rebellion: 1885 Reconsidered*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 57, 44–63. The petitions centred on the Métis demand that the Dominion Government recognize claims to their river-lot farms.

[75] Waiser, "The North-West Rebellion," p. 10.

[76] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 130; J. M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada: A Post-Confederation History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 43–44.

[77] Waiser, "The North-West Rebellion," p. 27.

[78] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 135.

[79] *North-West Territories Representation Act, 1886*, S.C. 1886, c. 24; *An Act respecting the representation of the North-West Territories in the Senate of Canada*, S.C. 1887, c. 3; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 135–136.

[80] *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 2.

[81] *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 11.

[82] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 1st Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. I, 31 October 1888, p. 8.

[83] Thomas, *The North-West Territories, 1870–1905*, p. 10; *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act,* S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 13.

[84] Thomas, *The North-West Territories, 1870–1905*, p. 10; *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 1st Legislature, 1st Session*, [Microfilm], Saskatchewan Legislative Library, Regina, vol. 1, 1888, pp. 51, 55; *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, [Microfilm], Saskatchewan Legislative Library, Regina, vol. 5, 1891.

[85] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 164–165.

[86] *An Act to amend the Acts respecting the North-West Territories*, S.C. 1891, c. 22, s. 6(12); Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 6th Parliament, 2nd Session*, 16 May 1888, pp. 1474, 1483.

[87] *An Act to amend the Acts respecting the North-West Territories*, S.C. 1891, c. 22, s. 2; *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act,* S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 2; North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "An Ordinance respecting the Executive Government of the Territories," *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, no. 1, 1891–92, p. 5; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 199–200.

[88] Grant MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman of the Canadian Northwest* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), p. 67.

[89] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 203–204.

[90] Ibid., p. 204.

[91] Ibid., p. 200.

[92] Ibid.

[93] North-West Territories, *Debates, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. 5, 1891; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 205, 207.

[94] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 67.

[95] Ibid.; Thomas, *The North-West Territories, 1870–1905*, p. 13.

[96] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 234–263.

[97] Ibid., p. 253.

[98] Ibid., pp. 253–259.

[99] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 8th Parliament, 2nd Session,* 25 May 1897, col. 2797; Ibid., 15 June 1897, col. 4115.

[100] *An Act further to amend the Acts respecting the North-west Territories*, S.C. 1897, c. 28, s. 8.

[101] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 259.

[102] Nicholson, *The Boundaries of Canada*, p. 76.

[103] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 267; David R. Morrison, *The Politics of the Yukon Territory, 1898–1909* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 19.

[104] *Yukon Territory Act*, S.C. 1898, c. 6.

[105] Morrison, *The Politics of the Yukon Territory, 1898–1909*, p. 20; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 267.

[106] Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1990), p. 129.

[107] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 8th Parliament, 2nd Session*, 21 April 1897, col. 1036; Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 8th Parliament, 4th Session*, 14 July 1899, cols. 7500–7501; "The Birth of the Province of Saskatchewan," *Saskatoon Star Phoenix*, 11 September 1952, p. 2.

[108] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 9th Parliament, 2nd Session*, 18 April 1902, col. 3079; Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 129; "Clifford Sifton to Haultain, March 27, 1902: Canada Sessional Paper 116a, 1904," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), p. 188.

[109] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 129; "Haultain opposes Manitoba extension and supports the one Province idea, Indian Head, December 18, 1901: from the pamphlet, Full Text of the Indian Head Debate," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), p. 183.

[110] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 265; Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, pp. 72–73.

[111] John Blue, *Alberta Past and Present: Historical and Biographical: Illustrated*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Pub. Co., 1924), p. 116; Norman L. Nicholson, *The Boundaries of the Canadian Confederation*, The Carleton Library, no. 115 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), pp. 130–135.

[112] Nicholson, *The Boundaries of the Canadian Confederation*, pp. 130–135.

[113] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 70.

[114] Ibid., p. 71.

[115] Ibid., pp. 72–73.

[116] Ibid., p. 72.

[117] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session*, 13–14 October 1903, cols. 13856–13933.

[118] Douglas R. Owram, ed., *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History* (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), p. xxxiv; Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session*, 13–14 October 1903, cols. 13856–13933.

[119] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 130.

[120] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 10th Parliament, 1st Session*, 5 July 1905, cols. 8831–8866, 8866–8885.

[121] Owram, ed., *The Formation of Alberta*, p. xlii; Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 137.

[122] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3, s. 9.

[123] "The Settlement of the Capital Question," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 17 April 1906, p. 2; "Editorial Comment," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 5 September 1905, p. 2; "They Represent the Ottawa Machine," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 30 September 1905, p. 2.

[124] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 139.

[125] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3, s. 9.

[126] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 130.

[127] "Conservative Convention at Red Deer Opened Auspiciously Last Night," *Calgary Herald*, 17 August 1905, p. 1; James H. Gray, *R. B. Bennett: The Calgary Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 90.

[128] Gray, *R. B. Bennett: The Calgary Years*, p. 90.

[129] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 10th Parliament, 1st Session*, 1 March 1905, col. 1852–1853.

[130] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 132.

[131] Ibid.; Canada. Parliament. *House of Commons, Debates, 10th Parliament, 1st Session*, 1 March 1905, col. 1852–1853.

[132] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3; *Saskatchewan Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 42.

[133] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 133; *Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21.

[134] *North-West Territories Amendment Act, 1905*, S.C. 1905, c. 27, s. 4.

[135] *North-West Territories Amendment Act, 1905*, S.C. 1905, c. 27, s. 3; Nicholson, *The Boundaries of the Canadian Confederation*, pp. 126–127, 68.

[136] *Northwest Territories Act*, R.S.C. 1906, c. 62; Nicholson, *The Boundaries of Canada*, p. 85.

[137] *Canada Gazette*, vol. XXXIX, no. 12, 16 September 1905, p. 583; Northwest Territories. Legislative Assembly, "Commissioner," *Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories*, [Internet], (Yellowknife: Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories), accessed 31 December 2004, available from http://www.assembly.gov.nt.ca/VisitorInfo/NWTStyleOfGovernment/Commissioner.html; Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 13th Parliament, 2nd Session*, 25 June 1919, col. 4045; *Canada Gazette*, vol. LIII, no. 2, 12 July 1919, p. 93.

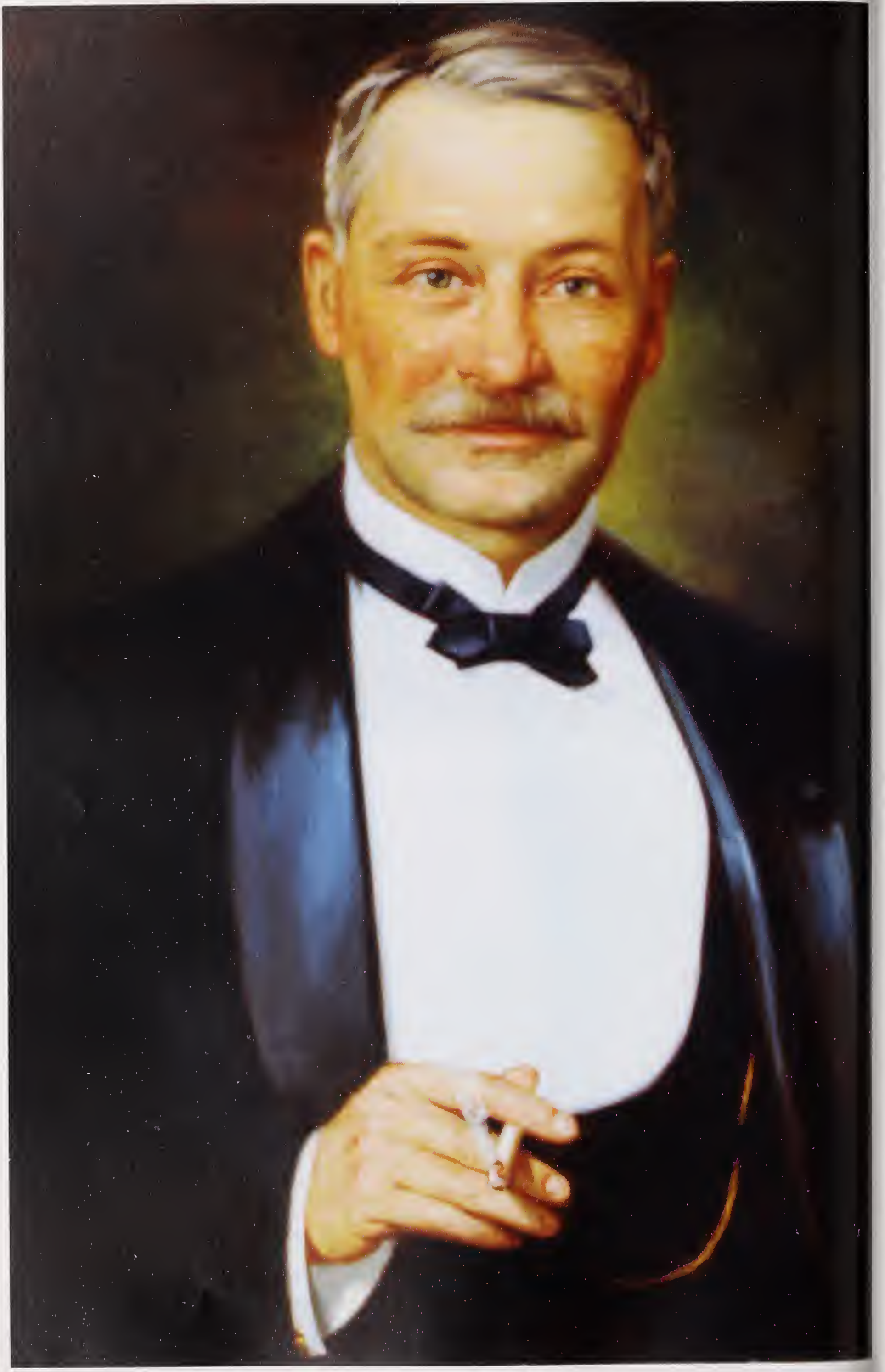
[138] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 262.

# the mantle of leadership

PREMIER

*He who commands himself, commands enough*

# Haultain *1897–1905*



# SIR FREDERICK WILLIAM APLIN GORDON HAULTAIN

Sir Frederick William Aplin Gordon Haultain holds the distinction of having been the only Premier to govern the North-West Territories prior to the establishment of provincial status for Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905. Sir Frederick W. A. G. Haultain's service to Western Canada spanned five decades, including 25 years as a Member of the Legislative Assemblies of the North-West Territories and the Province of Saskatchewan. Upon leaving political life, he presided as Chief Justice of Saskatchewan for 25 years, of which 22 were served concurrently as Chancellor of the University of Saskatchewan. Three Lieutenant Governors served during Haultain's premiership in the North-West Territories: Charles H. Mackintosh (1893–1898), Malcolm C. Cameron (1898) and Amédée E. M. Forget (1898–1905). Haultain championed responsible government for the North-West Territories during the earliest days of settlement. That the emergence of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan owed much to his dedication to the good government of the Territories was recognized by his contemporaries:

> The work which he has done is substantial and valuable and more so because it was done at a time when the foundations were being laid and the start being given to the life of these new Provinces which were evolved out of the old territories and possessions of the Hudson's Bay Company.[1]

At the time of his appointment to the Office of Premier, Haultain was 39 years of age.

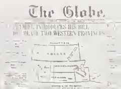
## Family History

Frederick William Aplin Gordon Haultain was born on November 25, 1857 in Woolwich, County of Kent, England,[2] the fourth of nine children* of Frederick W. Haultain (1821–1882) of the Royal Artillery and Lucinde Helen Gordon (1828–1915).[3] Frederick's family had a long-standing history of military involvement; Haultains and Gordons had been for generations senior British officers throughout the Empire.†[4] Frederick Sr., who was born in Brussels, Belgium, moved as a young boy with his family to England.[5] Between 1837 and 1839, he attended the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, entering as 'a gentleman cadet' and later being commissioned as a second lieutenant.[6] He was stationed in Halifax, Nova Scotia, from 1840 to

---

* Francis Gordon (1851–1919), George Walter Gordon (b. and d. 1854), Emily Bell (1855–1932) [Robert Hamilton Dennistoun (1849–1884); John George Macklin (d. 1917)], Frederick William Aplin Gordon (1857–1942), Clara Eliza (1859–1953), Wilmot Gordon (1861–1951), Florence Fraser 'Effie' (1863–1932), Terrick Gordon (1868–1951) and Alexander Gordon (1872–1873). Theodore Graham Haultain, Joan Haultain Stanley and Margaret Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree: A Record of the Family from 1689 to 2000* (West Ryde, NSW: Theodore Graham Haultain, 2000), pp. 186, 200–201, 203–205.

† For example, the brother of Frederick Haultain Sr., Colonel Theodore Minet Haultain, served in India, England and New Zealand, where, after his retirement from active military service, he became Minister for Colonial Defence (1865–1869). Robert Steven Patterson, "F. W. G. Haultain and Education in the Early West," (MEd Thesis, University of Alberta, 1961), p. 7; Haultain, Stanley and Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree*, pp. 18–19; "F. W. Haultain Fonds, 1821–1882," *Trent University Archives*, [Fonds Level Description], [Internet], (Peterborough, ON: Trent University), accessed 2 August 2006, available from http://www.trentu.ca/library/archives/75-1013.htm



1841, and in the Province of Canada from 1849 to 1853, and from 1854 to 1857.[7] Frederick William Haultain Sr. married Lucinde Helen Gordon in 1850 in Montreal, Canada East (Quebec).[8] In 1857, Haultain and his family returned to England, where, after 23 years of military service, he retired in May 1860, with the rank of lieutenant colonel.[9]

Helen was the fourth child and third daughter of Alexander Gordon (1794–1863) and Zébée Anne Rose Touzi (1799–1874). Alexander Gordon was the son of Alexander Gordon, 4th Duke of Gordon, 7th Marquess, 1st Earl of Norwich. Alexander entered military service in 1810 and was appointed major general, Royal Engineers in 1861.[10]

Frederick W. A. G. Haultain's paternal grandfather, Francis Haultain (1789–1855), was born in Worcester, England. He joined the Royal Regiment of Artillery in 1803, and by 1806, he was stationed in Newfoundland, where he remained until 1816.[11] Francis Haultain married Eliza Ann Dean (1796–1885) at St. John's, Newfoundland, in 1815.[12] He served more than 52 years in the military, retiring with the rank of major general.[13] Eliza Ann was born in Poole, Dorset, England, then moved to Newfoundland with her two sisters after the death of their mother.[14] After her husband's death in 1855, she lived with family members, eventually relocating to Peterborough, Canada West (Ontario), to live with her son Frederick and his family.[15]

In September 1860, when Frederick was a young boy of just under three years of age, his family immigrated to Peterborough.[16] Within a year of the Haultain family's arrival, Frederick Sr., a supporter of George Brown's Clear Grit Party,* was elected to the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada as the Member for Peterborough, having defeated Wilson S. Conger in the general election of 1861.[17] In 1863, Frederick Sr. stood aside, allowing Conger to be acclaimed to the seat,[18] but was returned to the Assembly in an 1865 by-election, following Conger's death in 1864.[19] Frederick Sr. participated in the Confederation Debates, exhibiting informed opinions and an eloquent wit.[20] Upon leaving politics, he accepted the position of secretary of the French Canadian Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Montreal, illustrating his commitment to the Presbyterian faith.[21] Although raised a staunch Presbyterian, Frederick W. A. G. Haultain would eventually become a member of the Church of England (Anglican).[22] In 1873, the Haultain family returned to Peterborough, and Frederick Sr. was appointed Registrar in the County of Peterborough.[23] Helen Haultain also dedicated herself to public service and was active in the community as a founding member of the philanthropic Peterborough Relief Society.[24]

Frederick's younger brother Wilmot G. Haultain rose to prominence as a public servant. In 1904, he served as Deputy Registrar of Land Titles, Regina, and in 1908, he was promoted to the position of Registrar. He later became Master of Titles for the Province of Saskatchewan.[25]

---

* In the early 1850s, the Clear Grits developed as a radical element within the Reform Party, which was prominent in Canada West and sympathetic to certain elements of the American political system and which formed the basis of the Liberal Party after Confederation. J. M. S. Careless, *The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions, 1841–1857*, The Canadian Centenary Series (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1967), pp. 166–167.

Frederick W. A. G. Haultain had great respect for his parents, with his father's guidance being paramount during his youth.[26] Two years after the death of his father in 1882, Haultain journeyed west to Fort Macleod in the North-West Territories (Alberta), where the new North-West Mounted Police Garrison was located.[27] From the frontier town of Fort Macleod, Frederick Haultain would gain distinction as a leader of the successful campaign for responsible government in the Canadian West.

## Education

Frederick's early education took place in Peterborough,[28] with high school being completed in Montreal, Quebec. This was followed by his attendance at the Collegiate Institute in Peterborough.[29] In 1879, Haultain earned the degree of Bachelor of Arts (First Class Honours in Classics) at the University of Toronto,[30] under the tutelage of Reverend Doctor John McCaul, a proponent of non-denominational university education.[31] Haultain subsequently studied at the 'law school at Osgoode Hall.'[32] After articling with the Toronto firm of Bethune, Moss and Falconbridge, Haultain was called to the Bar of Ontario in 1882 and practised briefly in Kingston.[33]

## Early Career

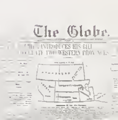
Haultain journeyed west in 1884[34] and began the practice of law in Fort Macleod. When he arrived, he was one of only two practising lawyers, the other being Charles C. McCaul. Despite being courtroom adversaries, McCaul and Haultain enjoyed a friendship dating back to their early university days.[35] The two later established a partnership, which lasted from 1888 to 1890.[36] Haultain became known as an effective courtroom lawyer, involved in matters of both civil and criminal law.[37] His talents were soon obvious to the residents of Fort Macleod. Even the publishers of the *Macleod Gazette*, themselves defendants in Haultain's first prosecution in the district, praised the integrity of the Crown Prosecutor:

> Mr. Haultain is a young lawyer, as we are all young in this country, but this, his first important effort in this country, shows that he has the stuff in him. He conducted the prosecution in an impartial and able manner, and we echo the feelings of all when we say, well done, sir, you did your duty well.[38]

Because of the newness of the North-West Territories and its legal system, there were deficiencies in justice and democracy, which became obvious to the young lawyer.[39] As early as 1884, Haultain protested against the absence of an appeal court in the North-West Territories. He deplored as 'unprecedented and unjust' the fact that Territorial residents were being deprived of their right to judicial appeal.[40] On December 30, 1884, he formally petitioned the Dominion Government to establish a superior court for the Territory.[41]

## Community Activities and Personal Interests

Frederick Haultain served as vice-president of the Canadian Bar Association (1896),[42] and starting in 1898, as vice-president of the Liberal-Conservative Association of the North-West Territories.[43] Haultain was an avid sportsman and was a member of the Assiniboia Club of Regina, the Regina Curling Club and the Royal Regina Golf Club.[44] In later years, he was



actively involved in the Canadian Patriotic Fund,* which provided financial relief to veterans of the First World War and their families.[45]

## Political Career

On September 5, 1887, Frederick W. A. G. Haultain successfully contested a by-election† and became the member for the electoral district of Macleod on the North-West Council. Although a new member of the Council, Haultain quickly became a dedicated advocate for the concerns of his constituents. Shortly after the opening of the Ninth Session of the North-West Council, which took place on October 14, 1887, he was appointed to the Civil Justice Committee.[46] On October 20, he moved that the Council strike a special committee to review the liquor law of the North-West Territories. The motion passed, and a Special Committee convened the following day and presented its report to the Council on November 18.[47] In the same Session, Haultain proposed an amendment to the 1887 report (originally drafted in 1886) which had recommended that the total number of seats in the new legislative assembly planned for the North-West Territories be increased to 25. The amendment, which proposed an additional seat, to be allocated to the Lethbridge Area to reflect that region's growing population, carried despite some concerns that it might upset the balance of seats amongst the Provisional Districts.[48]

The question of the size of the new legislative body of the North-West Territories was only one component of the larger issue of the nature and composition of that body. In 1888, the *North-West Territories Act*—the constitution of the North-West Territories—was amended, and the North-West Council was abolished in favour of a mostly elected Legislative Assembly. In addition to the 22 elected Members, three non-voting legal advisers were appointed to the Assembly by the Governor General.[49] Furthermore, the Lieutenant Governor, who had presided over regular meetings of the North-West Council, would not chair Sessions of the Legislative Assembly. Instead, provision was made in the amended Act for the election of a Speaker.‡[50]

The amended *North-West Territories Act* reflected most of the changes that members of the Council had proposed during the preceding few years.[51] However, it made no provision for an executive council. Instead, it provided for "an advisory council on matters of finance."[52] The Advisory Council was a four-person body, which was appointed by the Lieutenant Governor from amongst the elected Members of the Assembly. The Council held office 'during pleasure,' advising on financial matters, and was presided over by the Lieutenant Governor.[53] The

---

* The Canadian Patriotic Fund was established at the outset of the First World War in order to "provide locally for … soldiers' families as were in need." Philip H. Morris, ed., *The Canadian Patriotic Fund: A Record of Its Activities from 1914–1919* (Ottawa: Canadian Patriotic Fund, 1920), pp. 7, 52.

† Member for Macleod Richard Henry, Viscount Boyle had resigned in the summer of 1887, resulting in a fall by-election. Lewis Herbert Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories, 1870–97*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 149n17; North-West Territories. Council, *Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories of Canada, Session of 1887*, 14 October 1887, pp. 5–6.

‡ The first Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories was Dr. Herbert C. Wilson (1888–1890), Member for Edmonton.

Lieutenant Governor also held voting privileges and possessed the casting vote in case of a tie.[54] Frederick Haultain, who had been elected Member for Macleod by acclamation in the 1888 Territorial election, was appointed as one of the four Advisory Council members* and became the first leader of the Council.[55]

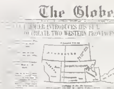
During this period, the Legislative Assembly had control over only those revenues that were raised from within the North-West Territories. Furthermore, these revenues accounted for only about 10 per cent of total Territorial expenditures.[56] As provided in the Act, the Advisory Council had no control over the most substantial portion of the total Territorial revenue, namely the grants from the Dominion Government, which were administered by the Lieutenant Governor.[57] These restrictions not only limited the ability of the Assembly to control its own financial affairs but also precluded the operation of responsible government, which requires that the executive be responsible to the elected body, in this case the Legislative Assembly.

From the outset, the control of Territorial funding was a primary source of conflict between the Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly. Although he was somewhat sympathetic to the Assembly's demands for democratic reform, manifested in part by his allowing the Advisory Council greater input into the budgetary process,[58] Lieutenant Governor Joseph Royal (1888–1893) was responsible to a Dominion Government that was unwilling to grant such concessions.[59] As a conciliatory measure, Royal solicited the advice of Haultain and the Advisory Council in the preparation of the Territorial financial estimates for 1889–1890.[60] However, the Council's purview was limited as "the responsibilities of the four members did not extend beyond expressions of their opinions."[61]

Throughout the remainder of 1888 and into 1889, the Dominion Government of Sir John A. Macdonald (1867–1873, 1878–1891) revealed "an unyielding attitude ... towards North-West aspirations," which frustrated those Members of the Assembly bent on broadening the existing constitutional responsibilities of the executive concerning financial matters, and on introducing responsible government.[62] Matters came to a head on October 29, 1889, when Haultain and the other members of the Advisory Council resigned in protest against a system in which "our most important powers are only granted to us in the form of concessions, and because we are unwilling to accept responsibility without corresponding right of control."[63] Even more to the point, the Advisory Council members resigned to position themselves for a "fight for constitutional reform unencumbered by the compromises and responsibilities which membership in the Council involved."[64] Unimpeded by the responsibilities intrinsic to membership in the Advisory Council, Haultain was ready to take up leadership in the struggle to achieve financial reforms and responsible government.

---

* The other Advisory Council members were Member for North Regina David F. Jelly, Member for Batoche Hillyard Mitchell and Member for North Qu'Appelle William Sutherland. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 163; J. A. Gemmill, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Companion*, 1889 ed. (Ottawa: J. Durie & Son, 1889), pp. 392, 395.



The following week, Lieutenant Governor Royal appointed four new Councillors,[65] including Dr. Robert G. Brett,* Member for Red Deer, and John F. Betts,† Member for Prince Albert. However, the appointments gained Lieutenant Governor Royal little as Brett, Betts and their colleagues were themselves denied powers of financial control and therefore failed to gain the Assembly's support. The Brett Advisory Council resigned soon thereafter, on November 15, 1889.[66]

As the problems of the new Advisory Council continued throughout 1890,‡ difficulties which were most evident in the Council's inability to secure the support of the Assembly for legislation,[67] Haultain and like-minded colleagues—the 'agitators' as one prominent historian of the West has called them[68]—continued to insist on the Legislative Assembly's right to control all Territorial finances. Replying to a November 14, 1890 address by Royal in which the Lieutenant Governor re-asserted his right and that of the Advisory Council to "absolute control over Territorial revenues,"[69] Haultain and his supporters made their points explicit. In a debate in the Legislative Assembly, it was stated:

> The Assembly is compelled to express its belief that the Sections of the Act [*North-West Territories Act* of 1888] and of the Orders in Council above quoted [Orders in Council of 1883 and 1886[70]] most distinctly vest absolute control over Territorial revenues in this Assembly, and not in Your Honor or Your Honor's Advisers, inasmuch as the Act expressly states that Your Honor shall govern "by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly," and not by and with the advice and consent of your Advisory Council.[71]

On the issue of responsible government, Haultain's group argued that existing legislation

> further provide[s] … that your [the Lieutenant Governor's] initiative *shall* be on the advice of four Members of the Assembly, who, inasmuch as they are integral parts of the Assembly—by and with whose advice and consent Your Honor governs—must be held to represent it, and therefore be responsible to it, as they cannot be to Your Honor, whom it is provided shall act on their advice.[72]

The Third Session of the First Legislature, in the fall of 1890, was remarkable in terms of the seemingly tireless efforts of Haultain and his group to achieve constitutional reform and financial control. Interestingly, the actions of two members of the Advisory Council, Brett and Betts, and not further agitation from Haultain's supporters, resulted in the constitutional change that took place in 1891.*[73] Regardless of who completed the negotiations, the legislation that amended the *North-West Territories Act* embodied the primary principles for which Haultain and his supporters had fought. Most importantly, the Act eliminated the three non-voting legal advisers, allowed for the appointment of an executive committee[74] and provided for the use of the parliamentary grant in the Territories. Specifically, the Legislative Assembly had

---

* Brett was later to serve as the second Lieutenant Governor of Alberta (1915–1925).

† Betts was later elected Speaker of the North-West Territories (1895–1898).

‡ In January 1890, Royal approached Brett with a request that he head up a new Advisory Council. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 183. Brett agreed, but legislative deadlock continued through October 1890 when Royal reconvened the Legislative Assembly. The majority group, led by Haultain, exercising its right to reply to the Speech from the Throne, declared that it would continue to withhold support of all legislation and motions put forth by the latest Brett Council. Moreover, members of the Advisory Council would be barred from standing committees of the Legislative Assembly. This stance was a bold stroke, announcing to Ottawa the firm resolve of Haultain's group to achieve democratic reform. North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 1st Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. III, 9 November 1890, pp. 35–39.

> the power to make ordinances for the government of the Territories [on] … the expenditure of territorial funds and such portion of any moneys appropriated by Parliament for the Territories, as the Lieutenant Governor is authorized to expend by and with the advice of the Legislative Assembly or of any committee thereof.[75]

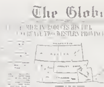
The Act was unclear, however, as to the specific nature and status of the committee that was to be organized to execute these new powers.[76] In December 1891, early in the First Session of the Second Legislature, the Legislative Assembly passed "An Ordinance Respecting the Executive Government of the Territories."[77] This Ordinance provided for the appointment of an Executive Committee "to aid and advise in the Government of the Territories."[78] The Executive Committee was a departure from the Advisory Council, which it replaced,[79] and a step closer to responsible government in that its members took an oath of Office, one member was designated Chair, and the Lieutenant Governor was not included in its membership.[80] While not providing for an executive body that could advise on "*all* matters connected with the duties of the Lieutenant-Governor,"[81] these new measures constituted "a major landmark in the autonomy movement" because they "opened the way for territorial control of the Parliamentary appropriation …"[82]

On December 24, 1891, Lieutenant Governor Joseph Royal gave Royal Assent to the Ordinance and appointed Haultain as Chair of the Executive Committee.[83] Haultain was now the first full-time Member of the Legislative Assembly residing in Regina, the Territorial seat of governance.[84] During this period, while not officially Premier, Haultain assumed many of the duties of the role and was frequently referred to as 'Premier,' especially in the press of the day.[85]

In 1892, important issues arose with respect to the Legislative Assembly's use of the French language[86] and to the religious education rights of the region's minority groups. Concerning the Assembly's use of the French language, on January 19, Haultain moved that "the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly … be recorded and published hereinafter in the English language only."[87] Member for Medicine Hat Thomas Tweed seconded the motion. Haultain's resolution was amended, through a motion by Member for St. Albert Antonio Prince, to the effect that "it is not in the public interests that any change be made in the system of public printing … as far as the use of the French Language as an official language is concerned."[88] However, the amended motion was defeated, by a vote of 20 to four, and the main motion was again proposed and was passed.[89] The result was that French was no longer used in recorded or published proceedings of the House.[90]

---

* Brett and Betts formed a delegation to Ottawa in the spring of 1891 to represent the interests of the Territorial Government.



The most significant debate in this Session hinged on an amendment to "The School Ordinance," proposing changes aimed at establishing a non-sectarian school system.*[91] With this ground-breaking Ordinance, the Territorial Government replaced the Board of Education with a Council of Public Instruction charged with, amongst other things, overseeing common curricula and teacher certification.[92] Limited Catholic education and catechism within separate schools would be relegated to the last half-hour of the school day.[93]

In the Second Session of the Second Legislature, in August 1892, an unexpected vote of no-confidence, following Haultain's address concerning the budget, was the next major setback that befell the Haultain Executive Committee. Haultain's administration lost a vote on an amendment to the Supply Bill, which declared that the Assembly did not approve the "conduct of the Executive Committee towards the District of Saskatchewan,† and in other respects," by a close vote of 13 to 12.[94] It also, by the same margin, lost the subsequent vote regarding whether the Executive Committee retained the confidence of the Assembly.[95] In a show of solidarity, staunch Haultain supporter James H. Ross resigned as Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, placing himself "in such a position as to be able by voice and vote to advocate those principles" espoused by Haultain.[96]

In order that legislation before the House might be completed, Haultain suggested a compromise candidate, Charles A. Magrath, Member for Lethbridge, for the position of Speaker. This compromise, however, came too late as the Lieutenant Governor had already prorogued the Legislature despite much controversy and objections from Haultain and others.[97] When the Legislative Assembly next met in December 1892, Ross was again elected Speaker.‡ Member for Calgary Hugh St. Quentin Cayley, who had become the acknowledged leader of the new Executive Committee, and his Committee resigned, and Haultain once more became Chair of the Committee.§[98]

---

* The *North-West Territories Act, 1875* had legislated separate schools for Protestant and Roman Catholic religious denominations. In 1884, the Board of Education of the North-West Territories contained within it two autonomous Protestant and Catholic divisions, which provided religious-based education. "The School Ordinance" was enacted to secularize the educational system. M. R. Lupul, "North-West Schools Question," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 28 June 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

† The District of Saskatchewan felt that it had been treated unfairly "because no member from that district had been on the Committee" for the five-and-a-half-month period between the resignation of James Clinkskill, Member for Battleford, and the appointment of Hillyard Mitchell, Member for Mitchell, each of whom represented a constituency within the District of Saskatchewan. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 217.

‡ Ross was the only Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of either the North-West Territories or of Alberta to resign and then to be re-elected Speaker. He was elected as Speaker once more in the Third Session of the Second Legislature, on December 7, 1892. He served as Speaker from 1891 to 1892 and again from 1892 to 1894.

§ The reversion to a Haultain administration occurred because between Sessions, a Cayley supporter, Joel Reaman, died, and a Haultain supporter, Fredrik R. Insinger, was elected in the resulting by-election as the Member for Wallace. This by-election victory gave Haultain's group the numerical advantage in the Assembly. Cayley asked Lieutenant Governor Royal to reconvene the Assembly, at which point he would resign. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 223–224.

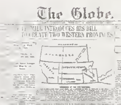
Returned to a leadership role, with support from the Executive Committee and majority support in the Legislative Assembly, Haultain faced the issue of defining the powers of the Executive Committee.[99] Specifically, he introduced a resolution to the effect that the Assembly "claims the right of the House, through its Committee, to advise the Lieutenant-Governor in relation to all Executive Acts and Appointments made necessary by Territorial Ordinances."[100] Haultain's resolution provided that the Committee would be an executive body chosen by Members of the Assembly, a situation that was extraordinary in British parliamentary tradition, wherein the Crown or the Crown's representative appoints members of the executive. Nevertheless, "the Committee thus constituted continued to exist until cabinet government was established in 1897."[101]

Next, Haultain and the Committee attempted to gain full control over Territorial finances. During the period in which Cayley headed the Executive Committee, the Committee had lost a considerable measure of control over federal funding. During this time, the signature of a member of the Executive Committee was no longer required on cheques issued against federal funds, meaning that only the Lieutenant Governor and his Secretary, who was also Clerk of the Assembly, both federal officials, signed such cheques.[102] In addition, Lieutenant Governor Royal prepared the 1893–1894 estimates, on which the parliamentary grants were based, without consulting Haultain's Committee.[103]

Although Haultain steadfastly opposed these developments that severely limited the financial authority of the Committee, initially he was not successful in re-establishing the Executive Committee's control over the parliamentary appropriation by having a member of the Committee approve each expenditure.[104] Nor did the Haultain Committee manage to convince the Dominion Government to establish an annual subsidy for the North-West Territories to defray rising expenses in the region.[105] However, by April 1, 1893, it did achieve success in having the Supply Act[106] revised to include a special section in which monies granted for the territories "shall not be deemed to have lapsed if not expended within the year for which they are granted."[107]

Furthermore, through an Order in Council, dated March 22, 1893, parliamentary funds were to be "made in favour of" the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly and the leader of the Executive Committee.[108] The administrative authority of the Lieutenant Governor with respect to financial matters was further circumscribed during the Fourth Session of the Second Legislature, which opened on August 17, 1893. In that Session, it was legislated that the Lieutenant Governor could no longer make general appropriations of federal funds by Order in Council.[109] Additionally, the Executive Committee's budget provided for a salaried second resident member of the Committee, a provision that further lessened the administrative role of the Lieutenant Governor.[110]

While the Haultain Committee had gained significant concessions by the end of 1893, more work remained to be done. In its petitions to Ottawa for fiscal reform, the Committee first focused on the issue of the federal subsidy. By the mid-1890s, the North-West Territories was experiencing increased settlement, which in turn resulted in the need to provide schools, roads and bridges as well as other public works.[111] The Territorial Government was facing a considerable funding shortfall in that it was slated to receive only about half of the funding it



required. The shortfall was largely due to a 30-per-cent increase in expenses associated with schools and a 26-per-cent rise in the cost of public works.[112] Ultimately, Haultain, who went to Ottawa to argue his case, was unsuccessful in securing increased funding for the Territories. In March 1894, the federal Parliament voted only a very small increase to the parliamentary appropriation, and the idea of a federal subsidy was dismissed.[113]

Haultain was moderately more successful, however, in achieving legislative reforms during his 1894 Ottawa trip. The most significant of Haultain's proposals for reform was that of the replacement of the Executive Committee with an executive council, to be chosen by the Lieutenant Governor, thereby establishing cabinet government and moving the North-West Territories towards responsible government.[114] Although this proposal failed to receive support from the Dominion Government, other legislative reforms that Haultain had requested were granted. As a result, the Legislative Assembly now controlled the number of seats in the House, the size of a quorum, the salary of the Speaker and the sessional indemnity.[115] Moreover, other concessions were granted in terms of extending the term of a Legislature to four years and allowing the Assembly to incorporate tramway companies.[116]

The pattern established in 1894—in which the Haultain Committee largely failed to extract from the Dominion Government any meaningful and lasting funding concessions but did achieve considerable success in increasing the powers of the Legislative Assembly—continued until 1897. Particularly unfortunate was the fact that the Haultain Committee failed to gain additional funding in the 1895–1896 parliamentary estimates, needed because of a disastrous drought in 1894.[117] Likewise in 1896, the Territorial Government's request for an increase in its budget would not have been granted even if Parliament had not been dissolved.* In terms of augmenting the Assembly's powers, "An Ordinance respecting the Executive Committee of the Territories" of 1894 provided that the Lieutenant Governor, on the advice of the Committee members, fill vacancies on the Executive Committee between Sessions.[118] In addition, another Territorial Ordinance increased the number of seats in the Assembly from 26 to 29, giving one additional seat to the Provisional District of Assiniboia and two to the Provisional District of Alberta.[119]

While the powers of the Legislative Assembly had increased during the mid-1890s, the ultimate objective of achieving responsible government remained elusive. However, in 1897, after years of agitation for Territorial rights, Haultain and the other advocates of constitutional change achieved success.[120] The new Liberal Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1896–1911), fresh from its 1896 election victory, provided hope that constitutional and financial revisions could be made to the existing governance structure of the North-West Territories. Taking advantage of this new opportunity to advance their agenda for change, members of the Executive Committee, including Haultain and Member for Moose Jaw James H. Ross, prepared a memorial† for submission to the Laurier Government. Unlike previous submissions in favour of responsible government, this memorial was given serious consideration by the Dominion Parliament, and it "gave rise to the most notable debate in the parliamentary history of the North-West up to that time."[121] Although it did not bear fruit immediately, the memorial of 1896 formed the basis of a continuing House of Commons debate that lasted until the fall of 1897.[122] At that point, Clifford Sifton,* Minister of the Interior (1896–1905), introduced a Bill that would "give the people of the Territories a government" in which they would have "Ministers who are responsible to the legislature" and in which "the rules and precedents that apply to the provincial governments [would] apply to the government of the Territories."[123] Accordingly, in 1897, the *North-West Territories Act* was again amended, providing for the establishment of an Executive Council with a President, appointed by the Lieutenant Governor.[†124] On October 7, 1897, Frederick W. A. G. Haultain was sworn in by Lieutenant Governor Charles H. Mackintosh as the first President of the Executive Council.[‡125] Haultain was now Premier "in fact as well as function."[126]

---

* An election intervened, and consequently the Supply Bill died on the Order Paper. Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 251.

† A memorial is a written petition or a statement of facts put before a legislative body. For more information, see the Glossary.

## As Premier

The Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories had achieved the long-sought-after objective of responsible government. However, even with the new and more democratic structure of governance, reflective of British parliamentary practice, the financial mechanisms and resources needed to deal with the demands of a growing territory were not provided. Unlike the original provinces, the North-West Territories did not have control over its natural resources, meaning that it could not benefit from revenue arising out of the use, sale or lease of such resources.[127] Furthermore, the Territorial Government could not charter railways.[128] In fact, the sources of revenue available to the Territories remained the same as they had been prior to 1897: local income, which was a very small resource, raised through various licences and fees, generating between $30,000 and $40,000 annually in the late 1890s; and the parliamentary grant, which was relied upon to supplement local revenue.[129] However, this arrangement was proving to be increasingly inadequate in terms of supplying the growing needs of the Territories.[§130] A large part of Premier Haultain's task was to lead the effort to secure the additional fiscal resources that his Government required. In a broader sense, the quest for stable and consistent funding to meet growing needs was a major driving force underpinning the autonomy movement, which grew up in the North-West Territories during Haultain's premiership.[131]

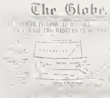
---

[*] Clifford Sifton was the younger brother of Arthur L. W. Sifton, who served as Alberta's second Premier, from 1910 to 1917.

[†] Following their appointments, every member of the new Executive Council, including Premier Frederick Haultain, had to stand for re-election, as per the contemporary statutory requirement. *An Act further to amend the Acts respecting the North-west Territories*, S.C. 1897, c. 28, s. 9.

[‡] The President of the Executive Council is the presiding officer of that body. The person holding that office in a Canadian province is normally referred to as the Premier. Premier Haultain also held the portfolios of Attorney General, Treasurer, Commissioner of Public Instruction and Commissioner of Education. For more information, see Appendix I - Cabinet and Legislative Positions, and the Glossary.

[§] A memorial of 1896, prepared by Members of the Legislative Assembly, pointed out that while the population had increased by 56 per cent in five years, the annual grant increased by only 16 per cent over the previous four years. The authors of the memorial believed that an annual subsidy was an answer to the increasingly large funding shortfall. North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 3rd Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. X, 23 October 1898, pp. 74, 73–76.



Since his first election in 1887, Haultain had led the struggle to obtain for the Territorial Government a federal subsidy commensurate with population growth and had personally taken his case to Ottawa.[132] Nevertheless, he remained keenly aware of local opportunities to augment Territorial revenues. In 1897, the discovery of gold in the Yukon presented a potential economic windfall for Haultain's cash-strapped administration. That same year, the Dominion Government carved out of the Territories the new jurisdiction of the Yukon Territory, thereby ensuring that its revenue would be transferred to the federal treasury.[133] Determined to exploit a two-week delay in the Yukon's transfer to Ottawa, Haultain immediately ordered that as many liquor licences as possible be sold in the time remaining—a resourceful and savvy manoeuvre netting $160,000 to the Territorial Government's coffers.[134]

Between 1898 and 1904, the North-West Territories' financial problems became increasingly acute due in large part to the onerous capital costs that the Territorial Government incurred as a result of a rapidly expanding population.[135] Meanwhile, Dominion revenues had grown by 75 per cent, easily offsetting a corresponding 42-per-cent increase in federal expenditures. The annual federal surplus averaged more than $8 million during that period.[136] However, Ottawa was reluctant to authorize expenditures in the Territories because, as one historian noted, it lacked a "real understanding" of the magnitude of the West, "its problems, or its needs."[137] Indeed, the Dominion Government "followed a penurious policy with respect to the petitions of the government of the vast, new, and bustling West."[138]

The perennial issue of inadequate funding for education reflected Ottawa's reluctance to comply with the Assembly's requests to finance vital Territorial institutions.[139] Expenditures on education in 1899 ($158,625) were almost fully 46 per cent of the total revenues ($345,087*) for that same one-year period.[140] What is more, in 1900, 52 additional school districts were organized compared to the previous year,[141] and there was a 15.5-per-cent growth in education expenditures over the same period. That increase was met by a less-than-adequate eight-per-cent rise in the parliamentary appropriation, from which most of the education funding was derived.[142] Indeed, Territorial revenues were insufficient to satisfy the funding requirements for this vital service.[143] Moreover, the Territorial Government was prohibited from incurring debt and consequently could not borrow the funds required to increase funding for education or other essential services.[144]

Additionally, the federal land policy was a hindrance to the unity and prosperity of the Territories. *The Dominion Lands Act* set aside only every alternate section of land for homesteads, resulting in large tracts of unimproved land and scattered farms with low rates of assessed value.[145] Corporate interests such as railway and land companies avoided taxation by declaring only a fraction of the value of their vast land holdings as 'earned,' although value did accrue to the land as settlement opened up the region to industry and commerce.[146] The Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) prospered under long-standing taxation exemptions and was similarly exempt in perpetuity from federal or provincial taxes.[147] This state of affairs diverted hundreds of thousands of dollars of potential annual revenue from the Territorial treasury, forcing the Territories, in effect, to subsidize "a great Dominion undertaking [the CPR] with millions of western lands."[148]

---

* These funds included the parliamentary appropriation but excluded monies carried over from 1898.

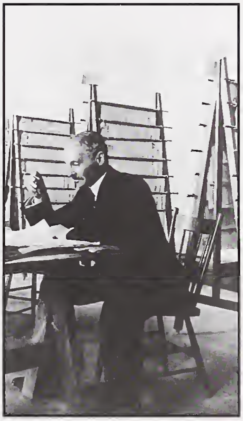
Regarding the deleterious effects of federal land policy, one historian wrote:

> The construction of roads, the erection of school districts, the functions of statute labour and local improvement districts, and the development of community spirit and social intercourse were among the matters retarded by the very system which demonstrated to the world the wonderful possibilities of the North-West.[149]

Haultain continually sought terms that were equitable with those of the existing provinces as the basis for federal-territorial relations. As an example, he considered the Dominion Government's effort to saddle the farmers and settlers of the North West with the financial burden of infrastructure development as unjust and contrary to historical precedent in the established provinces.[150] Haultain recognized the inequity and futility of a system of governance that included aspects of both a colonial dependency and a representative assembly:

> The impossibility of continuing the present system upon its present basis must be self-evident. On the one hand, our limitations—rigidly fixed by Parliament in some instances and equally firmly placed by circumstances in others—preclude our doing for ourselves the things that ought to be done, and on the other hand, Parliament makes no effort to assist us with even an approximate degree of adequacy.[151]

Consequently, Haultain and other advocates of provincial rights believed that autonomy for the North-West Territories was required to dissolve this relationship of dependency that forced the Territories to rely heavily on the Dominion Government. On May 2, 1900, Premier Haultain moved that the Territorial Assembly accept the Autonomy Resolution requesting "the fullest enquiry into the terms upon which the Territories might enter Confederation."[152] The Premier was eloquent during his three-and-a-half-hour address, touching upon the historical and documentary justification for each of the resolution's points.[153] Premier Haultain expounded upon the rationale and principles behind provincial autonomy, including debt allowances; financial terms; public domain; alienated railway lands; and the CPR tax exemption.[154] References to the experiences of the provinces were made in support of detailed arguments that outlined the Dominion Government's duties towards the Territories.[155] Ultimately, Haultain concluded that the North-West Territories could no longer endure the process of "gradual development," and asserted instead that



Premier F.W.A.G. Haultain reading in library (n.d.). Saskatchewan Archives Board, S-B665.

> … Provincial jurisdiction must be the limit of our ambition … . We might well go on developing under the Territorial system for a long time to come if our revenue would only keep pace with our requirements. But the present financial condition is an impossible one—I mean the condition of being dependent on the annual vote of Parliament for the larger part of our income. … So long as the Territories remain in a dependent condition and receive their financial assistance as a matter of grace rather than the right; so long as the Territories remain in the position of having a large amount of money voted as a grant … provided for them every year in the Dominion supply, just for so long will it be impossible for the Territories to secure that suitable

> financial recognition without which even the present institutions cannot be successfully carried on.[156]

The Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories duly passed the Autonomy Resolution.[157]

Lieutenant Governor Amédée E. M. Forget forwarded the resolution to the Secretary of State, who in turn provided the document to the Governor General in Council in July 1900.[158] The Dominion Government, however, was slow to respond, and Haultain was forced to reiterate these arguments to Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, in January 1901:[159]

> We have a rapidly growing population, much larger, as the census will show, than that of British Columbia ten years ago, and than that of Prince Edward Island to-day; a population trained to the exercise of powers of self-government falling a little short only of those enjoyed by the Provinces. For nearly thirteen years the North-west Legislative Assembly has been occupied with founding local institutions and a body of laws suitable to the condition and circumstances of the country.[160]

On this occasion, Premier Haultain's arguments proved persuasive and drew an important admission from Clifford Sifton in March 1901 that "the time has arrived when the question of organizing the Territories on the Provincial basis ought to be the subject of full consideration."[161]

On the question of delineating the boundaries of the autonomous jurisdiction, Haultain believed that the potential of the North West would be realized soonest within a single 'Province of Buffalo,'[162] ranging from the western border of Manitoba to the Rocky Mountains. At the Indian Head Debate of December 18, 1901,*[163] Haultain opposed the annexation of a portion of the Territories by the Province of Manitoba and argued instead for a single, large, prosperous new province. Such a province, Haultain contended, would return substantial benefits to Territorial residents, including efficiency of government services; economic diversity; and efficiency of railway administration and control.[164]

Haultain had expanded upon his notion of a single province most forcefully to Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier in a landmark document, which amounted to an extensively annotated draft bill for the establishment of a single province in the North-West Territories.[165] The Premier's treatment of the issues, his use of legal precedents and his rationale for provincial status, together with his advancement of the proposed mechanics for the transfer and operation of provincial autonomy, proved both exhaustive and precise.[166] It fell to Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton to deliver Ottawa's official response in a brief reply, dated March 27, 1902. The Dominion Government rejected Haultain's draft autonomy bill and deferred provincial status to a future date.[167] Sifton partially explained the delay as follows:

---

* This famous debate followed shortly after Haultain had sent his draft Autonomy Bill for the creation of a single province to Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier (December 7, 1901). Haultain's opponent was Sir Rodmond P. Roblin, Premier of Manitoba (1900–1915). F. W. G. Haultain, "Haultain Opposes Manitoba Extension and Supports the One Province Idea, Indian Head, December 18, 1901: From the Pamphlet, Full Text of the Indian Head Debate," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), pp. 181–185.

> [T]here is a considerable divergence of opinion respecting the question whether there should be one province only, or more than one province. Holding this view, therefore, it will not be necessary for me to discuss the details of the draft bill which you presented as embodying your views.[168]

Haultain was dismayed by this reply, especially as Sifton was advancing an argument for further postponement, despite having declared that the time was ripe for provincial autonomy only 14 months earlier. In his reply of April 2, 1902, Haultain wrote of his "surprise" and "deep disappointment" with respect to the Dominion Government's position.[169] On April 10, the Territorial Assembly passed Haultain's motion by a margin of 21 to seven, registering the Assembly's regret at the Dominion Government's decision to delay resolution of the issue.[170]

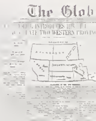
Haultain pursued provincial status, on behalf of his constituents and Territorial residents more generally, so as to secure for the Territories equal standing with the provinces of the Dominion of Canada.[171] As late as April 1902, in his 15th year of public service, Haultain remained emphatic that the concerns and challenges confronting the residents of the North-West Territories took precedence over political progress.[172] Indeed, in a letter sent to Clifford Sifton, Haultain indicated that if provincial autonomy could not be immediately secured, then a settlement to the financial question must be obtained:

> While we may, in your opinion without inconvenience, mark time constitutionally, we cannot do without the transportation facilities, the roads, the bridges, the schools and the other improvements which our rapidly growing population imperatively requires, and at once. Whether we are made into a Province or not, our financial necessities are … real …[173]

Every candidate in the Territorial election of May 21, 1902 favoured the principle of provincial autonomy[174] irrespective of his position regarding the establishment of one province or two. Haultain was returned with a large majority,[175] signalling the strength of his mandate and the validity of his subsequent comment to Sifton that "there is certainly no divergence of opinion upon the question of the establishment of provincial institutions in the Territories upon fair, just and equitable terms, analogous to those upon which the older provinces have been dealt with."[176]

There were some noteworthy interludes in the campaign for autonomy during these years. One of the most significant was the royal visit of 1901. In March 1901, the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, the future King George V and Queen Mary, embarked upon a Royal Tour of several British colonies and Dominions, including Malta, Ceylon, Australia, New Zealand, Mauritius, South Africa and Canada. The Duke and Duchess arrived at Quebec on September 16 and subsequently travelled westward, through Montreal, Ottawa and Winnipeg, reaching Regina, the capital of the North-West Territories, on September 27.[177] *The Leader* (Regina) dedicated an extensive front-page article to what was without doubt a momentous occasion in Territorial history. It provided the following picturesque description of the reception area:

> The C.P.R. depot had a very elegant appearance, with the coat of arms, shields, flags, streamers and evergreens and most effective of all the festoons of ruching in brilliant colors. … Some of the flags [on the royal route] bore letters, and were so arranged as to spell the word Welcome, which fluttering in the breeze were emblematic of a welcome that was alive and active. This form of decoration was to be seen everywhere and the quivering bunting gave an appearance of gaiety that was quite catching …[178]



After the arrival of the royal train, the Duke and Duchess were received on the platform by Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories Amédée E. M. Forget, and by other dignitaries, including members of the Executive Council Premier Frederick Haultain, George H. V. Bulyea* and Arthur L. W. Sifton† as well as Mayor of Regina William T. Mollard and a number of town councillors.[179] Addresses to the Royal Couple, presented in the conservatory of Government House,[180] followed, after which a luncheon was held. The Lieutenant Governor, who gave the Royal Toast, and Madame Forget and Prime Minister Laurier, along with others, sat at the head table with the Duke and Duchess. Haultain, Sifton and Bulyea, amongst other notable dignitaries, were in attendance.[181]

The Royal Tour continued later that day, as the Duke and Duchess departed Regina for Moose Jaw, arriving on Saturday September 28 in Calgary, "a gaily decorated and apparently very flourishing little town," as an assistant to the Duke would later record.[182] Premier Haultain accompanied the reception party, which included Laurier, Lieutenant Governor Forget and Lady Minto,‡ amongst others, to Calgary.[183] After the Royal Party was welcomed at the railway station, the Duke and Duchess participated in the day's events, which were highlighted by a medal-presentation ceremony to the veterans of the South African (Boer) War and by a meeting with the leaders of First Nations people, about 2,000 of whom were encamped just west of Calgary.[184] The Royal Tour then proceeded to Banff and points further west before the Royal Party travelled by train to eastern Canada, finally returning to the United Kingdom.

A momentous and tragic event, which captured the attention of Territorial residents two years later, was the Frank Slide. On April 29, 1903, 70 people living in the community of Frank, North-West Territories (Alberta), were killed in a rock slide. Millions of tons of rock crashed down Turtle Mountain, located in the Crowsnest Pass, burying roads, railroads, the entrance to the local coal mine, houses and farms. The 17 men who had been trapped in the mine emerged 13 hours after the slide occurred, due to the heroic efforts of their rescuers. Frank was evacuated as a precaution, but when no further slides took place, the residents returned and the mine re-opened, albeit in a different location.[185]

The year 1903 also saw Haultain continue his campaign for consistent funding and provincial autonomy. On January 30, Haultain wrote an extensive letter to Clifford Sifton, reiterating every argument in favour of autonomy extant since 1901, stating:

> We are seeking no favours—we but request that we be fairly dealt with. We have nothing new to lay before the government, nothing but what has already been stated,

---

* Bulyea was the Member of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories for South Qu'Appelle and served as Territorial Secretary (1899–1905), Commissioner of Agriculture (1899–1903), Commissioner of Public Works (1903–1905) and, later, as Alberta's first Lieutenant Governor (1905–1915).

† Sifton was the Member of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories for Banff and served as Territorial Treasurer (1901–1903), Commissioner for Public Works (1901–1903) and, later, as Alberta's second Premier (1910–1917).

‡ Lady Minto was the wife of Governor General Sir Gilbert John Murray Kynynmond Elliot, the fourth Earl of Minto (1898–1904).

> save only that the conditions are growing more intolerable, the financial stringency is more accentuated, and our constitutional inability to do anything to help ourselves still more marked.[186]

On February 20, 1903, Haultain met with Sifton and other federal Cabinet Ministers seeking financial grants of $400,000 towards public works, $250,000 for education and an additional $250,000 to cover a deficit resulting from the need to rebuild bridges destroyed by flooding the previous year.[187] Following that meeting, Haultain delivered into Sifton's hands a detailed list of the Territorial Government's fiscal requirements.[188] Haultain remained in Ottawa anticipating Sifton's response until March 19, 1903, at which time Territorial matters required his return to Regina.[189]

Sifton's reply denying Haultain's request of February 20, 1903 eventually arrived on April 16.[190] Instead, the Dominion Government proposed a grant of $250,000 and the provision of a capital account of $500,000.[191] Haultain immediately rejected the Dominion's proposal, in a letter sent on April 20, 1903 to federal Finance Minister William S. Fielding, stating that the Territories had never sought such a capital account and that such issues were impossible to address "whilst what we consider our just claims to fair treatment from the financial point of view are deliberately set aside and not met."[192]

In the autumn of 1903, Members of Parliament addressed the question of provincial status, and the Territories found a champion in Conservative Leader of the Opposition Robert L. Borden.* On October 13, Borden addressed Parliament espousing the legitimacy of Haultain's demands of 1900 and 1903. He roundly criticized the Laurier Government's 'policy of delay.'[193] However, his stance posed a problem for Liberal Members of Parliament representing constituencies in the Territories: whether to keep faith with Haultain's clear mandate and most importantly, with the wishes of their constituents, or to support Prime Minister Laurier.[194] Partisanship prevailed, and all three Territorial Members of Parliament present that day—Frank Oliver, Thomas O. Davis and T. Walter Scott†[195]—"submit[ted] to the decision of the Liberal caucus" to delay the granting of autonomy.[196] As one historian put it, "The Territorial Assembly was unanimously in favour of autonomy at the earliest possible moment, while the north-west representatives at Ottawa were on record as favouring indefinite delay."[197]

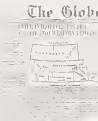
Shortly thereafter, on November 19, 1903, the Territorial Assembly unanimously passed a resolution insisting on 'immediate autonomy' and reaffirming its position presented to the Dominion Government on May 2, 1900 and April 24, 1903.[198] By 1904, the federal purse strings opened, and the Haultain Government received $909,979, fulfilling most of its fiscal requirements.[199] Nevertheless, Premier Haultain viewed the federal grant as a "temporary alleviation" of the Territories' 17-year struggle for adequate funding and declared that "the financial and constitutional questions could not be divorced from one another."[200]

The Territorial autonomy question had, by this time, gained a national profile by becoming a campaign issue in the federal election of 1904. On April 8, 1904, the *Montreal Star* succinctly

---

* Borden served as Prime Minister of Canada from 1911 to 1920.

† Scott was the first Premier of the Province of Saskatchewan (1905–1916).



summarized the central problems driving Haultain and the Territorial Government's demands for provincial autonomy:

> The people of the Territories are deprived of the control of their public lands, of their minerals, of their timber. They have no power to raise money on their own credit. They have no fixed subsidy, and are dependent on annual doles from the Dominion Government, small and uncertain in amount. They have no power to incorporate railway, steamboat, canal, transportation and telegraph companies. They have no power to amend their constitution, as the … Provinces have. They have no power to establish hospitals, asylums, charities, and those other eleemosynary institutions which the British North America Act assigns to the Provinces. They are not allowed to administer the criminal law, which is a right possessed by all the Provinces of the Dominion.[201]

On June 1, 1904, Haultain urged Prime Minister Laurier to address the issue of provincial status, first outlined in Haultain's December 7, 1901 draft autonomy bill. Haultain would wait four months for Laurier's reply to his letter. On September 30, the Prime Minister promised to address the autonomy question immediately upon his Government's being returned to power in the upcoming federal election.[202] Deferring the federal debate on autonomy bought Laurier's Government time to consider the contentious issue of provincial control over education.[203]

The Liberal Party won the general election of 1904. True to his promise, Laurier resumed negotiations on provincial autonomy in Ottawa in January and February of 1905.[204] George H. V. Bulyea accompanied Premier Haultain to Ottawa to negotiate with Laurier.[205] Haultain, as outlined in his submission to Ottawa in 1901, envisioned one province encompassing all of the Territories. The Laurier Government, concerned that one very large province might become too strong, sought to create two provinces and have the Dominion Government maintain federal jurisdiction over education, crown lands and other natural resources in the new provinces.[206]

The negotiations took place unrecorded and behind closed doors leaving little documentary evidence to shed light on the most disputed issues broached by Haultain and Laurier.[207] The record does show the contentious nature of topics such as provincial control of lands, minerals, subsidies and debt allowance. Laurier wrote the word 'Reserved' beside all of these considerations on Haultain's draft autonomy bill.[208] The question of denominational schooling was also the subject of debate. Due to the Manitoba Schools Question,* Prime Minister Laurier sidestepped direct negotiations regarding religious education until the last possible moment. On March 11,

---

* The *Manitoba Schools Act* of 1890 prompted a national controversy. The Manitoba law had removed French as an official language of the province and cancelled funding to Roman Catholic schools. Although the Act contravened provisions of the federal *Manitoba Act, 1870* and was deplored by Roman Catholics, it was eventually upheld on appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the United Kingdom. The controversy helped to widen the division within the federal Conservative Party and helped the Liberal Party, under Laurier, to rise to power in 1896. The Manitoba Schools Question, as it came to be known, was resolved through a compromise between Laurier and Thomas Greenway, Premier of Manitoba (1888–1900). Roman Catholic education and French-language instruction would take place, but only on a 'school-by-school' basis, as warranted by sufficient numbers of Roman Catholic students, and only during the last half hour of the school day. O. D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, vol. 2 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 16–17.

1905—just weeks after Laurier's presentation of the Autonomy Bills[*] to Parliament—Haultain protested: "I must remind you of the fact that your proposition was not laid before my colleague or myself until noon of the day [Tuesday, February 21] upon which you introduced the Bills. Up to that time the question had not received any attention beyond a casual reference to it on the previous Friday …"[209] In fact, religious education and minority rights for Roman Catholics of the North West had been dealt with in correspondence between Laurier and Archbishop Donato Sbarretti, delegate Apostolic,[†] wherein Laurier pledged to safeguard the rights of minorities in the North West through the creation of separate schools. Both papal delegate Sbarretti and the Prime Minister understood the repercussions of reopening the denomination school question, which was in effect put to rest in Manitoba in the 1890s. In a letter of March 7, 1904 to the Archbishop, Laurier wrote:

> My opinion is very clear, that when the territories are admitted as a province, the minority should not be placed in a worse condition than it is today; that its schools ought to receive the same degree of protection as is granted to the minority in Ontario and Quebec where separate schools existed at the first establishment of Confederation, and that the act of admission of the territories into confederation should especially provide that the system of separate schools now in existence shall be secured beyond the power of the provincial legislature … either to abolish or even prejudicially affect such schools.[210]

In the weeks following the election, Laurier forwarded a draft of the Autonomy Bills to Archbishop Sbarretti,[211] and on February 11, nine days prior to tabling the Autonomy Bills in Parliament, Laurier received the Archbishop's formal approval of the education clause.[212]

For his part, Frederick Haultain "expressed his 'emphatic objection'" to the education clause of the Autonomy Bills.[213] Simply put, his position was that the provinces should be left alone to deal with the issue of education, as delineated in the *British North America Act*.[214] Ultimately, the education clause of the Autonomy Bills was revised along the lines of what Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton[‡] had proposed, maintaining the 'educational status quo.'[215] As a result of this revision, the first or majority school within a district had to be a public school. Denominational, or separate, schools could be created only after the public school had been established.[216]

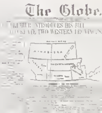
With respect to the issue of the number of provinces and configuration of the newly autonomous North-West Territories, the federal vision of two provinces prevailed. On February 21, 1905, Prime Minister Laurier presented to Parliament the Autonomy Bills for the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Haultain continued to advance his vision of provincial status in a letter to Laurier sent on March 11, 1905, criticizing the Alberta and Saskatchewan Bills and continuing to put before the Prime Minister recommendations for amendments which Haultain believed to be advantageous to Territorial residents.[217]

---

[*] Haultain's draft autonomy bill had called for one province. On February 21, 1905, Laurier introduced two bills in the federal Parliament: Bill 69, *The Alberta Act* and Bill 70, *The Saskatchewan Act*.

[†] Within the Roman Catholic Church, the title 'delegate Apostolic' refers to a representative of the Holy See in a country that engages in no formal diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

[‡] Cifford Sifton resigned in 1905 as federal Minister of the Interior in the midst of the North-West Territories schools question.



On August 31, 1905, the Legislature of the North-West Territories was dissolved, and the new Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan came into existence on September 1. The Dominion Parliament passed, as part of the *Alberta Act* and the *Saskatchewan Act*, the revised education clause,[218] fulfilling Laurier's pledge to protect both the religious and language rights of minority groups. Ottawa also retained control of public lands and other natural resources in the new provinces.*[219] Amédée E. M. Forget, Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories, and George H. V. Bulyea were appointed Lieutenant Governors of Saskatchewan and Alberta respectively and were empowered to appoint Premiers-Designate in advance of the first provincial elections.[220]

For more than a decade, Premier Frederick W. A. G. Haultain had played a leadership role in the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories. Through it all, during the various periods of Territorial governance, Haultain encouraged, debated and led the struggle for autonomy as member of the Advisory Council, Chair of the Executive Committee and Premier of the Territories.† However, in the end he was passed over as Premier-Designate for either province, an occurrence which J. W. Grant MacEwan‡ was later to describe as "the most blatant political snub in a generation."[221]

From the time of his entry into politics, Haultain had subscribed to the concept of a non-partisan Territorial Government.[222] There were pragmatic reasons for this philosophy, including the possibility of the existence of 'a rival party' holding power in Ottawa, which could put the Territories' financial and constitutional positions at risk.[223]

On March 25, 1903, Conservative Members of Parliament representing constituencies of the North-West Territories had convened at Moose Jaw to pass resolutions supporting Territorial policies. The first five were co-extensive with Haultain's policies: opposition to the further alienation of Territorial public lands; criticism of the insufficient parliamentary appropriation; opposition to Ottawa's withholding of provincial status; a request for immediate provincial autonomy and control of natural resources; and a demand for compensation for lands alienated for federal purposes.[224] Haultain, who was one of the conference delegates, also endorsed a resolution to extend congratulations to Robert L. Borden for supporting Territorial claims.[225] However, the last resolution of convention attendees—to run the next Territorial election along established partisan lines—ran counter to Haultain's long-held views of non-partisanship, and hence the Premier argued forcefully against the resolution.[226] However, despite his defence of non-partisanship, Haultain accepted the office of honourary president of the Conservative Association at the Moose Jaw Conservative Convention[227] and campaigned for the Conservatives during the federal general election of 1904.[228]

---

* The Province of Alberta would not gain control over public lands and natural resources until an agreement with the Dominion Government was struck in December 1929 and legislation transferring the control of natural resources to Alberta took effect in the spring of 1930. *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21; *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.C. 1930, c. 3.

† Haultain held a number of other Cabinet and legislative positions. For more information, see Appendix I.

‡ J. W. Grant MacEwan was a prominent writer, agriculturalist, educator, conservationist and politician. From 1966 to 1974, he served as the ninth Lieutenant Governor of Alberta.

Accepting the honourary office and campaigning for the Conservatives had damaged Haultain's credibility in the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, in which he was accused of having blurred the line between local non-partisan administration and support for the federal Conservative Party.[229] Haultain defended his position on the matter of partisan politics, summarizing his rationale in a letter to the editor of the *Regina Leader* on August 9, 1905:

> … I stand for non-party government regardless of what any political party or both political parties may decide. To me the welfare and interests of this great Western country are more and always have been more important than the success or convenience of any political party and if that statement should be questioned I will refer to a public career of nearly eighteen years in these Territories, during which I have guarded their interests, done their work, and fought for their rights as honestly, capably and courageously as I know how.[230]

Premier Haultain's support for the federal Conservative Party during the 1904 election had undermined his chances for a future appointment as a provincial premier.[231] Laurier acknowledged the impossibility of appointing Haultain as Premier of Saskatchewan in a letter to Bulyea in July 1905. He stated that Haultain "went out of his way … to openly take side with the opposition," and therefore the "breach was irreparable."[232] As well, the Territorial leader's determination to improve the autonomy settlement imperilled his selection as Premier.[233] For his part, Haultain had placed his belief in equity and the good of the region ahead of personal political advancement.

## Marriage and Family

Frederick Haultain lived as a bachelor through most of his public life. However, in the mid-1890s, while residing in Regina, he became acquainted with Marion St. Clair Mackintosh (b. ca. 1877), one of the seven daughters and the fourth child of Charles H. Mackintosh, who was Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories, and his wife, Gertrude Niles Cooke.[234] Although it appears that a close friendship, and perhaps a romance, developed, the two were not engaged.[235] Marion married Alfred Louis Castellain, on February 12, 1896, in Ottawa.[236]

Castellain, an emigrant from England, served as a member of the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP) from July 1893 to November 1894.[237] Following his discharge, he became a wine and cigar merchant, setting up a business in Regina in 1895.[238] His business suffered during a period in which there was a strong sentiment in favour of prohibition, even though the sale of alcohol was permitted in the Territories through a licence system.[239] In 1899, experiencing financial difficulties, Castellain was obliged to sell some of his business assets in order to pay his creditors.[240] In February 1900, Louis Castellain enlisted with the Lord Strathcona's Horse Regiment* for service in the South African (Boer) War, leaving for South Africa in March

---

* The Regiment was created in 1900 for the purpose of serving in the South African (Boer) War. The expenses relating to its establishment were borne by Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona), and the majority of the recruits were either members of the North-West Mounted Police (NWMP), cowboys or frontiersmen from western Canada. *Lord Strathcona's Horse (Royal Canadians): History*, [Internet], (Dept. of National Defence, 2004), accessed 30 June 2005, available from http://www.army.dnd.ca/strathconas/history.htm

1900,* and later that year Marion moved to England.[241] Letters exchanged between Marion and Louis Castellain and between Marion and Haultain in the period from 1900 to 1902 indicate problems with Marion's health and difficulties with her marriage.[242] In October 1901, Marion, who was ill, became a patient at the Lansdown Grove Hospital in Bath, England.[243] On May 14, 1902, in Bath, Marion gave birth to a daughter, Marion 'Mimi' Fidèle Castellain.[244]

In 1902, as Premier of the North-West Territories, Frederick Haultain represented the North-West Territories at the Coronation of King Edward VII[245] in England and "renewed his acquaintance with" Marion Castellain,[246] whom, in Haultain's own words, he "found practically penniless with a sick infant … on her hands."[247] Haultain immediately provided Marion with financial and emotional support. Marion had suffered ill health since 1899, and underwent an operation in Banff, North-West Territories (Alberta), after which she recuperated at the Halcyon Hot Springs.†[248] Early in 1906, Marion obtained a divorce from Castellain.[249] In due course, she indicated that she would accept no further assistance from Haultain unless they were married.[250] The union took place on March 19, 1906 in Sioux Falls, Minnehaha County, South Dakota.‡[251] Only a select few were aware that Haultain had secretly married the divorced Marion Castellain.[252] In spite of Haultain's desire to bring her to Regina, Marion returned to England. In 1909, she returned in fragile health to Ontario, where she convalesced for the remainder of her life.[253] Marion St. Clair Haultain died in Guelph, Ontario, on June 17, 1938 and is buried in Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa, Ontario.[254]

Later that year, on September 8, Frederick Haultain, at 80 years of age, married Louisa Frances Decima Ward (b. 1874), widow of William Bracewell Gilmour,[255] in Montreal's Christ Church Cathedral.[256] Louisa was the daughter of Thomas William Ward, former Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals in Bombay, India, and Charlotte Halsnod Ward.[257]

## As Leader of the Opposition in Saskatchewan

After the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, Haultain decided not to retire from public life, but instead ran in the first provincial election in Saskatchewan, held on December 13, 1905, as leader of the non-partisan Provincial Rights Party. The name of the Party which Haultain led reflected his continuing non-partisan approach and the fact that he

---

* Castellain enlisted along with Edward Mackintosh, who was the son of Lieutenant Governor Charles H. Mackintosh. Edward died on January 28, 1901 while serving in South Africa. Fred White, Ottawa, to Lt. Col. S. B. Steele, 3 February 1900, [Telegram], Alfred Louis Castellain, Service Records, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG18-G, vol. 3400, file 2923; "Book of Remembrance: South Africa & the Nile Expedition," *V.A.C. Canada Remembers*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Veterans Affairs Canada), accessed 3 June 2004, available from http://198.103.134.2/remembers/sub.cfm?source=collections/books/safrica; "Former Notable Figure in Life of Canada Dead," *Ottawa Citizen*, 22 December 1931, p. 3

† Charles Mackintosh was the chair of the Halcyon Springs Company. Dr. Robert G. Brett, a Member of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories (1888–1898) and later the second Lieutenant Governor of Alberta (1915–1925), was also affiliated with the Company.

‡ One source indicates that Marion returned to Canada and that the wedding took place there. L. H. Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," *Saskatchewan History* vol. 23, no. 2 (Spring 1970): p. 56. There were no children from Haultain's marriage to Marion Castellain.

"was still unshaken in his belief that the federal government had not granted full provincial rights and did not intend to do more."[258] Although Haultain was elected in the constituency of South Qu'Appelle, prevailing over Liberal candidate Frank B. Moffet, his Party was unable to secure a majority.[259] Consequently, he became Saskatchewan's first Leader of the Opposition, a position he retained until 1912.[260]

As Leader of the Opposition, Haultain was described as 'conscientious and meticulous,'[261] leading a 'populist or democratic socialist' Provincial Rights Party.[262] Haultain advocated rail development to Hudson Bay, public ownership of telephones, protection of farmers against competing interests and government ownership and control of grain elevators.[263] Of great personal satisfaction to Haultain was the establishment of the University of Saskatchewan[264] by *The University Act* of 1907.[265] In the 1912 general election, Haultain was re-elected as the Member for South Qu'Appelle, but his party experienced a decline in support as compared to the provincial Liberal Party.[266] This was chiefly the result of the changing demographics of the electorate, due to rapid immigration, and what was said to be a 'vicious'[267] campaign conducted by the Liberal Party.[268]

Haultain had continued to practise law throughout his public career and was appointed King's Counsel (KC) in 1902.[269] Upon his appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Saskatchewan in October 1912, Haultain retired from politics at the age of 55, after 25 years of parliamentary service.[270]

## Later Career

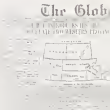
In 1918, Haultain was appointed Chief Justice of the newly formed Saskatchewan Court of Appeal.[271] From the bench, Haultain maintained "the same broad-minded ideals that characterized his long public career, when he proved himself one of the most honorable and capable young statesmen this country ever produced."[272]

Haultain's career as a jurist occasionally required that he return his attention to political issues. In 1913, Haultain's judicial panel presided over an appeal resulting from a disputed election return for the constituency of Cumberland, where the returning officer was found to have 'wilfully neglected' his duties.[273] Years later in 1930, Chief Justice Frederick W. A. G. Haultain was sworn in as acting Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan,*[274] temporarily replacing Henry W. Newlands (1921–1931), who was on vacation.[275]

Haultain served as Chancellor of the University of Saskatchewan from 1917 to 1939.[276] During his tenure, he earned the esteem of both students and faculty. In his convocation address of May 12, 1934, the former Premier, Opposition Leader and now Chief Justice declared:

---

* If for any reason the Lieutenant Governor cannot perform his or her official duties, the Administrator, who is usually the Chief Justice of a province, assumes responsibility in an interim capacity. Peter W. Noonan, *The Crown and Constitutional Law in Canada* (Calgary: Scripnoon Publications, 1998), p. 140.



> I will only express the hope that, whatever party you may belong to, you will bring to your political work and research, what you have learned here—the desire of the ancient Greek to reach the central truth of things and an honest attempt to aim at truth for truth's sake alone. Should you be led into an active public life, so act and so work and so live that it may be said of you as it was said of the great Lord Fairfax:* "But yet he understood how much it is a meaner thing to be unjustly great than honourably good."†[277]

Following his second marriage in 1938, Haultain retired from public life and moved to Montreal.[278]

## Honours and Awards

Frederick Haultain was named honourary president of the Territorial Conservative Association (1903) and was a founding member of the Historical Society of Alberta.‡[279] In 1916, Haultain was knighted (Knight Bachelor) by King George V.[280] Haultain was awarded an honourary Doctor of Laws degree by the University of Toronto in 1915,[281] and by the University of Alberta in 1925,[282] and received an honourary Doctor of Civil Law degree from the University of Saskatchewan in 1931.[283] In 1933, he was made honourary chief ('White Star') of the Saskatchewan Cree Indians of the Pasqua Reserve.[284]

Haultain has been honoured by the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. In Saskatchewan, Haultain Elementary School[285] and Haultain Crescent in Regina bear his name.[286] In Alberta, the original Haultain School in Calgary, built in 1892 and called South Ward School until 1910, was replaced by Haultain Memorial Elementary School in 1981.[287] The Sir Frederick W. Haultain Building, a government building in Edmonton, is named after him (1981),[288] as is Mount Haultain,[289] a peak situated in Jasper National Park. In Wetaskiwin, Alberta School District No. 533 was named for Frederick Haultain.[290] In Fort Macleod, the Fort Museum of the North-West Mounted Police includes a restoration of Haultain's law office and living quarters.[291] The Government of Alberta presents the Sir Frederick Haultain Prizes of $25,000 annually to an outstanding citizen or group in each of three fields: fine, applied or performing arts; social or physical sciences; and education or humanities.[292] Haultain Avenue is located in the Village of Heisler, Alberta, which is known as the 'Premier Village' because its streets are named in honour of former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[293]

---

* As a general in the first and second British Civil Wars and Lord-General of the New Model Army, Lord Thomas Fairfax (1612–1671) instilled firm discipline and established the high code of personal conduct for which Britain's New Model Army became famous. David Plant, "Sir Thomas, Lord Fairfax 1612–1671," Biography, *British Civil Wars, Commonwealth and Protectorate 1638–60*, [Internet], (2001), accessed 20 February 2006, available from http://www.british-civil-wars.co.uk/biog/fairfax.htm

† The final sentence of this quotation, attributed by Haultain to Lord Fairfax, is similar in spirit to Haultain's formal family motto: "He who commands himself, commands enough." The quote is translated from the Latin *satis imperat sibi imperiosus.* Florence F. Haultain, The Haultain Family: A Genealogical Tree Based on Information Collected by Florence F. Haultain, 1931, [Unpublished Manuscript], Frederick W. G. Haultain Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M495.

‡ Alexander C. Rutherford, the first Premier of the Province of Alberta (1905–1910), was also a founding member in 1907. Other prominent founding members of the Society included: Lieutenant Governor George H. V. Bulyea; Arthur L. W. Sifton; Charles W. Fisher (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta 1906–1919); Richard B. Bennett (Prime Minister 1930–1935); and Dr. Robert G. Brett.

## Death

Sir Frederick William Aplin Gordon Haultain died in Montreal, Quebec, after a two-month illness, on January 30, 1942, at the age of 84.[294] Following a funeral service at Montreal's Christ Church Cathedral, the City of Regina honoured him with a formal memorial service at St. Paul's Church on February 8, 1942.[295] More than a year and a half later, Bishop W. T. Hallam of Saskatoon[296] led academics and friends in a third solemn memorial service at Emmanuel College Chapel, before interring Sir Frederick Haultain's ashes 'in consecrated ground' near the University of Saskatchewan's Memorial Gates.[297] Haultain's wife Louisa resided in Montreal until her death on November 23, 1952. Lady Haultain is buried in Montreal's Mount Royal Cemetery.[298]

## Fonds

The Glenbow Archives in Calgary, Alberta, holds a selection of Haultain's papers, including correspondence (1880–1928), speeches, certificates, news clippings, genealogy, photographs and the original Knight Bachelor decree and royal seal of King George V.[299] Further records related to Haultain were deposited with the Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina.[300] The papers of his father, Lieutenant Colonel Frederick W. Haultain, were deposited with Trent University, in Peterborough, Ontario.[301]

## Tributes

In the Speech from the Throne of February 19, 1942, Archibald P. McNab, Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan (1936–1945),[302] made the following remarks:

> The recent passing of Sir Frederick Haultain was not only a personal bereavement to his many friends in Saskatchewan, but also marked the loss of one who gave more than fifty years of useful, distinguished service to Western Canada. Sir Frederick was intimately connected with the Prairies since pioneer days; his ability and talents were exercised in the public service, and his contribution to the establishment and development of our Governmental, Municipal, Educational and Judicial services, will stand as a permanent memorial to his life work.[303]

James Clinkskill, Member for Battleford in the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, said of Haultain, "He stands to this day head and shoulders over any man who has taken part in political life in the West. The fact is that he was too much the statesman and too little the politician to suit Canadian ideas."[304]

## Notes

[1] *Phoenix* (Saskatoon), 26 October 1912 quoted in J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Reveiw of Public Affairs, 1912*, 12th ed. (Toronto: Annual Review Publishing Co., 1913), p. 538.

[2] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fredrick Haultain Household, 1901 Census of Canada, North-West Territories, district no. 204, Assiniboia (West), sub-district f-2, Regina (West), schedule 1, p. 6, household 52, microfilm T-6553, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 8 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; Grant MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman of the Canadian Northwest* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), p. 8. Another source indicates that Haultain was born in Charlton, County of Kent, England. Theodore Graham Haultain, Joan Haultain Stanley and Margaret Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree: A Record of the Family from 1689 to 2000* (West Ryde, NSW: Theodore Graham Haultain, 2000), p. 201.

[3] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Frederick Haultain Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 126, County of Peterborough West, sub-district a-3, Town of Peterborough, schedule 1, pp. 13–14, household 41, microfilm C-13241, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 8; Baptismal Certificate of Frederick William Aplin Gordon Haultain, 26 February 1858, [Baptismal Record], Frederick W. G. Haultain Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M495. The alternate spelling 'Lucinda' is found in the following source: Vivian Boulos, "Colonel Frederick William Haultain," Dennistouns, Becks, Waltons, Stevensons, *RootsWeb's WorldConnect Project*, [Internet], (RootsWeb.com), accessed 13 July 2004, available from http://wc.rootsweb.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=vivboulos&id=I767. Lucinde Helen Haultain used the name 'Helen.' Haultain, Stanley and Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree*, p. 21.

[4] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 8; Vivian Dennistoun Boulos, "Early Beginnings in London, 1665–1754: Theodore James," *Haultain Family Web Page*, [Internet], (RootsWeb.com), accessed 12 March 2006, available from http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~vivaroo/first.htm

[5] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 8; Haultain, Stanley and Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree*, p. 21.

[6] Haultain, Stanley and Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree*, p. 21.

[7] Ibid.; "F. W. Haultain Fonds, 1821–1882," *Trent University Archives*, [Fonds Level Description], [Internet], (Peterborough, ON: Trent University), accessed 2 August 2006, available from http://www.trentu.ca/library/archives/75-1013.htm

[8] Haultain, Stanley and Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree*, p. 21. This source refers to Lucinde as 'Lucinda.'

[9] Ibid., pp. 21–22; "F. W. Haultain Fonds, 1821–1882," [Internet].

[10] John Rees, comp., "Alexander (Maj Gen.) R.E. b. 26. September 1823, d. 23. August 1891," Surnames: Gordon, *Sewell or Sewall of Coventry: Descent and Descendants*, [Internet], (John Cardinals' Second Site v1.9.4, 2006), accessed 2 August 2006, available from http://sewellgenealogy.com

[11] Haultain, Stanley and Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree*, p. 16; United Kingdom. General Register Office, "Francis Haultain," Lewisham, Plumstead & Charlton, County of Kent, 1 November 1855, no. 155, [Certified Copy of Death Registration], reproduced 30 January 2006.

[12] Haultain, Stanley and Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree*, p. 16.

[13] Ibid., p. 18; Robert Steven Patterson, "F. W. G. Haultain and Education in the Early West," (MEd Thesis, University of Alberta, 1961), p. 7; MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 8.

[14] Haultain, Stanley and Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree*, pp. 16, 179.

[15] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Frederick Haultain Household, 1881 Census of Canada; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Haultain, Eliza Ann," County of Peterborough, Town of Peterborough, 3 December 1885, no. 13808, p. 563, [Death Registration]; Haultain, Stanley and Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree*, pp. 16–18.

[16] Haultain, Stanley and Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree*, pp. 22; MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 9.

[17] "F. W. Haultain Fonds, 1821–1882," [Internet]; Debra Forman, ed., *Legislators and Legislatures of Ontario: A Reference Guide*, vol. 1 (Toronto: Ontario Legislative Library, Research and Information Services, 1984), p. 165; MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, pp. 9–10.

[18] "F. W. Haultain Fonds, 1821–1882," [Internet].

[19] Alfred Todd, *General Index to the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada; in the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th Parliaments: 1852–1866*, vol. 2 (Ottawa: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1867; reprint, Washington, D.C.: United States Historical Documents Institute, 1972), p. 370; Forman, ed., *Legislators and Legislatures of Ontario*, p. 172.

[20] *The Confederation Debates in the Province of Canada/1865*, The Carleton Library No. 2, ed. P. B. Waite (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), pp. 129–130.

[21] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 10.

[22] Ibid., pp. 13, 10.

[23] Haultain, Stanley and Maynard, *The Haultain Family Tree*, p. 22. One source indicates Frederick Sr. was a 'land recorder.' MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 10.

[24] Elwood Jones, "Anson House History Project," Heritage Gazette, *Trent Valley Archives*, [Internet], (Peterborough, ON: 2001), accessed 19 February 2006, available from http://www.trentvalleyarchives.com/gazette/anson%20house%20project.htm

[25] John Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People*, vol. 3 (Regina: S. J. Clarke, 1924), p. 1406.

[26] Frederick W. A. G. Haultain to Lucinde Helen Haultain, 1 April 1883, [Letter], Frederick W. G. Haultain Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M495; MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 13.

[27] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, pp. 13–14.

[28] Ibid., p. 11; Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People*, vol. 2, p. 1184.

[29] Hawkes, *The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People*, vol. 2, p. 1184.

[30] Arnott J. Magurn, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide and Work of General Reference for Canada, the Provinces, and the Northwest Territories*, 1903 ed. (Ottawa: Office of Publication, 1903), p. 416; Toronto University College, [College Admission Card for F. W. G. Haultain], 1876–1877, Frederick W. G. Haultain Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M495; Toronto University College, [College Admission Card for F. W. Haultain], 1877–1878, Frederick W. G. Haultain Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M495; Toronto University College, [College Admission Card for F. W. G. Haultain], 1878–1879, Frederick W.G. Haultain Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M495.

[31] Patterson, "F. W. G. Haultain and Education," p. 10.

[32] E-mail from Susan Lewthwaite, Ph.D., Research Coordinator, Corporate Records and Archives, Law Society of Upper Canada, 13 August 2004; Law Society of Upper Canada, *The Law Society of Upper Canada in Context: A Chronology* [Internet], (Toronto, ON: Law Society of Upper Canada, 2006), accessed 1 August 2006, available from http://www.lsuc.on.ca/about/a/history/chronology; Chester Davis, "Judicial System: Some Judges, Lawyers and Other Court Officials," in *Fort Macleod: Our Colourful Past*, vol. 1, *A History of the Town of Fort Macleod, from 1874 to 1924* (Fort Macleod, AB: Fort Macleod History Book Committee, 1977), p. 30.

[33] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, pp. 12–13.

[34] Ibid., p. 16.

[35] Fort Macleod History Book Committee, *Fort Macleod: Our Colourful Past*, vol. 1, *A History of the Town of Fort Macleod, from 1874 to 1924* (Fort Macleod: Fort Macleod History Book Committee, 1977), p. 30; MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, pp. 14–15.

[36] Davis, "Judicial System," p. 30.

[37] Ibid.; "The Libel Cases," *MacLeod Gazette* (Fort Macleod), 19 December 1884, p. 2.

[38] "The Libel Cases," p. 2.

[39] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 27.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] "Haultain Linked with Saskatchewan since Early Settlement," *Leader-Post* (Regina), 30 January 1942, p. 2.

[43] Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography*, 1st ed. (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1898), pp. 448–449.

[44] "The History - Page 4," Club History, *The Assiniboia Club*, [Internet], (Regina: Assiniboia Club, 2000), accessed 19 February 2006, available from http://www.assiniboiaclub.sk.ca/history/page4.html; William Argan, Pam Cowan and Gordon W. Staseson, *Regina, the First 100 Years: The History of Regina Told through its Buildings and Monuments*, rev. ed. (Regina: Leader-Post Carrier Foundation, 2002), pp. 290, 297.

[45] W. A. MacLeod, "Saskatchewan," in *The Canadian Patriotic Fund: A Record of Its Activities from 1914 to 1919*, ed. Philip H. Morris (Ottawa: Canadian Patriotic Fund, 1920), pp. 255, 260.

[46] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, pp. 40–42.

[47] Ibid., p. 42; North-West Territories. Council, *Journals of the Council of the North-West Territories of Canada, Session of 1887*, 18 November 1887, pp. 67–68.

[48] Lewis Herbert Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories, 1870–97*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 148–149; North-West Territories. Council, *Journals, Session of 1887*, 19 November 1887, pp. 72–77.

[49] *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 2.

[50] *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 11.

[51] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 153.

[52] *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 13.

[53] *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 13.

[54] *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 13; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 154.

[55] Lewis H. Thomas, *The North-West Territories, 1870–1905*, Historical Booklet, no. 26 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1970), p. 10; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 161–163; North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 1st Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. I, 2 November 1888, pp. 12–13.

[56] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 164–165.

[57] *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 6; Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 6th Parliament, 2nd Session*, 16 May 1888, pp. 1474, 1483.

[58] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 161–164; MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 48.

[59] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 168–169, 170.

[60] Ibid., pp. 164–165.

[61] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 50.

[62] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 170, 168–172.

[63] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 1st Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. II, 29 October 1889, pp. 142, 141.

[64] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 171.

[65] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 1st Legislature, 2nd Session*, 5 November 1889, pp. 61–62.

[66] Ibid., 15 November 1889, pp. 95–96.

[67] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 191.

[68] Ibid., p. 190.

[69] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 1st Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. III, 27 November 1890, p. 112.

[70] Ibid., p. 113.

[71] Ibid., p. 114.

[72] Ibid., p. 115. Italics are in original.

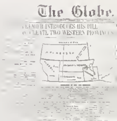
[73] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 198–199.

[74] *An Act to amend the Acts respecting the North-West Territories*, S.C. 1891, c. 22, s. 2; *An Act to amend the North-west Territories Act*, S.C. 1888, c. 19, s. 2; North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "An Ordinance Respecting the Executive Government of the Territories," *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, no. 1, 1891; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 199–200.

[75] *An Act to amend the Acts respecting the North-West Territories*, S.C. 1891, c. 22, s. 6(12).

[76] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 200.

[77] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "An Ordinance Respecting the Executive Government of the Territories," no. 1, 1891.



[78] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "An Ordinance Respecting the Executive Government of the Territories," no. 1, 1891, s. 1.

[79] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 203–204.

[80] Ibid., p. 204.

[81] C. Cecil Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada: The Autonomy Question in the Old North-West Territories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), pp. 6–7. Italics in the original.

[82] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 200.

[83] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. IV, 22 December 1891, pp. 40–41; MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 67.

[84] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 67.

[85] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 6.

[86] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 19 January 1892, pp. 110–111.

[87] Ibid., p. 110.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid., pp. 110–111.

[90] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 208.

[91] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "The School Ordinance," *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, no. 22, 1892, ss. 5–13, 85–86; Patterson, "F. W. G. Haultain and Education," p. 49.

[92] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "The School Ordinance," no. 22, 1892, ss. 5, 7; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 216–217.

[93] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "The School Ordinance," no. 22, 1892, s. 85.

[94] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. V, 24 August 1892, pp. 70, 71.

[95] Ibid., pp. 71–72; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 216–217.

[96] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 2nd Session*, 30 August 1892, p. 80.

[97] Norman Fergus Black, *History of Saskatchewan and the North West Territories*, vol. 2 (Regina, SK: Saskatchewan Historical Company, 1913), p. 628.

[98] Ibid., p. 629.

[99] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 226.

[100] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. VI, 19 December 1892, p. 44.

[101] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 228.

[102] Ibid., pp. 229, 229n117.

[103] Ibid., p. 229.

[104] Ibid., pp. 229–230.

[105] Ibid., p. 230.

[106] *An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required for defraying certain expenses of the public service, for the financial years ending respectively the 30th June, 1893, and the 30th June, 1894, and for other purposes relating to the public service*, S.C. 1893, c. 1.

[107] *An Act for granting to Her Majesty certain sums of money required for defraying certain expenses of the public service, for the financial years ending respectively the 30th June, 1893, and the 30th June, 1894, and for other purposes relating to the public service*, S.C. 1893, c. 1, s. 3.

[108] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 231.

[109] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "An Ordinance to Amend 'An Ordinance Respecting Revenue and Expenditure'," *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 4th Session*, no. 2, 1893, s. 1; Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 232.

[110] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 232.

[111] Gerald Friesen, *The Canadian Prairies: A History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 239.

[112] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 236.

[113] Ibid., p. 237.

[114] Ibid., pp. 238–239.

[115] Ibid., p. 241.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid., p. 247.

[118] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "An Ordinance Respecting the Executive Committee of the Territories," *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 5th Session*, no. 25, 1894.

[119] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "An Ordinance Respecting the Legislative Assembly of the Territories," *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 2nd Legislature, 5th Session*, no. 4, 1894.

[120] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, pp. 234–263.

[121] Ibid., p. 253.

[122] Ibid., pp. 253–259.

[123] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 8th Parliament, 2nd Session*, 15 June 1897, coll. 4115; Ibid., 25 May 1897, coll. 2797.

[124] *An Act further to amend the Acts respecting the North-west Territories*, S.C. 1897, c. 28, s. 8.

[125] "Appointments," *North-West Territories Gazette*, vol. 14, no. 22, 15 October 1897, p. 1; "Elections: Writs Issued for Six By-elections," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 8 October 1897, p. 1; "North-West Government," *Lethbridge News*, 13 October 1897, p. 1.

[126] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 105.

[127] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 17.

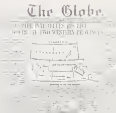
[128] Ibid.

[129] Ibid., p. 15.

[130] Ibid., p. 16.

[131] Ibid., pp. 20, 17.

[132] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, pp. 67–68.



[133] Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, pp. 659–660.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada,* pp. 8–13.

[136] Ibid., p. 19.

[137] Ibid., pp. 19–20.

[138] Ibid., p. 20.

[139] Ibid., pp. 10–11.

[140] North-West Territories. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts of the North-West Territories for the Financial Year Ended December 31, 1899* (Regina: John A. Reid, Queen's Printer, 1900), p. 68.

[141] Canada. Parliament, "Return to an Address of the House of Commons, Dated 11th May, 1903. Presented 26th June 1903," *Sessional Papers, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session*, vol. 37, no. 116, 1903, p. 8.

[142] North-West Territories. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts 1899*, p. 68; North-West Territories. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts of the North-West Territories for the Financial Year Ended December 31, 1900* (Regina: John A. Reid, King's Printer, 1901), p. 86.

[143] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada,* pp. 10–11.

[144] Canada. Parliament, "Return to an Address of the House of Commons, Dated 11th May, 1903. Presented 26th June 1903," p. 10.

[145] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 23 January 1892, p. 130; Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 10.

[146] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 14.

[147] Ibid., pp. 14–15; *An Act respecting the Canadian Pacific Railway*, S.C. 1881, c. 1, s. 16.

[148] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, pp. 14–15.

[149] Ibid., p. 14.

[150] Canada. Parliament, "Return to an Address of the House of Commons, Dated 11th May, 1903. Presented 26th June 1903," pp. 10, 10–12.

[151] Ibid., p. 11.

[152] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 27; North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 4th Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. XIV, 2 May 1900, p. 72.

[153] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 27.

[154] *Constitutional and Financial Questions Affecting the North-West Territories: Speech of Mr. F. W. G. Haultain (Attorney General of the Territories) in the Legislative Assembly on Wednesday the Second Day of May, 1900* (Regina: John Alexander Reid, Queen's Printer, 1900).

[155] Ibid., pp. 10–11

[156] Ibid., pp. 7–8; North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 4th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 2 May 1900, pp. 70–72.

[157] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 4th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 2 May 1900, pp. 70–72.

[158] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 33.

[159] Ibid., p. 34.

[160] Canada. Parliament, "Supplementary Return to no. 116. Presented 24th July, 1903," *Sessional Papers, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session*, vol. 37, no. 116a, 1903, pp. 1–2.

[161] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 35; Canada. Parliament, "Supplementary Return to no. 116. Presented 24th July, 1903," p. 2.

[162] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 4; Derek Hayes, "À la Carte: Drawing the Lines," *Canadian Geographic* vol. 125, no. 1 (January/February 2005): pp. 48–49.

[163] F. W. G. Haultain, "Haultain Opposes Manitoba Extension and Supports the One Province Idea, Indian Head, December 18, 1901: From the Pamplet, Full Text of the Indian Head Debate," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), pp. 181–185.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Canada. Parliament, "Return to an Address of the House of Commons, Dated 11th May, 1903. Presented 26th June 1903," pp. 7–28.

[166] Ibid.

[167] Canada. Parliament, "Supplementary Return to no. 116. Presented 24th July, 1903," p. 4.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Ibid.

[170] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 4th Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. XVI, 8–10 April 1902, pp. 18–27.

[171] F. W. G. Haultain, "Haultain's Election Address to the Electors of the Macleod District, April 30, 1902: Rutherford Papers," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), p. 203.

[172] Ibid., pp. 202–203.

[173] Canada. Parliament, "Supplementary Return to no. 116. Presented 24th July, 1903," p. 5.

[174] Canada. Parliament, "Further Supplementary Return to no. 116. Presented 13th October, 1903," *Sessional Papers, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session,* vol. 37, no. 116b, 1903, p. 7.

[175] Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000* (Regina: Saskatchewan Archives Board, 2001), p. 1–27.

[176] Canada. Parliament, "Further Supplementary Return to no. 116. Presented 13th October, 1903," p. 8.

[177] Donald Mackenzie Wallace, *The Web of Empire: A Diary of the Imperial Tour of Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York in 1901* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1902), pp. ix–x.

[178] "The Royal Visit: The Duke and Duchess Visit the Capital of the Territories," *Regina Leader*, 3 October 1901, p. 1.

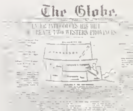
[179] Ibid.; Joseph Pope, *The Tour of Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York: Through the Dominion of Canada in the Year 1901* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King's Printer, 1903), pp. 74–77.

[180] Pope, *The Tour of Their Royal Highnesses*, p. 75.

[181] "The Royal Visit," p. 5.

[182] Wallace, *The Web of Empire*, p. 388.

[183] "Royal Visitors Delighted with Calgary," *Daily Calgary Herald*, 30 September 1901, p. 1.



[184] Pope, *The Tour of Their Royal Highnesses*, p. 78.

[185] Frank W. Anderson, "Frank Slide," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, ed. James H. Marsh (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1988), p. 838.

[186] Canada. Parliament, "Further Supplementary Return to no. 116. Presented 13th October, 1903," p. 8.

[187] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 76.

[188] Ibid., p. 77.

[189] Ibid.

[190] Ibid.

[191] Canada. Parliament, "Supplementary Return to no. 116. Presented 24th July, 1903," p. 13.

[192] Ibid., p. 15.

[193] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, pp. 84–87.

[194] Ibid., pp. 87–89.

[195] Ibid., p. 87.

[196] Ibid., p. 96.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid., p. 95.

[199] Ibid., pp. 98–99.

[200] Ibid., p. 99.

[201] Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, p. 678.

[202] Canada. Parliament, "Return to an Address of the House of Commons, Dated the 6th February, 1905. Presented 8th February, 1905," *Sessional Papers, 10th Parliament, 3rd Session*, vol. 39, no. 53, 1905, pp. 1–4.

[203] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 104.

[204] "Discussing Autonomy Terms for Territories at Ottawa," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 11 January 1905, p. 1; Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 129.

[205] "Discussing Autonomy," p. 1.

[206] Thomas, *The Struggle for Responsible Government*, p. 265; Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, pp. 73–75.

[207] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, pp. 129–130.

[208] Ibid., p. 130.

[209] F. W. G. Haultain, "Haultain to Laurier, March 11, 1905: Laurier Papers, 95679-95691," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), pp. 302–303.

[210] Wilfrid Laurier, "Laurier to Archbishop Sbaretti, March 7, 1904: Laurier Papers, 82982," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), p. 268.

[211] Archbishop Sbaretti, "Sbaretti to Laurier, December 30, 1904: Laurier Papers, 90369," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), p. 268; Wilfrid Laurier, "Laurier to Archbishop Sbaretti, December 31, 1904: Laurier Papers, 93070," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), pp. 268–269.

[212] Archbishop Sbaretti, "Sbaretti to Laurier, February 11, 1905: Laurier Papers, 94671," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), p. 269.

[213] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 174.

[214] Haultain, "Haultain to Laurier, March 11, 1905," p. 303; Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, pp. 174–175.

[215] Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), p. 132.

[216] Ibid.; Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 10th Parliament, 1st Session*, 1 March 1905, coll. 1852–1853.

[217] Haultain, "Haultain to Laurier, March 11, 1905," pp. 302–309.

[218] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3, s. 17.

[219] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, pp. 148–152.

[220] "Appointments," *Canada Gazette*, vol. 39, no. 9, 26 August 1905, p. 415.

[221] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 167.

[222] J. William Brennan, "The 'Autonomy Question' and the Creation of Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905," in *The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905–1980: 12th Western Canada Studies Conference*, ed. Howard Palmer and Donald Smith (Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1980), p. 45.

[223] Ibid.

[224] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 107.

[225] Ibid.

[226] Ibid.

[227] Ibid.

[228] Ibid., p. 120.

[229] Ibid., p. 123.

[230] F. W. G. Haultain, "Haultain Defines His Position," [Letter to the Editor], *Regina Leader*, 9 August 1905, p. 1; Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 123.

[231] James William Brennan, "A Political History of Saskatchewan, 1905 – 1929," (PhD diss., University of Alberta, 1976), pp. 48–49.

[232] Wilfrid Laurier, "Laurier to Bulyea, July 25, 1905: Laurier Papers, 100389-91," in *The Formation of Alberta: A Documentary History*, ed. Douglas R. Owram (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1979), p. 366.

[233] Brennan, "A Political History of Saskatchewan, 1905 – 1929," p. 49.

[234] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles H. Mackintosh Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 108, Carleton County, sub-district a-1, Nepean Township, schedule 1, pp. 129–130, household 588, microfilm C-13231, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; L. H. Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," *Saskatchewan History* vol. 23, no. 2 (Spring 1970): p. 55; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Alfred Louis Castellain - Marion St. Clair Mackintosh," Ontario, Carleton County, City of Ottawa, 12 July 1896, no. 002689, [Marriage Registration]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Timothy Cook Record, 1851 Census of Canada, Canada West, district no. 216, Middlesex County, Adelaide Township, schedule 1, p. 1, microfilm C-17737, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; "Ottawa Mourns Passing of Mrs. C. H. Mackintosh," *Ottawa Citizen*, 24 January 1927, p. 4. In the 1851 census, the family name was spelled 'Cook.' One source gives Gertrude's middle name as 'Miles.' Ontario Vital Statistics, "Alice Maud McIntosh," Ontario, Middlesex, Strathroy, 15 November 1870, no. 003250, [Birth Registration].

[235] Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," p. 55; MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 163.

[236] Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," p. 55; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Alfred Louis Castellain - Marion St. Clair Mackintosh," [Marriage Registration]; A. Louis Castellain to Marion St. Clair Castellain, 1 February 1902, [Letter], Frederick William Gordon Haultain Fonds, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R 94-367; "Castellain - Mackintosh," [Wedding Announcement], *Regina Leader*, 20 February 1896, [p. 8].

[237] Castellain, Alfred Louis, [North-West Mounted Police Service Record], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG18-G, vol. 3400, file 2923.

[238] Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," p. 55.

[239] D. M. McLeod, "Liquor Control in the North-West Territories: The Permit System, 1870–1891," *Saskatchewan History* vol. 16, no. 1 (Autumn 1963): pp. 85–86; Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," pp. 55–56.

[240] Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," pp. 55–56.

[241] "Castellain, Louis, Lord Strathcona's Horse," RG 38, A-1-a, vol. 17, microfilm T-2064, *ArchiviaNet: Soldiers of the South African War (1899–1902)*, [Service Files], [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 8 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/south-african-war/001002-100.01-e.php; Frederick William Gordon Haultain Fonds, [Introduction and Fonds Level Description], p. ii, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R 94-367.

[242] A. Louis Castellain to Marion St. Clair Castellain, 25 December 1900, [Letter], Frederick William Gordon Haultain Fonds, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R 94-367; Castellain, to Haultain, 26 October 1901, [Letter]; A. Louis Castellain to Marion St. Clair Castellain, 30 June 1902, [Letter], Frederick William Gordon Haultain Fonds, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R 94-367; A. Louis Castellain to Marion St. Clair Castellain, 21 February 1902, [Letter], Frederick William Gordon Haultain Fonds, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R 94-367.

[243] Castellain to Haultain, 26 October 1901, [Letter].

[244] United Kingdom. General Register Office, "Marion Fidèle Castellain," Bath, Counties of Bath and Somerset, Sub-district of Bathwick, 1902, no. 397, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 31 January 2006; Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," pp. 56–57; Frederick William Gordon Haultain Fonds, [Introduction and Fonds Level Description], p. ii.

[245] Magurn, ed., *CPG 1903*, p. 416.

[246] Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," p. 56.

[247] Ibid.; Frederick W. A. G. Haultain to Charles H. Mackintosh, 10 May 1910, [Letter], p. 4, Frederick William Gordon Haultain Fonds, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina, R 94-367.

[248] Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," p. 56.

[249] Ibid.

[250] Haultain to Mackintosh, 10 May 1910, [Letter], p. 6; Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," p. 56.

[251] "Frederick W. G. Haultain - Marion St. C. Castlellain," South Dakota, Minnehaha, 19 March 1906, [Marriage Registration], *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 2 February 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com; Haultain to Mackintosh, 10 May 1910, [Letter], pp. 6–7; Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," p. 56.

[252] Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," p. 56.

[253] Ibid., pp. 56–57; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Marion Castellaine Record, 1911 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 134, Wellington South, sub-district 36, Guelph, schedule 1, p. 16, household 141, microfilm T-20409, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 8 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html

[254] Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," p. 57; Fax from Jody Graham, Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa, 23 January 2006.

[255] "Haultain, [Louisa Decima]," [Obituary], *Montreal Star*, 24 November 1952, p. 22; Ward, Louisa Frances Decima, 24 August 1874, [Baptismal Record], Church of England, Lennoxville Parish 3172, Quebec Diocesan Archives, Lennoxville, QC, Official Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials for St. George's Church, Lennoxville Quebec, 1862-1894, CR041-Lennox-003.

[256] Frederick William Gordon Haultain - Louisa Decima Ward Gilmour, 8 September 1938, [Marriage Registration], [Christ Church Cathedral Marriage Registrations], Anglican Diocess of Montreal Archives, Montreal; E-mail from Josée Martel, Assistant Diocesan Archivist, Anglican Archives, Montreal, 15 July 2004.

[257] Ward, Louisa Frances Decima, [Baptismal Record].

[258] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 157.

[259] Saskatchewan. Chief Electoral Officer, *Provincial Elections in Saskatchewan, 1905 – 1986* (Regina, SK: Chief Electoral Office, Province of Saskatchewan, 1987), pp. 8, 206.

[260] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 167.

[261] Ibid., p. 168.

[262] Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," p. 54.

[263] Ibid.

[264] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 168.

[265] *The University Act*, S.S. 1907, c. 24.

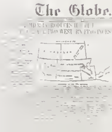
[266] Thomas, "The Political and Private Life of F. W. G. Haultain," p. 55.

[267] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 168.

[268] Ibid., p. 169.

[269] "Haultain Linked with Saskatchewan," p. 2.

[270] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 170.



[271] "Appointments," *Canada Gazette*, vol. 51, no. 35, 2 March 1918, p. 2925.

[272] "Chief Justice Haultain on Judges," *Saturday Night* (Toronto), 25 November 1916, p. 3.

[273] *Re Cumberland Election*, 5 W.W.R 688, 7 Sask. L.R. 8, 15 D.L.R. 48 (Sask. S.C.).

[274] "Sir Frederick W. G. Haultain Sworn In," *Leader-Post* (Regina), 9 December 1930, p. 3.

[275] "History of the Office of the Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan - Government House," History, *Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan*, [Internet], (Regina: Office of the Lieutenant Governor of Saskatchewan), accessed 20 February 2006, available from http://www.ltgov.sk.ca/history.htm

[276] "Haultain Linked with Saskatchewan," p. 2.

[277] Frederick Haultain, Convocation Address, 12 May 1934, Frederick W. G. Haultain Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M495.

[278] "Haultain Linked with Saskatchewan," p. 2.

[279] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, pp. 120–121; *An Act to Incorporate the Historical Society of Alberta*, S.A. 1907, c. 23.

[280] "Haultain Linked with Saskatchewan," p. 2.

[281] Ibid.

[282] University of Alberta. Office of the Registrar and Students Awards, "Honorary Degree Recipients," *2006–2007 University of Alberta Calendar*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2006), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.registrar.ualberta.ca/calendar/University-Staff/Honorary-Degree-Recipients/243.html

[283] University of Saskatchewan Twentieth Annual Convocation, 29 May 1931, [Convocation Program], University Publications, University of Saskatchewan Archives, Saskatoon, RG 2129.

[284] MacEwan, *Frederick Haultain: Frontier Statesman*, p. 183; "Haultain Linked with Saskatchewan," p. 2.

[285] "The Honourable Sir Fredrick [*sic*] W. G. Haultain," Justices of the Court: Past Justices, *Courts of Saskatchewan: Court of Appeal*, [Internet], (Courts of Saskatchewan, 2003), accessed 20 February 2006, available from http://www.sasklawcourts.ca/default.asp?pg=ca_justices_04

[286] "Haultain Crescent," *The Streets of Regina and the History Behind Their Names*, [Internet], (Regina: CBAS Services), accessed 20 February 2006, available from http://collections.ic.gc.ca/streetsofregina/haultain.htm

[287] "Haultain Memorial Elementary School," School Profiles, *Calgary Board of Education*, [Internet], (Calgary Board of Education, 2006), accessed 20 February 2006, available from http://www.cbe.ab.ca/schools/view.asp?id=89

[288] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts 1981–82*, vol. 2 (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1982), p. 15.15; Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts 1982–83*, vol. 2 (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1983), p. 18.16.

[289] "Department of Economic Affairs: Geographical Names Act," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 50, no. 23, 15 December 1954, p. 2025; Alberta. Dept. of Economic Affairs, *Tenth Annual Report of the Department of Economic Affairs of the Province of Alberta, 1954* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1955), Appendix: Report of the Geographic Board of Alberta, p. 2; Aphrodite Karamitsanis, ed., *Mountains, Mountain Parks and Foothills*, vol. 1, *Place Names of Alberta* (Edmonton: Alberta Community Development, Friends of Geographical Names of Alberta Society and University of Calgary Press, 1991), s.v. "Haultain, Mount."

[290] E-mail from Darlene Pruden, Education Manager, Governance and Program Delivery, Alberta Learning, Edmonton, 6 October 2003.

[291] "Guide to Museum Exhibits: Haultain Law Office," *The Fort: Museum of the North West Mounted Police*, [Internet], (Fort Macleod, AB: Museum of the North West Mounted Police), accessed 20 February 2006, available from http://www.nwmpmuseum.com/guidetoexhibits.html

[292] Alberta. Students Finance Board. Alberta Heritage Scholarship Fund, *Sir Frederick Haultain Prize* (Edmonton: Alberta Students Finance Board, 1981), p. 2.

[293] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; *Welcome to The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

[294] "Haultain Linked with Saskatchewan," p. 2.

[295] Memorial Service for the Late Sir Frederick William Gordon Haultain, LL.D., Held in St. Paul's Church, Regina, Sunday, February 8th, 1942, [Memorial Service Program], Frederick W. G. Haultain Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M495.

[296] "Anglican Churches," Where is it?: Churches, *Ecumenism in Canada*, [Internet], (Montreal: Canadian Centre fror Ecumenism, 1995–2006), accessed 20 February 2006, available from http://www.ecumenism.net/denom/anglican.htm

[297] James S. Thomson to Louisa F. D. Haultain, 25 October 1942, [Letter], Frederick W. G. Haultain Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M495.

[298] "Haultain, [Louisa Decima]," [Obituary], p. 22.

[299] Glenbow Museum and Archives, "Frederick W. G. Haultain Fonds," *Glenbow Archives Main Catalogue*, [Internet], (Calgary), accessed 20 February 2006, available from http://ww2.glenbow.org/search/archivesMainSearch.aspx

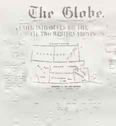
[300] A Checklist of the Papers of Frederick William Gordon Haultain, 1995, [Inventory List], Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina.

[301] "F. W. Haultain Fonds, 1821–1882," [Internet].

[302] "Saskatchewan Lieutenant Governors," *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory*, [Internet], (Regina: Saskatchewan Archives Board), accessed 26 March 2006, available from http://www.saskhistory.com/web/seld/2-00.pdf

[303] Saskatchewan. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Saskatchewan, 9th Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. XL, 19 February 1942, p. 7.

[304] James Clinkskill, *A Prairie Memoir: The Life and Times of James Clinkskill 1853–1936*, ed. Stan D. Hanson (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 2003), p. 102.

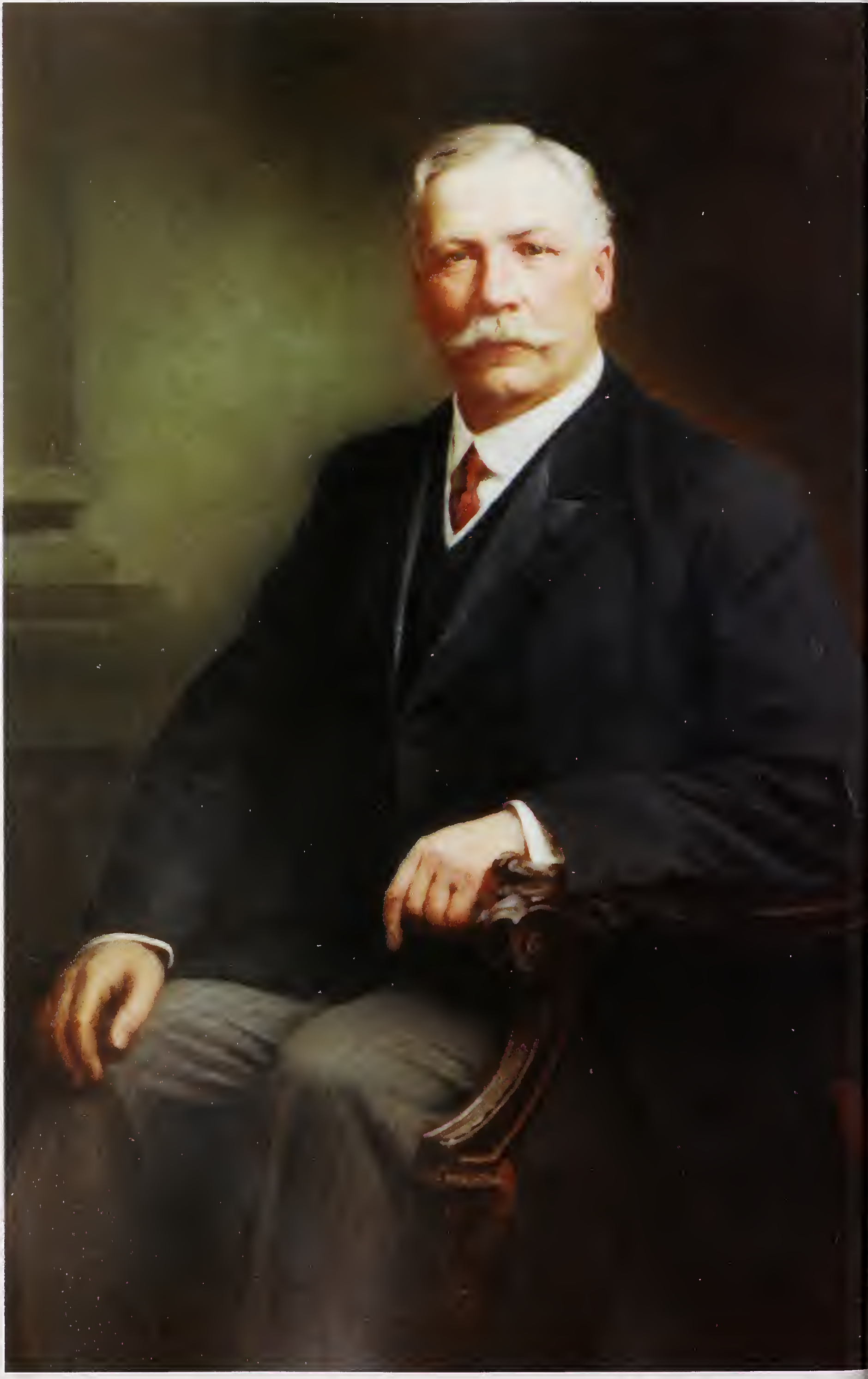


# The mantle of leadership

## PREMIERS

*It was always considered glorious to die for one's country. It is just as glorious to live for one's country by carrying out the duties of citizenship, in having good government and good laws, and seeing that those laws are properly carried out.*

# Rutherford 1905–1910



# ALEXANDER CAMERON RUTHERFORD

In early September 1905, Lieutenant Governor George H. V. Bulyea appointed Strathcona lawyer Alexander Cameron Rutherford as the first Premier of Alberta.[1] The Rutherford administration would be responsible for shaping the foundation of the new province by enacting laws to advance transportation, infrastructure and social development. Despite the diligence with which Rutherford and his Government developed a substantive and comprehensive legislative program, he would find his public career dominated by two themes: the establishment of a system of education, and railway policy. His self-avowed greatest achievement came from his endeavours in the field of education, culminating in the creation of the University of Alberta. Premier Rutherford's term in office coincided with that of Alberta's first Lieutenant Governor, George H. V. Bulyea (1905–1915). At the time of his appointment to the Office of Premier, Alexander C. Rutherford was 48 years of age.

## Family History

Alexander Cameron Rutherford was born on February 2, 1857, in a log house on the family farm in Osgoode Township, Carleton County, Canada West (Ontario).[2] Alexander was the sixth of the seven children*[3] of Scottish immigrants James Rutherford and Elizabeth Cameron.[4] James Rutherford (1817[5]–1891[6]) was born in Aberfeldy, parish of Dull, in Perthshire, Scotland.[7] He was the son of Peter Rutherford (1782–1858),[8] a hand-loom weaver of woollens,[9] and Janet Forbes (b. ca. 1779, d. 1866),[10] both of Aberfeldy.[11] James, a wool spinner and dyer,[12] married Elspet 'Elizabeth' Cameron (1818–1901)[13] in the parish of Dull, in 1839.[14] Elizabeth and her twin sister, Janet, were the daughters of Donald Cameron, a meal dealer, and Grizel Macdonald of Aberfeldy.[15]

In 1855, James and Elizabeth Rutherford and their four children immigrated to Osgoode Township, Canada West, where Elizabeth had many relatives.[16] Alexander was the couple's first child to be born in Canada.[17] James Rutherford bought a dairy farm near the village of Ormond in the bordering county of Dundas, Canada West.[18] James served for several years on the municipal council for the Village of Osgoode[19] and on the school board as a trustee and as chair.[20] He was 'Liberal in politics.'[21] Prior to immigrating to Canada, James and Elizabeth had been Congregationalists but became charter members of the Baptist church upon its establishment in Osgoode Township in 1865.[22]

## Education

Alexander C. Rutherford was educated at the local school in Osgoode Township, attended high school in the neighbouring village of Metcalfe, Ontario, and later enrolled in the Canadian

---

* Grizel 'Grace' (1839–1908) [Duncan McPhail (b. ca. 1823, d. 1898)], Patrick 'Peter' (1842–1901), Donald 'Daniel' (1844–1926), Jessie (died young), James (1849), Alexander Cameron (1857–1941) and Jessie (b. 1861, d. ca. 1944). Ontario Vital Statistics, "McPhail, Duncan," County of Dundas, Winchester, 23 January 1899, p. 710, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS 935, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 23 May 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com

Literary Institute, located in Woodstock, Ontario.*[23] Rutherford pursued an early career as an educator and taught school in Osgoode Township before deciding to study law.[24] In 1881, Rutherford graduated from Montreal's McGill University with Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Civil Law degrees.[25] He subsequently articled with the Ottawa law firms of Scott,† McTavish and McCracken and O'Connor and Hogg.[26] Rutherford was called to the Bar of Ontario in 1888,[27] and practised law in Kemptville, Ontario, as a partner in the firm of Hodgkins, Kidd and Rutherford.[28]

### Marriage and Family

On December 19, 1888, Alexander C. Rutherford married Martha 'Mattie' Birkett in Ottawa.[29] Born in 1862,[30] Mattie was the eldest of the five children‡ of William Birkett and Elizabeth Martin.[31] William Birkett, a stone mason, was a native of England, while Elizabeth was of French and Scottish descent.[32] The Birketts were Wesleyan Methodists.[33] Mattie was a niece of Thomas Birkett, who held a number of public offices in the City of Ottawa. He served as a public school trustee (1869–1873); an alderman (1873–1878); and mayor of Ottawa (1891–1892). He later became a Conservative Member of Parliament for Ottawa (1900–1904).[34]

Alexander and Mattie had met in Ottawa, where the young Rutherford articled.[35] The Rutherfords had three children: Cecil Alexander Cameron (1890–1957), Hazel Elizabeth (1893–1992) [Stanley H. McCuaig] and Marjorie Cameron (1903–1905).§[36]

### Early Career

In the late 1880s, Rutherford travelled to the West on the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and found that the climate provided relief from a 'bronchial ailment' that afflicted him.[37] Rutherford again journeyed to the West in 1894 and, being impressed with the region,[38] moved his family to south Edmonton (later the Town of Strathcona) in 1895.[39] Soon after his arrival, Rutherford was admitted to the Bar of the North-West Territories and subsequently started a law practice,

---

* The Canadian Literary Institute later became known as Woodstock College. In due course, Rutherford's son, Cecil, attended the same institution. D. R. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona* (Calgary: Friends of Rutherford House and University of Calgary Press, 1989), p. 1; "McMaster in the 1880s," McMaster Alumni Association, *McMaster University*, [Internet], (Toronto: McMaster University), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.mcmaster.ca/ua/alumni/trad_1880s.htm

† Rutherford later declared that Senator Sir Richard W. Scott, senior member of the firm, was a great influence on him. Scott served in the Senate, and in the House of Commons in various capacities, including Secretary of State. "Establishment of University Proudest Work in His Regime States Hon. A. C. Rutherford," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 May 1929, p. 13.

‡ Martha (b. 1862), Eliza 'Lizzie' (b. ca. 1865), Jannet 'Jennie' (ca. 1868), Minnie (ca. 1872) and Morley (ca. 1878).

§ Marjorie Cameron Rutherford died at the age of 16 months, in January 1905. *Alberta, Formerly the Northwest Territories: Index to Registration of Births, Marriages, and Deaths, 1870 to 1905*, vol. 1 (Edmonton: Alberta Genealogical Society, 1995), p. 50.

Rutherford and Jamieson,[40] which operates to this day.* He and Mattie established a home on Main Street (now 104 Street) and joined a Baptist congregation.[41]

Within a year, Rutherford was persuaded to run for office.[42] He was unsuccessful in his first two attempts at winning a seat in the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories. Running in the electoral district of Edmonton, Rutherford took second place to Matthew McCauley† in both the August 1896 by-election and the November 1898 general election.[43] Rutherford maintained a high public profile as secretary-treasurer of the first municipal council of Strathcona,[44] solicitor for the town,[45] a notary public,[46] and municipal returning officer.[47] In 1906, Rutherford was admitted to the Bar of Alberta.[48]

## Community Activities and Personal Interests

Rutherford actively supported many religious, fraternal and community organizations. While residing in Kemptville, Ontario, Rutherford made his time and talent available to the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons; the Foresters; the Ancient Order of United Workmen; and the Kemptville Baptist Church Young People's Union (president).[49] During his early years in Alberta, Rutherford was affiliated with the South Edmonton Athletic Association (president, 1896); the Grand Lodge of Alberta, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons (the first Worshipful Master of Acacia Lodge No. 11, 1897);[50] the South Edmonton Agricultural Society (auditor, 1897);[51] the Edmonton Creamery Company (secretary treasurer, 1897);[52] and the Edmonton District Butter and Cheese Manufacturing Company (secretary, 1899).[53] Rutherford had a lifelong interest in literature and history, serving as vice-president of the South Edmonton Literary Institute (1897);[54] president of the Historical Society of Alberta (1919–1941);‡[55] and honourary president of the Canadian Authors' Association (1937).[56] He was also a member of the Edmonton Club and a charter member of the Mayfair Golf and Country Club, Edmonton Branch.[57]

Rutherford was a dedicated Baptist, serving as deacon, trustee and auditor of First Baptist Church, Strathcona.[58] In addition, he participated in the Provincial Lord's Day Alliance

---

* The Edmonton law firm of McCuaig Desrochers operates today as the direct successor to Rutherford's original law practice. "Our History," *McCuaig Desrochers LLP Barristers Solicitors*, [Internet], (Edmonton: McCuaig Desrochers LLP), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.mccuaig.com/toc%20en.htm. Stanley H. McCuaig, QC, a lawyer in the firm, married Rutherford's daughter Hazel in 1919.

† McCauley would later be elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta for the constituency of Vermilion in the first general election for the new Province.

‡ Rutherford was a founding member of the Society in 1907, along with other prominent figures of the time, including: Lieutenant Governor George H. V. Bulyea, Arthur L. W. Sifton (Premier 1910–1917), Charles W. Fisher (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta 1906–1919), Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (Premier of the North-West Territories 1897–1905), Richard B. Bennett (Prime Minister 1930–1935) and Dr. Robert G. Brett (Lieutenant Governor 1915–1925).

(vice-president, 1905);[59] the Dominion Lord's Day Alliance (vice-president, 1907);[60] and the Baptist Convention of Western Canada (first president, 1908).*[61]

## Political Career

Alexander Cameron Rutherford succeeded in his bid for election to the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories in the general election of May 21, 1902.[62] In April 1903, Rutherford took his seat as the Member for the constituency of Strathcona.[63] On April 23, in the First Session of the Fifth Legislature, Rutherford was elected Deputy Speaker through a motion by Member for Macleod Premier Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (1897–1905), which was seconded by George H. V. Bulyea, Member for South Qu'Appelle.[64] Rutherford served in that capacity for the whole of the Fifth Legislature. In November of that year, Rutherford addressed the issue of 'more effective Organisation of Local Improvement Districts,'[65] as a member of the *Standing Committee on Municipal Law.*†[66] As a member of a Special Committee appointed on April 22, 1903 to prepare a memorial‡ to the Governor General in Council, Rutherford gained political insight and experience related to Territorial constitutional affairs, railway transportation and the 'public domain.'[67]

Rutherford supported the efforts of Premier Haultain to establish provincial autonomy for the Territories,§[68] including control over non-sectarian, standardized schools; local taxes; infrastructure; transportation; and natural resources.[69] The *Alberta Act* and the *Saskatchewan Act*, however, established two provinces and incorporated little of Haultain's original vision for the development of education and natural resources.[70] Aspects of the autonomy question fuelled partisan sentiment in Alberta, as defenders of the Liberal Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1896–1911) supported the terms of the *Alberta Act*, while opponents, including Haultain, criticized the withholding of control over natural resources and the loss of the associated revenue as creating a burden on the developing area.[71]

There was early speculation as to whether or not the Legislative Assembly of Alberta would be free of party alignment. However, several events during this period pushed the province in a partisan direction. Haultain's support of the federal Conservative Party during the 1904 federal election[72] and his disagreement with Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier over the issue of provincial status made it "difficult for Laurier to call him to office."[*][73] With the election of Richard B. Bennett as the leader of the Conservative Party in the province, "[i]t was clear that the struggle in Alberta would be conducted along traditional party lines and that the non-partisan administration … would have no chance of trial."[74] With the Liberals in power federally, "it was a foregone conclusion that Liberal Lieutenant-Governors would be installed in both Alberta and Saskatchewan, and that they would call upon Liberal party leaders to form the first governments" in these new provinces.[75]

---

* The Baptist Convention of Western Canada changed its name the next year to the Baptist Union of Western Canada, and Rutherford continued to serve as president (1908–1909). Margaret E. Thompson, *The Baptist Story in Western Canada* (Calgary: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1975), p. 490; John W. Chalmers, *One Hundred Years and Counting: A Century of Strathcona Baptist Church, 1895–1995* (Edmonton: Pioneer Press, 1994), p. 82.

† As a Member of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, Rutherford served on the following Standing Committees: *Library* (1903–1904); *Municipal Law* (1903–1904); *Education* (1903–1904); and *Law Amendments* (1904).

‡ A memorial is a written petition or a statement of facts put before a legislative body. For more information, see the Glossary.

§ At this time, the North-West Territories consisted of the Provisional Districts of Alberta, Athabasca, Saskatchewan and Assiniboia. For more information, see Appendix M - Maps.

For his part, Alexander C. Rutherford aligned himself with the Liberals and, by August 1905, had accepted both the presidency of the provincial Liberal Association of Alberta[76] and the nomination for the constituency of Strathcona.[77] The Liberal Party formally adopted a platform espousing provincial rights and acknowledging the primacy of parliamentary democracy.[78] The "true end of government," declared the provincial Liberals, was the promotion of the public good, the creation of "equal opportunities" and the safeguarding of citizens' rights.[79] Partisanship, driven by federal priorities, was shaping Alberta's political landscape.[†] As one historian explains:

> [T]he summons of the Liberals Rutherford and Scott as premiers [of Alberta and Saskatchewan respectively], the formation of avowedly Liberal administrations prior to the provincial elections, the selection of Liberal-minded Edmonton rather than the Conservative stronghold of Calgary as the provisional capital of Alberta, and the obvious weighting of the vote in the northern region against the less reliably Liberal south in the drawing of constituency boundaries, all lend colour to the view that party interest played an important part in determining the form that autonomy took and the future of some of its protagonists.[80]

## As Premier

With the official creation of the Province of Alberta on September 1, 1905, inaugural celebrations were held. Rutherford, who was widely acknowledged as inevitably becoming Alberta's first Premier,[81] was personally involved in the preparations for the inaugural ceremony.[82] Since the creation of the new Province was brought about by an Act of the federal Parliament in Ottawa, the celebration was largely a federal event.[83] It was presided over by Governor General Earl Grey (1904–1911) and Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier. As a central part of the

---

[*] Haultain announced that he would run for a seat in the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan as the leader of the Provincial Rights Party and continue to advocate for a non-partisan administration. "Will Run in Saskatchewan," *Globe* (Toronto), 15 August 1905, p. 1; "Notes and Comments" *Globe* (Toronto), 16 August 1905, p. 6.

[†] One possible choice as leader of the nascent provincial Liberal Party was Frank Oliver, Member of Parliament for Edmonton, Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. Oliver, however, chose to continue serving in Ottawa and where provincial politics were concerned, was an ardent supporter of Rutherford as the best man to lead Alberta. Peter Talbot, Member of Parliament for Strathcona (1904–1906), was reputed to be Prime Minister Laurier's first choice for the premiership, but Talbot preferred a Senate appointment, which he received in 1906. L. G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in Alberta, 1905–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), pp. 15–16.

ceremony, George H. V. Bulyea was sworn in as the Province's first Lieutenant Governor. The next day, on September 2, 1905, Alexander Cameron Rutherford was named Premier-Designate by Lieutenant Governor Bulyea[*][84] during a ceremony enlivened by parades and fireworks.[85]

Rutherford's selection as Premier-Designate met with the general approval of Albertans.[86] Possessed of strong administrative, legal and business skills in addition to a lifelong commitment to education, Rutherford was well-suited to the task of establishing the legislative foundation of the new provincial government. Rutherford was known for his "strength of character and unquestioned ability" as well as his "analytical acumen."[87] Indeed, as one journalist noted, "when he shakes you by the hand you feel that the friendship of such a man would be a valuable asset at any time."[88] Considered "moderate" and "progressive," Rutherford was credited with, amongst other things, a robust vision for the development of northern Alberta.[89] Within a week of Rutherford's assuming the 'mantle of leadership,'[90] the Cabinet was in place[†][91] and the governance of the new province commenced in earnest. On September 8, 1905, along with his chosen Cabinet, Rutherford officially took his oath of office as 'President of the Council.'[‡][92] In addition to serving as Premier, Rutherford held the positions of Minister of Education (1905–1910) and Provincial Treasurer (1905–1910).[§]

In the first provincial general election, held on November 9, 1905, the Liberal Party secured 57.5 per cent of the vote to win 22 out of a total of 25 seats.[93] "We won," Rutherford was quoted as saying, "because we had the best policy."[94] The Liberals' rout of the Conservatives, who were led by Richard B. Bennett, had resulted, to varying degrees, from three factors. Firstly, Rutherford and the Liberals had campaigned as the incumbents in "possession of the machinery of provincial and federal administration."[95] Secondly, the electioneering of Rutherford's Liberals had benefited from superior organization, ready funds and ample campaign literature.[96] Thirdly, the press had suggested that Bennett's role as solicitor for the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) would impair his objectivity in his dealings with the Company in the developing province.[97]

---

[*] The *Alberta Act* provided that the Lieutenant Governor of Alberta would appoint the first Premier of the Province in advance of the first provincial elections, to be held within six months of September 1, 1905. *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3, ss. 8, 15, 25.

[†] The first Cabinet included: William T. Finlay (Minister of Agriculture and Provincial Secretary); William H. Cushing (Minister of Public Works); Charles W. Cross (Attorney General); and Leverett G. DeVeber (Minister without Portfolio). "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 1, 31 October 1905, p. 3; "The First Provincial Cabinet," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 6 September 1905, p. 1.

[‡] The President of the Executive Council is the presiding officer of that body. The person holding that office in a Canadian province is normally referred to as the Premier. Rutherford was appointed Premier-Designate before he became President of the Executive Council. For more information, see Appendix I - Cabinet and Legislative Positions, and the Glossary.

[§] During his service in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Rutherford was a member of the following Select Standing Committees: *Agriculture and Colonization* (1906–1909), *Legal Bills* (1906–1907, 1910–1913), *Municipal Law* (1907–1913), *Miscellaneous and Private Bills* (1906–1907, 1910), *Privileges and Elections* (1906–1910), *Public Accounts* (1907–1912), *Railways* (1906–1913) and *Standing Orders* (1907). He also served on the *Special Committee on Insurance* (1906), *Special Committee on the Visit of His Royal Highness Prince Arthur of Connaught* (1906), *Special Committee on the Library* (1906–1908, 1912) and the *Special Committee to Consider the Medical Profession Act* (1911).

When the First Session of the First Legislature opened on March 15, 1906, the three most prominent positions were filled by men who had served together as Members of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories: George H. V. Bulyea (Lieutenant Governor), Alexander C. Rutherford (Premier) and Charles W. Fisher (Speaker).[*98] Later, Rutherford would fondly remember that "we were a cozy little group at that time."[†99]

Due to the large crowds expected for the occasion, the opening of the Legislature was held at the Thistle Rink.[‡100] In his nomination through a motion to elect Charles W. Fisher (Member for Banff) as the first Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Premier Rutherford declared:

> It is an honor, a high honor, to be members of the First Legislature of the Province of Alberta. We are today entering upon the task of laying the foundations of empire in this new land. We will be called upon to solve for this great Province of Alberta many new and difficult problems. It is expected that we will prove ourselves equal to the task of their solution. It is expected that we will enact and carry into effect measures that will be to the lasting advantage of the people of this province, and for their welfare. On the other hand many matters will come before us for determination in which the path has not been blazed out for us. It is right, it is proper that we should follow the good traditions, the good precedents of the Legislatures of the old Provinces of Canada, the House of Commons of our Dominion, and the House of Commons of the motherland, the Mother of Parliaments under constitutional, under responsible government.[101]

Following the election of the Speaker, Lieutenant Governor Bulyea read the Speech from the Throne, which outlined the agenda of the new Liberal Government. A long list of undertakings was presented, including governance of the dairy and agricultural industry; the construction of roads and public buildings; the establishment of 'telephonic communication' and public health and sanitation standards; and the strengthening of existing laws[§] regarding mechanics' liens, coal mines and steam boiler inspections.[102] After the Legislative Assembly was adjourned, Premier

---

[*] Bulyea was a Member of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories from 1894 to 1905, Rutherford from 1902 to 1905, and Fisher from 1903 to 1905. Other Members of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta who had previously served in the Territorial Assembly included: Leverett G. DeVeber (Lethbridge), John A. Simpson (Innisfail), John W. Woolf (Cardston), William T. Finlay (Medicine Hat), Matthew McCauley (Vermilion) and Anthony Sigwart de Rosenroll (Wetaskiwin). Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000* (Regina: Saskatchewan Archives Board, 2001), pp. 1–15 to 1–20; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 19–20.

[†] The average age of the 25 Members of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta in 1906 was about 45 years. Frank Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature: A Celebration* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1987), p. 10.

[‡] At least 4,000 people attended the opening of the First Session of the First Legislature in the Thistle Rink. "Alberta's First Legislature Was Opened Yesterday," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 16 March 1906, p. 1.

[§] Under the provisions of the *Alberta Act*, the laws of the former North-West Territories were still in effect in the province. *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3, s. 16(1).

Rutherford and his wife, Mattie, hosted a reception at McKay Avenue School, which would serve as the meeting place of the Legislative Assembly for the next few years.[*][103] The *Strathcona Plaindealer* reported that the Premier's reception was "a brilliant affair and an unqualified success. Upwards of a thousand ladies and gentlemen attended and were received by the Premier and his cabinet."[104]

The most emotionally charged issue to confront the new Rutherford administration was the selection of the provincial capital, mention of which had been conspicuously absent from the Speech from the Throne. The *Alberta Act* had named Edmonton the provisional capital and left the final designation of the seat of governance to the Lieutenant Governor in Council.[105] On April 25, 1906, during the First Session of the First Legislature, William H. Cushing (Member for Calgary) and Charles A. Stuart (Member for Gleichen) moved that Calgary be named the provincial capital.[106] Calgary's case was a strong one, bolstered by a slightly larger population than Edmonton's and its position as the emerging business centre of the new province.[107] Edmonton was touted as the geographical, population,[†] farming and possibly railway centre of the province. Its population (according to the 1906 census) was only slightly smaller than Calgary's—11,167 to Calgary's 11,967.[108] The motion for Calgary was defeated by a vote of 16 to eight.[109] Motions favouring Red Deer and Banff were put forward, but were later withdrawn.[110] Consequently, Edmonton remained the seat of governance of Alberta pursuant to the *Alberta Act* of 1905.[111]

The Rutherford Government's pre-eminent challenge was the establishment of the legislative and administrative structures necessary to make the transition from a territorial to a provincial government. In those first days of the new province, it fell to the Rutherford administration to implement the entire framework of public administration, taxation and government organization. The population of the area, which was experiencing growth due to new settlers and immigrants,[‡] the sheer geographic size of the province and the emergence of new and important inventions* required that the Government consider a number of directives.[112] Rutherford could reflect with satisfaction upon an impressive array of achievements during the First Session of the First Legislature, including the incorporation of the Cities of Wetaskiwin, Medicine Hat and Lethbridge;[113] the chartering of six railways;[114] the regulation of motor vehicles;[115] the establishment of the University of Alberta;[116] and the preparation of the first provincial budget.[117] Rutherford himself put forward 14 of the 83 Bills introduced in this Session,† dealing with issues such as the finances and the civil service of the province, statutes, public printing and the adoption of the rules and procedures of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories. Under Rutherford's premiership, the provincial government established a land registry[118] and created legislation regulating health professionals.[119] Legislation regarding coroners, sheriffs, commissioners for oaths, police magistrates, notaries public and clerks was also introduced and ultimately passed. The development of the telephone system also began with an Act permitting municipalities to establish and operate their own systems.[120] By 1908, the Province controlled 869 kilometres of telephone lines and was actively negotiating to acquire 3,259 additional kilometres, including trunk and rural service lines, which commercial operators considered to be unprofitable.[121]

---

[*] In 1908, the Assembly moved to a temporary Legislature Building, an annex next to the Terrace Building on 96th Avenue and 106th Street, until finally moving into the partially completed Legislature Building in 1911.

[†] Early in 1905, Prime Minister Laurier assigned the task of establishing Alberta's new electoral districts to the Member for Parliament for Edmonton Frank Oliver and the Member of Parliament for Strathcona Peter Talbot. Being charged with establishing provincial electoral boundaries gave Oliver an opportunity to strengthen Edmonton's position as the potential capital by creating 13 constituencies in northern Alberta, as opposed to 12 in the southern part of the province despite its having a larger population. Alexander Bruce Kilpatrick, "A Lesson in Boosterism: The Contest for the Alberta Provincial Capital, 1904–1906," *Urban History Review* vol. 8, no. 3 (February 1980): pp. 78–83.

[‡] According to census records, the population of Alberta rose from 73,022 in 1901 to 372,295 in 1911. F. H. Leacy, ed., *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983), Series A2-14. Alberta experienced an 'immigration boom' due, in part, to the Laurier Government's immigration policy, which was designed to help populate the West. Howard Palmer, "Patterns of Immigration and Ethnic Settlement in Alberta: 1880–1920," in *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity*, ed. Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), pp. 7, 6.

On April 25, 1906, while putting forward a motion that Calgary be designated the capital of the new province, Minister of Public Works (1905–1910) William H. Cushing declared that "it is most important that the Government at the earliest possible moment take up the matter of providing legislative buildings in the province."[122] With the capital question settled, Rutherford approached the Hudson's Bay Company in July regarding the land on which Fort Edmonton stood.‡[123] On October 12, the Rutherford Government agreed to pay $4,000 per acre for the 21-acre site.[124] Even before the final architectural plans were approved,§ construction on the new Legislature Building began in the summer of 1907.[125] The cornerstone of the Building was laid by Governor General Earl Grey on October 1, 1909.[126]

Apart from his role as Premier, Rutherford's significant, personal contribution came as Minister of Education. Rutherford responded to demands for the development of a public education

---

* Motor vehicles and aeroplanes were making their first appearances. The first car trip between Edmonton and Calgary occurred in March 1906, and the first flight in Edmonton took place in September 1909. James G. MacGregor, *A History of Alberta*, rev. ed. (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1981), pp. 194–195, 218.

† Rutherford introduced Bill 1, *An Act respecting the Treasury Department and the auditing of Public Accounts* on March 19, 1906. He introduced *An Act respecting the Administration of Oaths of Office to persons appointed as Justices of the Peace* on March 15, 1906. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 1st Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. I, 19 March 1906, p. 16; Ibid., Index, p. 2; Ibid., 15 March 1906, p. 14.

‡ Fort Edmonton had four different locations over time. Originally established in 1795 at the confluence of the Sturgeon and North Saskatchewan Rivers, Fort Edmonton moved 30 kilometres upstream to the area now known as the Rossdale Flats in 1801–1802. From 1810 to 1813, the Fort was temporarily relocated again downstream, due to unrest in the area, before returning to the Rossdale Flats. In 1830, flooding on the Flats caused a move to the site that the Alberta Legislature Grounds now occupy. Brock Silversides, *Fort de Prairies: The Story of Fort Edmonton* (Victoria, BC: Heritage House, 2005), pp. xi–xii, 1–2, 5–7, 9, 19, 81–82.

§ Final plans were made public on December 27, 1907.

system that was urgently required by the province's burgeoning population. By 1911, the Department of Education administered 1,765 school districts.[127] The creation of these school districts, along with the establishment of teacher certification standards and the development of curriculum were amongst Rutherford's most significant achievements.[128] Upon his return from the 1907 Federal Conference on Education, which was organized by the League of the Empire and held in London, England,[129] Rutherford exuded sincere, if perhaps overstated, confidence in the state of Alberta's education system. "I am fully convinced," Rutherford asserted, "that the school system of Alberta is much superior to that of the motherland."[130]

Rutherford made the establishment of a provincial liberal arts university his personal mission. On May 9, 1906, a Bill introduced by Rutherford* formally establishing the University of Alberta was granted Royal Assent.[†131] Rutherford was supported in his effort to develop the new institution by McGill University associate professor of mathematics Dr. Henry Marshall Tory, a fellow McGill graduate.[132] In November 1906, Tory wrote to Rutherford expressing his interest in serving as the first 'Principal' of the University of Alberta.[133] Tory was a staunch advocate of an education system reflective of 'old and well recognized' academic traditions.[134] Tory and Premier Rutherford were of one mind: the University of Alberta would be a non-denominational, co-educational and essentially liberal arts university.[135] Rutherford later explained that he "wished to avoid the mistake of having various religious sects erect their own colleges," as had been experienced in Ontario and Manitoba, a point also made by Tory in correspondence with Rutherford.[136] *The University Act* of 1906 set in place the course of the University of Alberta by stating its fields of study (arts, law, medicine, science and agriculture), its non-sectarian nature and its support for women's access to education.[137]

In March 1907, Prime Minister Laurier responded to Rutherford's request for a federal land grant on which to build the proposed university, stating that "a further contribution from the Federal treasury does not seem to be advisable."[138] Increases to provincial subsidies, claimed the Prime Minister, had resulted in Alberta and Saskatchewan becoming "more wealthy than the Dominion Government."[139]

In 1907, Premier Rutherford announced that the University of Alberta would be established not in Edmonton or Calgary but in his own constituency of Strathcona.[‡140] Rutherford negotiated

---

[*] It was reported that upon introducing the Bill, Rutherford stated that "the greatest glory of any nation was its education." "Alberta University Bill Passes Second Reading," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 23 April 1906, p. 3.

[†] This Act was based almost entirely on a similar bill introduced by the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories in 1903. North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "The University Ordinance," *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 5th Legislature, 2nd Session*, no. 26, 1903 (2nd Sess.); *The University Act*, S.A. 1906, c. 42.

[‡] Although much has been made of the university site being located within the Premier's own constituency, in 1907 there existed considerations favouring Strathcona's selection. By 1907, Edmonton and Calgary had received the distinctions of provincial capital and the site of the Provincial Normal School respectively. Moreover, Strathcona offered access to the CPR terminal, an important measure of convenience in a region still years away from a fully functional transportation infrastructure. Walter H. Johns, *A History of the University of Alberta, 1908–1969* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981), p. 4.

the provincial government's purchase of 'River Lot No. 5.'*[141] With the payment of $150,000,[142] the 104-hectare parcel of land became the province's first university campus.[143] In 1908, the University of Alberta commenced classes, offering bachelor degrees in Arts and Sciences.[144] Contemporary critics of the University declared the curriculum to be irrelevant to Alberta's needs for vocational and professional training:

> When this Province is ready for a university, why not let it be an affiliation of colleges on Agriculture, Medicine, Law, Pharmacy and Dentistry, where each student may enter his preferred course or profession at matriculation and his own expense, without wasting precious years in an Arts course at public expense.[145]

By early summer of 1908, Tory was recruiting faculty[146] and soliciting library materials.[147] The memoirs of the University's first professor, Dr. Edmund Kemper Broadus, capture the spirit of optimism attached to this ambitious enterprise:

> On a day in June, 1908, the president of a university not yet in being, in a province which I had never heard of, in a country which I had never visited, came to Harvard and offered me the professorship of English. The offer sounded like midsummer madness. …
>
> Outside the little faculty, there were virtually only two men in the whole province who did not think the establishment of a university in a province only three years old utterly premature; those were the Scotch-Canadian Premier of the Province, who had faith and foresight to make the immediate establishment of a provincial university the cardinal principle of his creed; and the president of the university who had come here to do just that thing, and had the bit in his teeth.[148]

Rutherford and Tory succeeded in recruiting a faculty of four.[149] The first students of the University of Alberta registered on September 23, 1908.†[150] In later life, Rutherford looked back on the establishment of the University of Alberta as the most important and satisfying accomplishment of his career.[151]

The issue of railways in the province continued to grow in significance as the decade drew to a close.[152] Bolstered by the findings of a Select Senate Committee in 1907,‡[153] and reports of vast

---

* The system of 'river lots' was based on the land-tenure system of New France (Quebec) in which long narrow strips of land fronted onto bodies of water, typically rivers. River lots also existed in parts of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

† The first University of Alberta classes were held in the City of Strathcona's Duggan Street School.

‡ On April 17, 1907, the *Select Committee appointed to inquire and report from time to time as to the value of that part of the Dominion lying north of the Saskatchewan watershed, east of the Rocky Mountains, west and east of the Hudson's Bay, comprising the north parts of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan and the Mackenzie Territory, its extent of navigable waters, rivers, lakes and sea coast, and Ungava and Keewatin Territories* presented a report, which touted the natural resources of the north. The vast wealth of the region's untapped resources led the Committee to conclude that railways should be constructed to facilitate the export of products and to encourage the settlement of communities. Canada. Parliament. Senate, *Journals of the Senate of Canada, 10th Parliament, 3rd Session*, vol. XLII, 16 April 1907, pp. 329–333; Ibid., Appendix 1.

and potentially profitable 'asphalt deposits' in the Fort McMurray area,[154] Rutherford was convinced that the development of Alberta's north depended on a 'vigorous policy of railway construction.'[155] Therefore, in November 1908, the Premier announced his Government's railway policy.[156] The *Calgary News* captured the province's impatient spirit of progress, reporting on December 1, 1908 that

> [t]he railway policy of the local government recently announced by Premier Rutherford has caught on in every part of the province, and from Cardston to the Peace River district and from Laggan to Lloydminster, general satisfaction is felt. The greatest good to the greatest possible number and the endeavor to include everybody when the building of the railways becomes operative.[*sic*] Millions of acres await the husbandmen, and thousands of prosperous towns and villages are in embryo until the policy of the government is duly inaugurated. The work cannot be pressed forward too soon.[157]

In the 1909 election campaign, the Rutherford Liberals ran under the slogan 'Rutherford, Reliability and Railways.'[158] On March 22, 1909, Albertans returned the Liberals to power with 36 out of a total of 41 seats.* The press was effusive in its praise of Rutherford's 'efficient and untainted'[159] administration:

> Seldom has the Premier of any Province in Canada received such a flattering endorsation from the electors as has Hon. A. C. Rutherford, for the utter rout of the Opposition has occurred. The pre-election prophecy that not a single Conservative was safe for election, has been amply justified ...[160]

PREM. HON. A.C. RUTHERFORD.

Left to Right: Lieutenant Governor G.H.V. Bulyea; Lord Strathcona; and Premier A.C. Rutherford (Sept. 7, 1909).

Rutherford had relied upon the strength of a 'progressive but moderate'[161] platform including the development and full state ownership of a provincial telephone system, further railway guarantees, continued advancement of Alberta's public schools and the establishment of a provincial university.[162] It was an optimistic beginning to a promising second term.

In 1909, the Rutherford Government guaranteed the bonds of three railway companies: the Grand Trunk Pacific (GTP), the Canadian Northern Railway (CNR) and the Alberta and Great Waterways (A&GW) Railway.[163] On October 7, 1909, the Government struck an agreement with the A&GW Railway Company whereby the Province would guarantee the principal and interest of Company bonds, capped at $20,000 per mile to a maximum of 350 miles.[164] Within weeks of the agreement, Rutherford issued the first of several justifications of his railway policy. In a November 23, 1909 telegram to the publication *Monetary Times*, Rutherford wrote:

---

* Of the remaining five seats, two were won by the Conservatives, one by the Socialists, one by an Independent and one by an Independent Liberal.

> Any adverse criticism offered on Provincial Guarantee Alberta Great Waterways Railway bonds comparing with other similar issues, cannot be defended. There are no similar guarantees in this Province, this being a colonization road to a large extent. For information with regard to resources of territory to be opened by this road I would refer you to report of Committee of the Senate of Canada appointed during Session of 1907. Would also refer you to statement made by Mr. R. E. Young of the Department of the Interior in 1905 as to urgent necessity of opening up the valuable and inexhaustible resources of Canadas' [*sic*] hinterland.[165]

When the First Session of the Second Legislature began in February 1910, the issue of railway policy came to the fore. Extended debate on the A&GW Railway was in fact the reason for the first night sitting of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.*[166] In the end, the A&GW Railway scheme foundered on three fronts. Firstly, prevailing opinion held that the technical standards of the proposed railway did not justify the level of the bond guarantee.[167] Secondly, the fees collected by the financiers involved in the bond transaction were judged to be excessive.[168] Thirdly, and potentially the most damaging to Premier Rutherford, was the unsupported insinuation that a portion of the large bond fee had been returned to 'promoters of the railway' in the province.[169]

On February 14, William H. Cushing, Minister of Public Works, resigned his portfolio.[170] He later cited, as his reasons for doing so, Rutherford's failure both to produce A&GW documents before the beginning of Session and to have the transactions vetted by the engineering staff of Cushing's Department.[171] Cushing made it clear that his resignation was meant to register his opposition to the Premier's personal administration of various A&GW contract provisions, construction plans and bond agreement clauses.[172] Premier Rutherford was suddenly and unexpectedly under siege.

On March 2, 1910, in what the press referred to as "the most sensational speech in the history of the young province," Leader of the Official Opposition and railway lawyer Richard B. Bennett addressed the Legislative Assembly for five hours and attacked the Rutherford Government's handling of the A&GW bond guarantees.[173] Amongst Bennett's more provocative charges was a declaration that the president of the A&GW Company, William R. Clarke, had shared bond sale proceeds with his associates and that Bennett himself had been 'approached by great financial interests' to remain silent on the matter.[174] The situation was exacerbated by the revelation that an international private banking company (J. Pierpont Morgan and Company) had been able to sell the bonds above par, while the Province received only par, leading many to believe that the Government had failed to protect the financial interests of the Province.[175]

On March 9, Rutherford announced his intention to appoint an Alberta Railway Board to replace the Cabinet in its role in the direct administration of railway matters in order to quell the rising discontent with his Government.[176] The measure might have been effective had it not been for Rutherford's refusal to grant the Board 'full and complete' powers.[177] This decision eroded his support amongst senior staff in the Department of Public Works as evidenced by Deputy

---

* The sitting on February 25, 1910 commenced at 3:00 p.m., adjourned at 6:00 p.m. and then resumed at 8:00 p.m., finally adjourning at 1:45 a.m. on February 26.

Minister of Public Works John Stocks'* formal request on March 18 that his name be dropped from the list of potential Alberta Railway Board members.[178] The same day that Rutherford's intention to create the Alberta Railway Board was announced, three prominent Government officials—Attorney General Charles W. Cross (Member for Edmonton), Minister without Portfolio William A. Buchanan (Member for Lethbridge)† and Deputy Attorney General Sydney B. Woods—resigned in what was described as "a political situation unprecedented in the history of this province or in the whole Dominion of Canada."[179] The *Globe* in Toronto and the *Calgary Daily Herald* chronicled a Government on the brink of defeat.[180]

In the words of the contemporary press, the matter had become a 'comic opera situation.'[181] Rumours abounded of the Premier's having tendered his resignation to the Lieutenant Governor.‡[182] Rutherford could only offer the rejoinder not to "take stock of all that the newspapers say."[183] Urgent discussions took place within the Liberal caucus, and the local press had difficulty keeping up with developments and distinguishing between rumour and fact.[184] On March 11, it was learned that Lieutenant Governor Bulyea had refused to accept Rutherford's resignation.[185] Cross returned to Cabinet as Attorney General,[186] and after a vote of no-confidence the Government prevailed by a majority of three, although 13 members of its own caucus had supported the no-confidence motion.[187]

Rutherford sought to bolster confidence in his administration and forestall further insurgencies[188] by establishing a Royal Commission to investigate the A&GW affair[189] and by pledging full disclosure to the Legislative Assembly and to the public.[190] On the basis of a unanimous resolution of the Legislative Assembly, Supreme Court of Alberta Justices David L. Scott, Horace Harvey and Nicholas D. Beck were appointed to scrutinize "the creation, organization and incorporation of the Alberta & Great Waterways railway and the contract for the guaranteeing of bonds."[191] On March 18, 1910, a motion to suspend construction of the A&GW was introduced, but later withdrawn,[192] and the House adjourned the following day, until May 26.[193]

On March 29, 1910, Commissioners Scott, Harvey and Beck began their inquiry with a request for documents from the parties' legal counsel. Rutherford himself appeared before the inquiry on May 19, admitted to having been "the whole railway department" prior to January 1, 1910, but indicated that he "had no knowledge of the specifications except that gained at the cabinet meeting."[194] On May 26, 1910, Rutherford tendered his resignation as "President of the Council,

---

* Stocks was said to be responsible for altering the plans of the Alberta Legislature Building by reducing the size of each of the wings by nine metres, resulting in a building that was considered too small as soon as it was completed. Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature*, p. 23.

† Buchanan also served as the first Librarian of the Provincial Library (Legislature Library) in 1907, and was later appointed to the Senate.

‡ The *Globe* printed a photograph of Rutherford with the caption 'Ex-Premier Rutherford.' "The Province of Alberta Has No Government Today," *Globe* (Toronto), 10 March 1910, p. 1.

Minister of Education, and Provincial Treasurer"[195] to Lieutenant Governor Bulyea, who immediately called upon Arthur L. W. Sifton, Chief Justice of Alberta, to form a Government.*[196]

The inquiry was ultimately critical not of the Premier's personal or public probity but of his judgment and business acumen. The Commission's report concluded that

> … the fact that intelligent men acting as trustees make an agreement with a stranger for work to be done by him, and make concessions vastly in excess of what were asked by others for the same work, and of what are granted to others for similar work, and with absolutely no knowledge of the cost of the work to be done other than that offered by the other party to the contract, may reasonably give rise to the suspicion that they have been actuated by some motive other than regard for the interests it was their duty to protect.[197]

These criticisms, however, did not touch the Office of the Premier, now occupied by Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917).

## Later Career

After his resignation as Premier, on May 26, Rutherford continued to serve as the Member for Strathcona until the dissolution of the Second Legislature, on March 25, 1913.†[198] In 1913, he ran as an Independent Liberal candidate in the provincial general election for the constituency of South Edmonton but was not elected.‡ Following this electoral defeat, Rutherford resumed the practice of law, as senior partner in the firm of Rutherford, Jamieson and Grant.[199] On March 19, 1913, Rutherford was appointed King's Counsel (KC).[200]

---

* On May 20, 1910, just prior to his resignation, Rutherford, together with Dr. Henry M. Tory, delivered a memorial address upon the death of King Edward VII. J. J. Duggan, Mayor, Chairman of Committee, [Public Notice: Memorial Services for King Edward VII], Edmonton, City of Edmonton Archives. On May 26, immediately before his resignation was announced and as the only order of business, Rutherford moved that a message of condolence be forwarded to the Governor General of Canada to be sent to the new monarch, King George V. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. V, 26 May 1910, p. 89.

† In 1911, Rutherford initially let his name stand for the federal Liberal nomination for Edmonton (the seat held in the previous Parliament by Frank Oliver), but later withdrew from the field. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 119–120; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, pp. 69–70.

‡ During the 1921 provincial general election campaign, Rutherford supported a number of Conservative candidates in Edmonton. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 205; J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 1921 ed. (Toronto: Canadian Review Company, 1922), pp. 852–853. Rutherford was also involved with the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA), being a member of the Local No. 1 when it was first established as a non-political organization. "Alexander C. Rutherford: Former Premier, Biographical Sketch no. 821," *Canadian Press*, 31 July 1939, p. 2; "First Alberta Premier Dies" *Edmonton Journal*, 12 June 1941, p. 10; "United Farmers of Alberta at Opening Session," [Photo and Caption], *Grain Growers' Guide*, 26 January 1910, p. 4; "Advance Press Service of Hon. Alexander Cameron Rutherford, B.A., B.C.L., K.C., LL.D.," (n.p.: International Press, [19--?]).

Rutherford was able to contribute to a number of organizations by serving on their executives, including those of the Advisory Board of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) (1913–1941); the St. Andrew's Society (president, 1915–1918); and the McGill Alumni Association (president, 1922).[201] He and his wife, Mattie, were members of the Northern Alberta Pioneers' and Old-Timers' Association.[202] When the Edmonton Elks Lodge, No. 13 was established in 1914, Rutherford joined and became the first Exalted Ruler (Lodge president). Later that same year, he was elected Grand Exalted Ruler (national president) of the order and served in that position until 1917.[203] Rutherford also served as president of the Edmonton Mortgage Corporation[204] and vice-president of the Great Western Garment Company,[205] and was a member of the Board of Directors of the Canada National Fire Insurance Company; the Imperial Canadian Trust Company;[206] the Monarch Life Assurance Company;[207] and the Great West Permanent Loan Company.[208]

During the First World War, Rutherford served on the Finance Committee of the Canadian Patriotic Fund.*[209] Between 1915 and 1925, he also served on the Edmonton Board of Public Welfare,[210] which was responsible, after 1919, for allocating relief funds to widows under the *Mothers Allowance Act.*†[211] In 1916, he was appointed Alberta Director of the National Service Commission, charged with military recruitment.[212] Immediately after the First World War, Rutherford joined the Loan Advisory Committee of the federal Soldier Settlement Board.[213]

Rutherford continued his keen involvement with the University of Alberta. From 1911 until 1927, Rutherford served on the Senate of the University of Alberta, at which point he became the University's third Chancellor.[214] In 1909, while still Premier, Rutherford had purchased a half-hectare parcel of land on which he made plans to build a stately mansion. By the time his home, located at 11153 Saskatchewan Drive, Edmonton, adjacent to the University campus, was completed in 1911, Rutherford was no longer Premier. The Rutherfords named their home 'Achnacarry' in honour of the Scottish Camerons' ancestral home.[215] Rutherford and his wife, Mattie, poured forth "a warm perennial hospitality that was to enrich university life for almost three decades."[216] The annual Founder's Day Tea became a university tradition,[217] enjoyed by University of Alberta graduates between 1912 and 1938.[218] In 1938, the Rutherfords hosted a gala reception for 200 guests at their home in celebration of their 50th wedding anniversary. This reception was attended by Premier William Aberhart (1935–1943), Lieutenant Governor John C. Bowen (1937–1950), former Premier John E. Brownlee (1925–1934), president of the University of Alberta Dr. William A. R. Kerr (1936–1941) and other distinguished guests from government and academia.[219] Achnacarry held Rutherford's extensive personal library, which was widely acknowledged as being amongst western Canada's best collections of Canadiana.[220] In 1971, restoration commenced on the Rutherfords' former home.[*221] The mansion was renamed 'Rutherford House' and opened to the public as an historic site in 1973.[†222]

---

* The Canadian Patriotic Fund was established at the outset of the First World War in order to "provide locally for such soldiers' families as were in need." The Finance Committee was responsible for canvassing the City of Edmonton, beginning on September 24, 1914, for funds to carry out its mandate. In three days, the Canadian Patriotic Fund of Edmonton raised $40,000. Philip H. Morris, ed., *The Canadian Patriotic Fund: A Record of Its Activities from 1914–1919* (Ottawa: Canadian Patriotic Fund, 1920), pp. 7, 52. Other prominent members included: Dr. Robert G. Brett, Charles W. Fisher and Charles S. Pingle (Speaker 1920–1921).

† Mothers' allowances were a social service, or 'public assistance' program, which allocated public monies to mothers who were also wives of mental patients or widows. Representing "a significant departure from traditional poor relief practices which had existed [in Canada] from colonial times," the idea was first adopted in Alberta in 1919. Qualifying for monetary assistance were mothers who had custody of children under a certain age but who were unable to provide proper care for them. Successful applicants received a weekly allowance, the value of which was determined by an inspector considering the woman's case. The aid program was primarily financed by the provincial government, although municipalities were sometimes called upon to contribute. *The Mothers Allowance Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 6, ss. 3–5; Dennis Guest, *The Emergence of Social Security in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), p. 63.

As Premier, Rutherford had introduced legislation in support of public libraries, and he was a "prime mover in the early foundation of a legislative library" for the province.[223] Rutherford also actively contributed to the development of the University of Alberta Library, soliciting important titles and document series from the Dominion Government,[224] the Government of Quebec[225] and the Legislative Library of the Province of Manitoba.[226] Rutherford also requested books from the British Museum through a direct appeal to Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company (1889–1914) Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona).[227] On November 25, 1948, Lieutenant Governor Bowen laid the cornerstone of the Alexander Cameron Rutherford Library at the University of Alberta.[228] The library building was formally opened on May 15, 1951.[229] Rutherford's collection of approximately 1,500 books is today housed as part of the University of Alberta's Bruce Peel Special Collections Library.[230] In 1974, Rutherford's daughter, Hazel McCuaig, officially opened the new 'Rutherford North' wing[‡] of the University of Alberta's Rutherford Library.[§231]

## Honours and Awards

Alexander Cameron Rutherford received Honourary Doctor of Laws degrees from McMaster University (1907),[232] the University of Toronto (1907),[233] Woodstock Baptist College (1907),[234]

---

[*] In 1941, Rutherford House had come under the control of the University's Delta Upsilon Fraternity Chapter and was used as a residence until the 1960s, when it was once again acquired by the University administration. The University's plans to demolish the building, however, met with strong opposition, and the house was instead preserved and restored to its 1915 style. One Rutherford successor, E. Peter Lougheed (Premier 1971–1985), was a resident of Rutherford House as a fraternity member and University of Alberta undergraduate for four years in the 1950s. E. Peter Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005; "Always Achnacarry: Rutherford's House Revisited," *New Trail: The University of Alberta's Alumni Magazine* vol. 39 no. 2 (Autumn 1984): p. 27.

[†] The painstaking restoration of Rutherford House is documented in Babcock's *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*.

[‡] This wing houses the Humanities and Social Sciences Library. The original building to bear Rutherford's name is now commonly referred to as 'Rutherford South.'

[§] The brick used in the construction of Rutherford North was subsequently named 'Rutherford Autumn Leaf' in his honour. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 131.

the University of Alberta (1908)*[235] and McGill University (1931).[236] In 1907, he was invited to be a delegate at the Federal Conference on Education, convened by the League of the Empire.[237] The conference was held in London, England, and provided Rutherford and his family with the opportunity to attend a garden party at Windsor Castle.[238] He attended this conference again in 1911.[239] He was appointed honourary colonel of the 194th Highland Battalion (Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1916)[240] and honourary life member of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks (1919).[241] In 1919, Rutherford, as a companion of the Illustrious Order of the Red Cross, was inducted as a Knight of Malta.[242] He was awarded the King's Silver Jubilee Medal (1935)[243] and the King's Coronation Medal (1937).[244] He was also appointed president of the McGill Graduate Society (1922).[245] Alexander C. Rutherford was made a fellow of the British Association for the Advancement of Science[246] and of the Royal Colonial Institute of London, England.[247]

Honours in the area of sports included: honourary president of the South Edmonton Football Club (1895); patron of the Strathcona Curling Club (1902); honourary president of the Strathcona Baseball Club, Curling Club and Football Club (1903);[248] patron of the Strathcona Hockey Club (1905);[249] and honourary president of the Alberta Amateur Hockey Association (1909–1910).[250] Rutherford donated a trophy—called 'The Rutherford Cup'—to be presented to the inter-collegiate football championship team of northern Alberta.[251]

Alexander Rutherford's dedication to the Province of Alberta brought still other honours to Alberta's first Premier. In 1911, an elementary school in Edmonton was named for the former Premier and Minister of Education.[252] Rutherford School District No. 1590 was named in his honour.[253] Rutherford's friends and colleagues Dr. and Mrs. Edmund K. Broadus dedicated their 1923 anthology *A Book of Canadian Prose and Verse* to the man who had "played an honourable part in the up-building of the West."[254] In 1954, a mountain peak in Jasper National Park was named Mount Rutherford.[255] In 1967, the City of Edmonton formally adopted the name 'Rutherford Park' for a 3.84 hectare tract of land in the neighbourhood of Bonnie Doon, which was originally donated to the city by the Premier in 1907.[256] The name had been in common usage between 1907 and 1967.[257] In 2001, the City of Edmonton also named the neighbourhood of Rutherford in southwest Edmonton in his honour as well as five roads in that neighbourhood—Rutherford Close, Rutherford Court, Rutherford Place, Rutherford Point and Rutherford Road.[258] In 1980, the Government of Alberta established the Alexander Rutherford Scholarships for High School Achievement, with funds provided through an endowment from the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund.*[259] In 1985, the municipality of Osgoode, Ontario, honoured Rutherford with a plaque commemorating his many achievements.[260] There is also a Rutherford Avenue in the Village of Heisler, Alberta—the 'Premier Village'—known as such because all of its streets are named after former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[261]

---

* Alexander Cameron Rutherford was awarded an Honourary Doctor of Laws degree at the University's first convocation in 1908. Also honoured that day were: George H. V. Bulyea, with an Honourary Doctor of Laws degree, and Arthur L. W. Sifton, who received an Honourary Doctor of Civil Law degree. University of Alberta, Office of the Registrar and Student Awards, "Honorary Degree Recipients," *2005–2006 University of Alberta Calendar*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2006), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.registrar.ualberta.ca/calendar/University-Staff/Honorary-Degree-Recipients/243.html

## Death

On September 13, 1940, Rutherford's wife, Mattie, passed away after a long illness.[262] Mattie had been active in many organizations over the years including as a charter member of the Women's Canadian Club, the Women's University Club, the Woman's Missionary Society of Metropolitan United Church and the Keomi Chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE).[263] Sharing her husband's interest in sport, she served as the honourary president of the Granite Ladies' Curling Club and was a charter member of the Mayfair Golf and Country Club.[264]

After his wife's death, Rutherford sold Achnacarry and most of its contents and moved in with his son Cecil and his family.[265] As Chancellor of the University of Alberta, Rutherford continued to attend meetings of the University Senate and participated in Spring Convocations right up until a few weeks before his death.[266] His last public appearance was at the May 19, 1941 convocation.†[267]

Alexander Cameron Rutherford died of heart failure in Edmonton, on June 11, 1941, at the age of 84.[268] A funeral service was held on June 13, at Strathcona Baptist Church.[269] Lieutenant Governor John C. Bowen delayed a trip to eastern Canada in order to attend the service.[270] Others in attendance included Premier William Aberhart; Chief Justice of Alberta Horace Harvey; Mayor of Edmonton John W. Fry; and a number of senior administrators, faculty and staff of the University of Alberta.[271] Rev. Donald E. Cameron, Librarian of the University, delivered the eulogy.[272] Masonic services were conducted at Edmonton's Mount Pleasant Cemetery,[273] where Rutherford was buried beside his wife.[274]

## Fonds

Rutherford's personal, business and official records as Premier are located at the Provincial Archives of Alberta. Other records are deposited with the University of Alberta Archives.

---

* The Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund was established in 1976 by the Lougheed Government (1971–1985) so that "a substantial portion" of the revenues from the sale of non-renewable resources could "be set aside and invested for the benefit of the people of Alberta in future years." *The Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund Act*, S.A. 1976, c. 2.

† From the time of his appointment as Chancellor of the University in 1927, Rutherford missed convocation ceremonies only once. In 1940, illness prevented him from attending. "Illness to Force Chancellor Miss Varsity Convocation," *Edmonton Journal*, 7 May 1940, p. 9.

### Tributes

Upon assuming the position of Premier, Alexander C. Rutherford was described in an editorial in the *Edmonton Bulletin* as having "established alike among friends and opponents a reputation for sterling integrity of character, singleness and unselfishness of purpose, and broad and thorough knowledge. No man could have been chosen from the entire Province in whom the public would place more complete confidence."[275] Upon learning of Rutherford's death, Premier William Aberhart said:

> I feel that Alberta has suffered the loss of a man who, by his contribution to the upbuilding of the province in its formative years and by his activities in many lines of community welfare, brought about lasting benefits to future progress. [He] was a man of high ideals whose public career was admirable and who always maintained a lofty purpose in his every line of endeavor. … He will be missed and he will be remembered.[276]

Chief Justice Horace Harvey said of Rutherford: "The province owes much to him for the judgment and discretion he showed in breaking new ground and establishing the government of the province on a solid and substantial basis."[277] Dr. William A. R. Kerr, president of the University of Alberta, said: "He had a wide acquaintance and a great capacity for friendship, and was an outstanding public citizen in Alberta."[278] With his passing, the country had lost "one of the most colourful careers of western Canadian pioneers."[279]

## Notes

[1] Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1910 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1910), p. 458; "Alberta Premier Sworn In," *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 2 September 1905, p. 1.

[2] D. R. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona* (Calgary: Friends of Rutherford House and University of Calgary Press, 1989), pp. 1, 137; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Alick Rutherford Household, 1901 Census of Canada, North-West Territories, district no. 202, Alberta, sub-district p(4)-98, Strathcona West, schedule 1, p. 11, household 94, microfilm T-6551, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford - Mattie Birkett," Ontario, County of Carleton, City of Ottawa, 19 December 1888, no. 002511, [Marriage Registration]. Hazel McCuaig, in an unpublished biography of her father, mentions the village of Ormond as Rutherford's place of birth, but this has not been confirmed by other sources. Hazel E. McCuaig, Honourable Alexander Cameron Rutherford, Q.C., LL.D.: First Premier of Alberta 1905–1910, [Unpublished Manuscript], City of Edmonton Archives, Edmonton, MS 107. However, the *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Carleton County* shows the location of James Rutherford's farm, and his lot is located in the southeast corner of Osgoode Township. "James Rutherford, Carleton County, Osgoode Township," *In Search of Your Past: The Canadian County Atlas Digital Project*, [Map], [Internet], (McGill University, 2001), accessed 10 February 2006, available from http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/CountyAtlas/showrecord.php?PersonID=4558

[3] Scotland. General Register Office, “Grizel Rutherford,” in *Old Parochial Register of Births and Baptisms*, County of Perth, Parish of Dull, 14 July 1839, [Certified Copy of Baptismal Record], reproduced 8 May 2006; Ontario Vital Statistics, “McPhail, Duncan,” County of Dundas, Winchester, 23 January 1899, p. 710, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS 935, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 23 May 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com; Ontario Vital Statistics, “McPhail, Grace,” County of Dundas, Winchester, 28 May 1908, no. 028234, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS 935, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 23 May 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com; Scotland. General Register Office, “Patrick Rutherford,” in *Old Parochial Register of Births and Baptisms*, County of Perth, Parish of Dull, 20 January 1842, [Certified Copy of Baptismal Record], reproduced 9 May 2006; Ontario Vital Statistics, “Rutherford, Peter,” County of Kent, 24 November 1901, no. 013419, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS 935, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 23 May 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com; Scotland. General Register Office, “Donald Rutherford,” in *Old Parochial Register of Births and Baptisms,* County of Perth, Parish of Dull, 19 March 1844, [Certified Copy of Baptismal Record], reproduced 8 May 2006; Ontario Vital Statistics, “Rutherford, Daniel,” County of Carleton, Osgoode, 20 January 1926, no. 011486, p. 197, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS 935, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 23 May 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com; Archie Durward Marzolf, “Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence on Alberta's Educational Program,” (MEd, University of Alberta, 1961), [p. 5]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James Rutherford Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 76, Russell, sub-district g-3, Osgoode Township, schedule 1, p. 50, household 166, microfilm C-10013, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Jessie Rutherford Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 118, Russell, sub-district 48, Osgoode, schedule 1, p. 4, household 36, microfilm T-20396, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 29 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html; Ormond Protestant Cemetery, Dundas County, Winchester Township, Con. 12, Lot 9, 1982, pp. 1-2, 6, Ontario Genealogical Society's Cemetery Transcriptions, Fonds F 977, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS 451, reel 45.

[4] Chambers, ed., *CPG 1910*, p. 458; McCuaig, Honourable Alexander Cameron Rutherford, p. 1.

[5] Scotland. General Register Office, “James Rutherford,” in *Old Parochial Register of Birth and Baptisms*, County of Perth, Parish of Dull, 20 May 1817, [Certified Copy of Baptismal Record], reproduced 8 May 2006; Ron Crowe, Hazel Rutherford McCuaig and Jack Rutherford, “James Rutherford of Ormond,” in *Pioneer Families of Osgoode Township*, vol. 18 (Vernon, ON: Osgood Township Historical Society & Museum, 1976), [p. 1].

[6] Ontario Vital Statistics, “James Rutherford,” County of Carleton, Osgoode, 21 April 1891, no. 002966, p. 508, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS935, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 26 May 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com; Ormond Protestant Cemetery, Dundas County, Winchester Township, Con. 12, Lot 9, p. 6; Crowe, McCuaig and Rutherford, “James Rutherford of Ormond,” [p. 1].

[7] Scotland. General Register Office, “James Rutherford,” [Certified Copy of Baptismal Record]; Ormond Protestant Cemetery, Dundas County, Winchester Township, Con. 12, Lot 9, p. 6; Crowe, McCuaig and Rutherford, “James Rutherford of Ormond,” [p. 1].

[8] Scotland. General Register Office, “Peter Rutherford,” in *Old Parochial Register of Births and Baptisms*, Parish of Dull, 23 October 1782, [Certified Copy of Baptismal Record], reproduced 21 June 2006.

[9] Scotland. General Register Office, Peter Rutherford Household, 1851 Census of Scotland, County of Perth, Parish of Dull, Easter Aberfeldy, household 146, GROS Ref 346/00 006/00 029, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 28 May 2006, available from https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; Scotland. General Register Office, "Rutherford, Peter," in *Statutory Registers*, Aberfeldy, County of Perth, 20 March 1858, no. 10, [Death Registration], GROS Ref 324/00 0010, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk

[10] Scotland. General Register Office, Donald Rutherford Household, 1851 Census of Scotland, [Internet Subscription Service]; Scotland. General Register Office, Jannet Rutherford Household, 1861 Census of Scotland, County of Perth, Aberfeldy, Parish of Dull, p. 19, household 129, GROS Ref 324/00 005/00, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 28 May 2006, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; Scotland. General Register Office, "Janet Rutherford," in *Statutory Registers*, Aberfeldy, County of Perth, 6 March 1866, no. 11, p. 4, [Death Registration], GROS Ref 324/00, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 28 March 2006, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk

[11] Scotland. General Register Office, "Peter Rutherford - Janet Forbes," in *Old Parochial Register of Banns and Marriages*, Parish of Dull, 27 April 1805, [Marriage Registration], GROS Ref 346/00 0005, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 21 March 2006, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; Crowe, McCuaig and Rutherford, "James Rutherford of Ormond," [p. 1].

[12] Scotland. General Register Office, James Rutherford Record, 1841 Census of Scotland, district no. 6, County of Perth, District Weem, Village of Easter Aberfeldy, Parish of Dull, GROS Ref 346/00 006/00 005, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 19 May 2006, available from https://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; Scotland. General Register Office, James Rutherford Household, 1851 Census of Scotland, Aberfeldy, Parish of Logierait, household 89, GROS Ref 376/00 011/00 028, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 29 May 2006, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; Scotland. General Register Office, "Patrick Rutherford," [Certified Copy of Baptismal Record].

[13] Scotland. General Register Office, "Janet and Elspet Cameron [Twins]," in *Old Parochial Register of Births and Baptisms*, County of Perth, Parish of Dull, 8 June 1818, [Certified Copy of Baptismal Record], reproduced 12 May 2006.

[14] Scotland. General Register Office, "Jas. Rutherford - Eliz. Cameron," in *Old Parochial Register of Banns and Marriages*, County of Perth, Parish of Dull, 8 June 1839, [Certified Copy of Marriage Registration], reproduced 8 May 2006; Crowe, McCuaig and Rutherford, "James Rutherford of Ormond," [p. 1].

[15] Scotland. General Register Office, "Donald Cameron - Grizel Macdonald," in *Old Parochial Register of Proclamations of Banns and Marriages*, County of Perth, Parish of Dull, 3 January 1816, [Certified Copy of Marriage Registration], reproduced 12 May 2006, GROS Ref 346/00 0005; "Donald Cameron," 20 July 1866, [Estate Inventory], pp. 135, 130–131, National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh, SC49/31/82, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 10 April 2006, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk

[16] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 1; Crowe, McCuaig and Rutherford, "James Rutherford of Ormond," [p. 1].

[17] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James Rutherford Household, 1861 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 10, Carleton County, Osgoode Township, schedule 1, p. 87, microfilm C-1013, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James Rutherford Household, 1871 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James Rutherford Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 104, Russell County, sub-district g-3, Osgoode Township, schedule 1, p. 6, household 22, microfilm C-13229, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; McCuaig, Honourable Alexander Cameron Rutherford, p. 1; Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," p. 5.

[18] "James Rutherford, Carleton County, Osgoode Township," [Internet]; "Rutherford James, Ormond," *Counties of Carleton, Lanark, Prescott, Russell and Ottawa Directory 1884* (Montreal: O. L. Fuller, 1884), p. 67, *Canadian Directories*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 28 May 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/canadiandirectories/022009-100.01-e.php

[19] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 1.

[20] Crowe, McCuaig and Rutherford, "James Rutherford of Ormond," [p. 1].

[21] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 1.

[22] Ibid; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James Rutherford Household, 1871 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James Rutherford Household, 1881 Census of Canada; Crowe, McCuaig and Rutherford, "James Rutherford of Ormond," [p. 1].

[23] Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," p. 6; E-mail from Melissa Richer, Canadian Baptist Archives, 10 December 2004; "500 Observe 110th Anniversary of Famous Scotch School," *Ottawa Journal*, 26 July 1948, p. 8; Register for the Term Commencing January 7th, 1874, Student Register 1872-1885, Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, ON, Canadian Literary Institute, Series 6: Students and Faculty, Box 706, file 6.

[24] Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," p. 6.

[25] Fax from Mary Houde, McGill University Archives, 2 December 2004.

[26] Archibald Oswald MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta*, vol. 1 (Calgary: Western Canada History Co., 1912), p. 494; "Establishment of University Proudest Work in His Regime, States Hon. A. C. Rutherford," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 May 1929, p. 13.

[27] Fax from Susan Lewthwaite, Research Coordinator, Corporate Records and Archives, Law Society of Upper Canada, Toronto, 22 November 2004.

[28] MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta*, p. 494; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 4; Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," p. 7.

[29] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford - Mattie Birkett," [Marriage Registration].

[30] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Birkett Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 105, City of Ottawa, sub-district a-2, Wellington Ward, schedule 1, p. 139, household 665, microfilm C-13229, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford - Mattie Birkett," [Marriage Registration].

[31] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Birkett Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 77, City of Ottawa, sub-district a-1, Wellington Ward, schedule 1, p. 51, household 189, microfilm C-10013, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Birkett Household, 1881 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Birkett Household, 1891 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 103, City of Ottawa, sub-district e-2, Wellington Ward, schedule 1, p. 22, household 91, microfilm T-6359, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford - Mattie Birkett," [Marriage Registration]; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 4; Crowe, McCuaig and Rutherford, "James Rutherford of Ormond," p. 2.

[32] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Birkett Household, 1871 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Birkett Household, 1881 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Birkett Household, 1891 Census of Canada.

[33] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Birkett Household, 1881 Census of Canada.

[34] Arnott J. Magurn, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide and Work of General Reference for Canada, the Provinces, and the Northwest Territories*, 1903 ed. (Ottawa: Office of Publication, 1903), p. 74; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 4.

[35] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 4.

[36] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Alick Rutherford Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; *Alberta, Formerly the Northwest Territories: Index to Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths, 1870 to 1905*, vol. 1 (Edmonton: Alberta Genealogical Society, 1995), p. 50; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, pp. 3–4.

[37] Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," pp. 7–8.

[38] "Local," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 2 August 1894, p. 1.

[39] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 4; McCuaig, *Honourable Alexander Cameron Rutherford*, p. 1.

[40] "Appointments," *North-West Territories Gazette*, vol. 12, no. 13, 1 July 1895, p. 136; Law Society of Alberta, Alexander Cameron Rutherford, [Law Roll], Role of Members, The Legal Archives Society of Alberta, Calgary, 1720, File No. 4220.

[41] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, pp. 4–10; MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta*, p. 494; Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," pp. 8–13; "Our History," *McCuaig Desrochers LLP Barristers Solicitors*, [Internet], (Edmonton: McCuaig Desrochers LLP), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.mccuaig.com/toc%20en.htm

[42] "Establishment of University Proudest Work," p. 13; A. C. Rutherford, Election Address, 9 August 1896, [Pamphlet], City of Edmonton Archives.

[43] "The Local Election," [Editorial], *Edmonton Bulletin*, 6 August 1896, p. 4; J. A. Gemmill, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Companion* (Ottawa: J. Durie & Son, 1897), p. 408; Arnott J. Magurn, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide and Work of General Reference for Canada, the Provinces, and the Northwest Territories*, 1901 ed. (Ottawa: Office of Publication, 1901), p. 424.

[44] "Local," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 3 July 1899, p. 1; Minute Book: Town Council of Stathcona, First Meeting June 27, 1899 to January 31, 1912, City of Edmonton Archives, A92-111.

[45] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 15.

[46] "Appointments," *North-West Territories Gazette*, vol. 12, no. 13, 1 July 1895, p. 136; Law Society of the North-West Territories, Alexander Cameron Rutherford, [Law Roll], Roll of Members, Legal Archives Society of Alberta, Calgary.

[47] "Strathcona Municipal Elections," [Editorial], *Edmonton Bulletin*, 22 June 1899, p. 4; "Proclamation: Town of Strathcona," *North-West Territories Gazette*, vol. 16, no. 11, 15 June 1899, p. 3.

[48] Law Society of Alberta, Alexander Cameron Rutherford, [Law Roll].

[49] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 5.

[50] Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," pp. 8–9.

[51] "Always Achnacarry: Rutherford's House Revisited," *New Trail: The University of Alberta's Alumni Magazine* vol. 39, no. 2 (Autumn 1984): p. 25; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 10.

[52] "Creamery Meeting," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 4 February 1897, p. 4.

[53] Eugenie L. Myles, "Alberta's Rutherford," History Trails, *University of Alberta Alumni Association*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta Office of Alumni Affairs, Fall 1955), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.ualberta.ca/ALUMNI/history/peoplep-z/55fallruth.htm; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 10; Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," pp. 8–9.

[54] "Always Achnacarry," p. 25; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 10.

[55] *An Act to Incorporate the Historical Society of Alberta*, S.A. 1907, c. 23, s. 1; "Alexander Cameron Rutherford: 1858–1941," *Alberta Historical Review* vol. 5, no. 4 (Autumn 1957): p. 29.

[56] Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," p. 12; "Alexander C. Rutherford: Former Premier: Biographical Sketch No. 821," *Canadian Press*, 31 July 1939, p. 2; "Western Canada," *RRX: Rutherford Research*, [Internet], (Edmonton: RXX, a division of RSL, 1989–2006), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.rutherford-research.ca/rrx/westernCanada/westernCanada.php

[57] Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," p. 12; B. M. Greene, ed., *Who's Who in Canada Including The British Possessions in the Western Hemisphere: An Illustrated Biographical Record of Men and Women of the Time, 1930–31* (Toronto: International Press, 1931), s.v. "Rutherford, Hon. Alexander Cameron, B.A., B.C.L., K.C., LL.D.," p. 214; "Lieutenant Governor Extends Congratulations for Pioneer Couple on Golden Wedding Day," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 December 1938, p. 12.

[58] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, pp. 22, 134.

[59] Ibid., p. 27.

[60] Ibid., p. 48.

[61] Ibid.; John W. Chalmers, *One Hundred Years and Counting: A Century of Strathcona Baptist Church, 1895–1995* (Edmonton: Pioneer Press, 1994), p. 82.

[62] "Election Returns," *North-West Territories Gazette*, vol. 19, no. 14, 31 July 1902, p. 2; Magurn, ed., *CPG 1903*, p. 422.

[63] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 5th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XVII, 16 April 1903, p. 10.

[64] Ibid., 23 April 1903, p. 25.

[65] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 5th Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. XVIII, 16 November 1903, pp. 24–26.

[66] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 5th Legislature, 1st Session*, 17 April 1903, pp. 15–16.

[67] Ibid., 22 April 1903, p. 22. The drafted memorial was presented to the Legislative Assembly on April 24, 1903. North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 5th Legislature, 1st Session*, 24 April 1903, pp. 32–35; Ibid., Appendix, pp. 48–50.

[68] "Election Address," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 16 May 1902, p. 4.

[69] Canada. Parliament, "Return to an Address of the House of Commons, Dated 11th May, 1903. Presented 26th June 1903," *Sessional Papers, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session*, vol. 37, no. 116, 1903, pp. 7–25.

[70] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3; *Saskatchewan Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 42; Canada. Parliament, "Supplementary Return to no. 116. Presented 24th July, 1903," *Sessional Papers, 9th Parliament, 3rd Session*, vol. 37, no. 116a, 1903, pp. 4–5.

[71] L. G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), pp. 10–11.

[72] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 23; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 15, 19.

[73] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 15, 14, 19; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 23.

[74] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 18–19.

[75] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 23.

[76] "Provincial Convention Was Highly Successful," *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 7 August 1903, pp. 3, 6.

[77] "Rutherford Nominated," [Editorial], *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 30 August 1905, p. 2.

[78] Liberal Platform: Province of Alberta, Adopted August 3, 1905, [Pamphlet], [p. 1], Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 69.199, file 11/12.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 19–20.

[81] "Who Will Be Premier," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 22 June 1905, p. 1; MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta,* p. 495; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 18.

[82] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 27; [F. Fisher], Alberta Inaugural Celebration Committee, September 1st 1905, Edmonton, 21 July 1905, [Letter of Invitation], The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 2.

[83] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3.

[84] MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta*, pp. 494–495.

[85] Alexander C. Rutherford, "Three Years of Autonomy: 1905–1908," *Alberta History* vol. 53, no. 4 (Autumn 2005): pp. 8–9; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 27.

[86] "Alberta's Popular Premier," [Editorial], *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 6 September 1905, p. 2.

[87] "Mr. Rutherford at Medicine Hat," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 August 1905, p. 6.

[88] Ibid.

[89] "Grew with West: Interesting Sketches of the Premier and Attorney-General of Alberta Province," *Toronto News*, 12 September 1905, p. 2.

[90] Allan Kornberg, William Mishler and Harold D. Clarke, *Representative Democracy in the Canadian Provinces* (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1982), p. 208.

[91] "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 1, 31 October 1905, p. 3; "The First Provincial Cabinet," *Daily Edmonton Bulletin*, 6 September 1905, p. 1.

[92] Alexander C. Rutherford, President of the Council, 8 September 1905, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; "Portfolios Allotted: Three Appointments Made Yesterday," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 9 September 1905, p. 1. The *Alberta Gazette* has the notice of appointment to office dated September 9, 1905. "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette,* 31 October 1905, p. 3.

[93] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 10.

[94] "A Pleasant Campaign: Premier Rutherford's Views on Alberta," *Globe* (Toronto), 24 November 1905, p. 1.

[95] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 29.

[96] Ibid., pp. 26, 30–31.

[97] Ibid., p. 26; "Liberal Sweep in Alberta," *Globe* (Toronto), 10 November 1905, p. 1.

[98] Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000* (Regina: Saskatchewan Archives Board, 2001), pp. 1–15 to 1–20; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 19–20.

[99] Dorothy I. Hamilton, "[Dr. A. C. Rutherford Canadiana Collection]," *News from the Rare Book Room [Cameron Library, University of Alberta]* vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1965): p. 2.

[100] "First Alberta Legislature Opens," *Lethbridge Herald*, 15 March 1906, p. 1.

[101] "Alberta's First Legislature Was Opened Yesterday," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 16 March 1906, p. 1.

[102] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 1st Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. I, 15 March 1906, pp. 13–14.

[103] "Progress of the Legislature," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 17 March 1906, p. 1.

[104] *Strathcona Plaindealer*, 16 March 1906; quoted in Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 28.

[105] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3, s. 9.

[106] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 1st Legislature, 1st Session*, 25 April 1906, p. 64.

[107] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 12; Alexander Bruce Kilpatrick, "A Lesson in Boosterism: The Contest for the Alberta Provincial Capital, 1904–1906," *Urban History Review* vol. 8, no. 3 (February 1980): pp. 50–51, 55, 58.

[108] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 12, 38; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Population and Agriculture of the Northwest Provinces: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, 1906* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, King's Printer, 1907), pp. 66, 70.

[109] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 1st Legislature, 1st Session*, 25 April 1906, p. 64.

[110] Ibid., 25 April 1906, pp. 64–65.

[111] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3, s. 9.

[112] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 1st Legislature, 1st Session*, 15 March 1906, pp. 13–14; Aritha van Herk, *Mavericks: An Incorrigible History of Alberta* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 2002), p. 224.

[113] *An Act to Incorporate the City of Wetaskiwin*, S.A. 1906, c. 41; *The Medicine Hat Charter*, S.A. 1906, c. 63; *The Lethbridge Charter*, S.A. 1906, c. 64.

[114] *An Act to incorporate The Alberta Oil, Coal and Wheat Railway Company*, S.A. 1906, c. 48; *An Act to incorporate The Kootenay, Alberta and Athabasca Railway Company*, S.A. 1906, c. 49; *An Act to incorporate The Vermilion and Cold Lake Railway Company*, S.A. 1906, c. 50; *An Act to incorporate The Edmonton and Athabasca Railway Company*, S.A. 1906, c. 51; *An Act to incorporate The Alberta Southern Railway Company*, S.A. 1906, c. 52; *An Act to incorporate The Alberta North-Western Railway Company*, S.A. 1906, c. 53.

[115] *An Act to Regulate the Speed and Operation of Motor Vehicles on Highways*, S.A. 1906, c. 26.

[116] *The University Act*, S.A. 1906, c. 42.

[117] *Budget Speech Delivered by Hon. A. C. Rutherford, Prime Minister and Provincial Treasurer of Alberta, May 7, 1906* (Edmonton: Jas. E. Richards, Government Printer, 1906).

[118] *The Land Titles Act*, S.A. 1906, c. 24; *The Public Service Act*, S.A. 1906, c. 4.

[119] *The Dental Association Act*, S.A. 1906, c. 22; *The Medical Profession Act*, S.A. 1906, c. 28; *An Act to amend Chapter 4 of the Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 1902, intituled "An Ordinance respectin* [sic] *Public Health,"* S.A. 1906, c. 40.

[120] *The Municipal Telephone Act*, S.A. 1906, c. 31; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta,* pp. 40–41.

[121] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 52–53.

[122] "Edmonton Remains Capital of Alberta," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 26 April 1906, p. 1.

[123] Diana Lynn Bodnar, "The Prairie Legislative Buildings of Canada" (MA Thesis, University of Alberta, October 1979), p. 23.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid., p. 27.

[126] Frank Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature: A Celebration* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1987), p. 20.

[127] *A Brief History of Public Education in Alberta* (Edmonton: Alberta Teachers Association, 2002), p. 12.

[128] Ibid., pp. 9–15.

[129] E. M. Ord Marshall, Hon. Secretary, League of the Empire, Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, S.W., to Alexander C. Rutherford, June 1907, [Letter], Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 75.518.

[130] "Education in Alberta: Premier Rutherford Not Discouraged by His Visit," *Globe* (Toronto), 24 July 1907, p. 2.

[131] *The University Act*, S.A. 1906, c. 42.

[132] Henry Marshall Tory to Alexander C. Rutherford, 6 March 1906, [Letter], The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69–164, box 6, no. 8; R. W. Boyle, "Henry Marshall Tory," History Trails, *University of Alberta Alumni Association*, [Transcription], [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta Office of Alumni Affairs, October 1947), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.ualberta.ca/ALUMNI/history/peoplep-z/47OctTory.htm

[133] Henry Marshall Tory to Alexander C. Rutherford, 12 November 1906, [Letter], The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 8.

[134] Tory to Rutherford, 6 March 1906, [Letter].

[135] Ibid.; "Alberta University Bill Passes Second Reading," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 23 April 1906, p. 3.

[136] "Establishment of University Proudest Work," p. 13; Tory to Rutherford, 6 March 1906, [Letter].

[137] *The University Act*, S.A. 1906, c. 42, ss. 8, 43, 44.

[138] Wilfrid Laurier to Alexander C. Rutherford, 29 March 1907, [Letter], Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 3.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Walter H. Johns, *A History of the University of Alberta, 1908–1969* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981), p. 4; "Strathcona Gets University," *Calgary Herald*, 6 April 1907, p. 1.

[141] Johns, *A History of the University of Alberta, 1908–1969*, pp. 6–7; Alexander C. Rutherford to J. L. Whiting, Esq., K.C., 4 May 1907, [Letter], Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 3; Myles, "Alberta's Rutherford," [Internet].

[142] Rutherford to Whiting, 4 May 1907, [Letter].

[143] M. J. Macleod, Deputy Treasurer, to John L. Whiting, Esq. K.C., 14 June 1907, [Letter], Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 3; *The University of Alberta 1908–1983* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1982), p. 4; William Hardy Alexander, "In the Beginning," *Alberta Historical Review* vol. 8, no. 2 (Spring 1960): p. 17.

[144] University of Alberta, Annual Calendar of the University of Alberta, Strathcona, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Session 1908–1909, Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 2.

[145] John Galbraith, "The University Question," [Letter to the Editor], *Edmonton Bulletin*, 2 March 1906, p. 4.

[146] Henry Marshall Tory to Alexander C. Rutherford, 22 May 1908, [Letter], The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 8.

[147] Henry Marshall Tory to Alexander C. Rutherford, 14 April 1908, [Letter], The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 8; Martin J. Griffin, Library of Parliament, Ottawa, to Alexander C. Rutherford, 23 June 1909, [Letter], The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, Box 6, no. 4.

[148] Edmund Kemper Broadus, *Saturday and Sunday*, Essay Index Reprint (Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1935; reprint, Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1967), pp. 20–21.

[149] Ibid., p. 21.

[150] "University of Alberta Opens," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 23 September 1908, p. 1.

[151] "Establishment of University Proudest Work," p. 13.

[152] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 58.

[153] [Alexander C. Rutherford Address to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta: The Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company, Edmonton to Fort McMurray], [1909?], The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164.

[154] "Asphalt Deposits at Fort McMurray Compare with Any Other in World," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 7 November 1908, p. 1.

[155] "Alberta's Railway Policy," *Globe* (Toronto), 16 December 1908, p. 2; "Ministers Are Now in Ottawa," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 15 December 1908, p. 1.

[156] [Rutherford Address to the Assembly: The Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company], [1909?]; "To Promote Railway Construction," [Editorial], *Edmonton Bulletin*, 28 November 1908, p. 4; "Provincial Government Announces Railway Policy," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 24 November 1908, p. 1.

[157] "The Railway Policy," [Editorial], *Calgary Daily News*, 1 December 1908, p. 4.

[158] Liberal Platform: Province of Alberta, Adopted August 3, 1905, [Pamphlet]; van Herk, *Mavericks*, p. 225.

[159] "The Alberta Election," [Editorial], *Globe* (Toronto), 24 March 1909, p. 6.

[160] "Results in Alberta: Premier Rutherford's Triumph is Complete," *Globe* (Toronto), 24 March 1909, p. 2.

[161] "The Alberta Election," p. 6.

[162] Ibid.

[163] D. R. Babcock, "Autonomy and Alienation in Alberta: Premier A. C. Rutherford," *Prairie Forum* vol. 6, no. 2 (Fall 1981): pp. 123–124.

[164] [Agreement between The Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company and His Majesty the King, Represented herein by the Executive Government of the Province of Alberta and Acting by the President of the Council of the Said Province], 7 October 1909, The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 5; "Text of Agreement with the A. & G. W. Co.," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 19 February 1910, p. 5.

[165] Alexander C. Rutherford to Monetary Times, 23 November 1909, [Telegram], The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164.

[166] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. V, 25 February 1910, p. 39; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 72.

[167] "Railway that Wrecked a Government," *Globe* (Toronto), 10 March 1910, p. 1.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Ibid.

[170] "Ex-Minister of Public Works Presents Statement to House," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 26 February 1910, p. 1; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 25 February 1910, p. 36; Ibid., 17 February 1910, p. 22; "Resignation Laid before the House," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 18 February 1910, p. 1.

[171] "Minister of Public Works Presents Statement to House," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 26 February 1910, p. 1; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 17 February 1910, p. 22; William H. Cushing, Minister of Public Works, to Alexander C. Rutherford, 4 February 1910, [Letter], The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 8, no. 8.

[172] "Ex-Minister of Public Works Presents Statement," p. 1; "Mr. Cushing's Resignation Was Ignored when Railway Bargain Was Made," *Globe* (Toronto), 28 February 1910, p. 3.

[173] "Bennett Fiercely Arraigns Government on A. & G. W. Deal," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 3 March 1910, p. 1.

[174] Ibid., pp. 1, 5.

[175] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 60; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 70; Alberta. Royal Commission on the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company, *Report on the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company* (n.p.: 1910), p. 30.

[176] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 60.

[177] John Stocks, Deputy Minister, Dept. of Public Works, to Alexander C. Rutherford, 18 March 1910, [Memorandum], The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 4.

[178] Ibid.

[179] "Cross and Buchanan Have Resigned from Government," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 9 March 1910, p. 1.

[180] "Cushing Has His Cabinet All Framed," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 10 March 1910, p. 1; "The Province of Alberta Has No Government Today," *Globe* (Toronto), 10 March 1910, p. 1.

[181] "The Province of Alberta Has No Government Today," p. 1.

[182] "Mr. Rutherford Has Resigned," *Edmonton Capital*, 9 March 1910, p. 1.

[183] "Declines to Give Any Information," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 11 March 1910, p. 1.

[184] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 83–84; "Premier Rutherford to Resume Control," *Evening Journal* (Edmonton), 11 March 1910, p. 1.

[185] "Rutherford Still Steers the Ship," *Globe* (Toronto), 12 March 1910, p. 1; "Government to Remain in Office," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 12 March 1910, p. 1; "Premier Rutherford to Resume Control," p. 1.

[186] "No Sensational Developments," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 14 March 1910, p. 1.

[187] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 11 March 1910, pp. 66–67; "Rutherford Still Retains Control," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 10 March 1910, p. 1.

[188] "Premier Moves for Commission to Investigate Great Waterways," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 March 1910, p. 1.

[189] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 16 March 1910, pp. 74–75; "A Commission to Investigate," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 March 1910, p. 1.

[190] "Motion to Investigate: Premier Rutherford Still Holds Power in Alberta," *Globe* (Toronto), 16 March 1910, p. 7.

[191] "Unanimous Vote in Legislature," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 17 March 1910, p. 1; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 16 March 1910, pp. 74–75.

[192] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 18 March 1910, p. 80.

[193] "Unanimous Vote in Legislature," p. 1; "Adjournment Granted: Alberta Opposition Carry Their Point," *Globe* (Toronto), 19 March 1910, p. 2; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 19 March 1910, p. 88.

[194] "Rutherford's Reliable Railway Policy Has Interesting History," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 May 1910, p. 1.

[195] Alexander C. Rutherford to George H. V. Bulyea, Lieutenant Governor of Alberta, 26 May 1910, [Letter of Resignation], Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 70.257, file B15.

[196] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 26 May 1910, p. 89.

[197] Alberta. Royal Commission on the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company, *Report on the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company*, pp. 37–38.

[198] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 2nd Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. VIII; Babcock, "Autonomy and Alienation in Alberta," p. 125.

[199] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 75; "Legislature Re-Opens with Pomp and Circumstance," *Strathcona Plaindealer*, 11 November 1910, p. 1.

[200] [King's Counsel Parchment Appointing Alexander C. Rutherford], 19 March 1913, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 73.355; "Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 9, no. 6, 31 March 1913, p. 264.

[201] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 89.

[202] "Mrs. Rutherford Dies Here Friday," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 September 1940, p. 8.

[203] Letter from W. J. Blake, Executive Administrator, Elks of Canada, Regina, SK, 18 April 2005.

[204] MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta*, p. 495.

[205] B. M. Greene, ed., *Who's Who and Why 1921: An Illustrated Biographical Record of Men and Women of the Time* (Toronto: International Press, 1921), s.v. "Rutherford, Hon. Alexander Cameron, B.A., B.C.L., K.C., LL.D.," p. 979.

[206] John Blue, *Alberta Past and Present: Historical and Biographical*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924), p. 5.

[207] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 88.

[208] Greene, ed., *Who's Who and Why 1921*, s.v. "Rutherford, Hon. Alexander Cameron, B.A., B.C.L., K.C., LL.D.," p. 980; Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 5.

[209] Philip H. Morris, ed., *The Canadian Patriotic Fund: A Record of Its Activities from 1914–1919* (Ottawa: Canadian Patriotic Fund, 1920), pp. 51–52.

[210] Edmonton Board of Public Welfare, 1915–1925, [Meeting Minutes], City of Edmonton Archives, Edmonton, MS 213 C1F3-MS 213 C1F13.

[211] *The Mothers Allowance Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 6.

[212] Greene, ed., *Who's Who and Why 1921*, s.v. "Rutherford, Hon. Alexander Cameron, B.A., B.C.L., K.C., LL.D.," p. 980.

[213] Ibid., s.v. "Rutherford, Hon. Alexander Cameron," p. 980; *The Soldier Settlement Act, 1917*, S.C. 1917, c. 21; *The Soldier Settlement Act, 1919*, S.C. 1919, c. 71, ss. 64(1), 4(1).

[214] "Past Chancellors," About the Senate, *University of Alberta Senate*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta), accessed 12 February 2006, available from http://www.uofaweb.ualberta.ca/senate/index.cfm

[215] "Always Achnacarry," p. 25; Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," p. 10.

[216] Myles, "Alberta's Rutherford," [Internet].

[217] "Always Achnacarry," p. 27.

[218] Myles, "Alberta's Rutherford," [Internet]; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 106.

[219] "University Chancellor and His Wife Hosts at Reception to 200 Guests," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 December 1938, p. 12.

[220] "Always Achnacarry," p. 25; "Alexander Cameron Rutherford: 1858–1941," p. 29.

[221] "Always Achnacarry," p. 27.

[222] Ibid.

[223] Babcock, "Autonomy and Alienation in Alberta," p. 122.

[224] Alexander C. Rutherford to Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona, 3 December 1907, [Letter], Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 4

[225] Lomer Gouin, Office of the Prime Minister, Province of Quebec, to Alexander C. Rutherford, 8 February 1910, [Letter], The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 4.

[226] Alexander C. Rutherford to J. P. Robertson, Esq., Legislative Library, Winnipeg, MB, 7 May 1910, [Letter], Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 4.

[227] Alexander C. Rutherford to Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona, 3 December 1909, [Letter], Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 4; Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona, to Alexander C. Rutherford, 1 March 1910, [Letter], Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 6, no. 4.

[228] Johns, *A History of the University of Alberta, 1908–1969*, p. 229; *The University of Alberta 1908–1983*, p. 67.

[229] Hamilton, "[Dr. A. C. Rutherford Canadiana Collection]," p. 4.

[230] Ibid., p. 5; E-mail from Jeannine Greene, Special Collections Librarian, Bruce Peel Special Collections Library, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 21 March 2005.

[231] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona,* p. 131.

[232] "McMaster University Honorary Degree Recipients: 1892–Present," *Office of Public Relations*, [Internet], (Hamilton, ON: McMaster University), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.mcmaster.ca/ua/opr/nms/newsreleases/2005/hondocs.html

[233] Letter from Marnee Gamble, Special Media Archivist, University of Toronto Archives, 14 February 2005.

[234] "Anniversary at Woodstock: Baptist College Has Passed the Half Century," *Globe* (Toronto), 19 October 1907, p. 2.

[235] University of Alberta. Office of the Registrar and Students Awards, "Honorary Degree Recipients," *2006–2007 University of Alberta Calendar*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2006), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.registrar.ualberta.ca/calendar/University-Staff/Honorary-Degree-Recipients/243.html

[236] [Honourary Doctor of Laws, McGill University], 14 October 1931, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 73.355.

[237] Marshall to Rutherford, June 1907, [Letter]; League of the Empire, 1907, [Meeting Minutes], Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 75.518/20, box 1.

[238] Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," p. 11.

[239] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 132.

[240] Greene, ed., *Who's Who in Canada 1930–31*, s.v. Rutherford, Hon. Alexander Cameron, B.A., B.C.L., K.C., LL.D.," p. 214; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 89; Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 6.

[241] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 89.

[242] [Militia Templi Parchment, Alexander Cameron Rutherford Inducted a Knight of Malta], 11 November 1919, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 73.355.

[243] "Department of the Secretary of State," *Canada Gazette*, vol. 68, no. 44, 4 May 1935, p. 50; "Chancellor Dies: Dr. Rutherford Passes in City Aged 84 Years," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 June 1941, p. 6.

[244] "Alexander C. Rutherford: Former Premier: Biographical Sketch No. 821," Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 141.

[245] Hamilton, "[Dr. A. C. Rutherford Canadiana Collection]," p. 3.

[246] Greene, ed., *Who's Who in Canada 1930–31,* s.v. Rutherford, Hon. Alexander Cameron, B.A., B.C.L., K.C., LL.D.," p. 214; "Alexander C. Rutherford: Former Premier: Biographical Sketch No. 821," p. 1.

[247] "Alexander C. Rutherford: Former Premier: Biographical Sketch No. 821," p. 1.

[248] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, pp. 10, 20.

[249] "Strathcona Hockey Club," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 9 October 1905, p. 8.

[250] [Report of the Annual Meeting of the Alberta Amateur Hockey Association], 22 November 1909, The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 1.

[251] Marzolf, "Alexander Cameron Rutherford and His Influence," p. 12.

[252] M. A. Kostek, *A Century and Ten: The History of Edmonton Public Schools* (Edmonton: Edmonton Public Schools, 1992), p. 105; "New Rutherford School Ready by First of 1911," *Strathcona Plaindealer*, 11 November 1910, p. 1.

[253] E-mail from Darlene Pruden, Education Manager, Governance and Program Delivery, Alberta Learning, Edmonton, 6 October 2003.

[254] Edmund Kemper Broadus and Eleanor Hammond Broadus, eds., *A Book of Canadian Prose and Verse* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1923), Preface, p. ix, Dedication.

[255] "Department of Economic Affairs: Geographical Names Act," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 50, no. 23, 15 December 1954, p. 2026; Alberta. Dept. of Economic Affairs, *Tenth Annual Report of the Department of Economic Affairs of the Province of Alberta, 1954* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1955), Appendix, p. 2; Aphrodite Karamitsanis, ed., *Mountains, Mountain Parks and Foothills* vol. 1, *Place Names of Alberta* (Edmonton: Alberta Community Development, Friends of Geographical Names of Alberta Society and University of Calgary Press, 1991), s.v. "Rutherford, Mount."

[256] Edmonton Historical Board. Heritage Sites Committee, *Naming Edmonton: From Ada to Zoie* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004), p. 280.

[257] Ibid.

[258] Ibid., p. 279.

[259] Alberta. Students Finance Board. Alberta Heritage Scholarship Fund, *Alexander Rutherford Scholarships for High School Achievement* (Edmonton: Alberta Students Finance Board, 1981).

[260] "Osgoode-Born Politician Honored," *Ottawa Citizen*, 21 November 1985, p. D3; "Alexander Cameron Rutherford 1857 – 1941," Programs: Plaques & Markers: Online Plaque Guide, *Ontario Heritage Foundation*, [Internet], (Queen's Printer for Ontario, 2004), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.heritagefdn.on.ca/userfiles/HTML/nts_1_6822_1.html; "Plaque Unveiled in Vernon Honoring Alberta Premier," *Winchester Press* [1985], [p. ?].

[261] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; *Welcome to The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

[262] Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 104.

[263] "Mrs. Rutherford Dies Here Friday," p. 8.

[264] Ibid.

[265] "Always Achnacarry," p. 27; Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona*, p. 104.

[266] "First Alberta Premier Dies," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 June 1941, p. 1.

[267] "Chancellor Dies," p. 6.

[268] "First Alberta Premier Dies," p. 1.

[269] "Last Rites for Dr. Rutherford Held on Friday," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 13 June 1941, p. 1.

[270] Ibid.

[271] Ibid.

[272] Ibid., p. 27.

[273] Ibid., p. 1; "Officials Attend Funeral Service," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 June 1941, p. 3.

[274] "Mrs. Rutherford Dies Here Friday," p. 8.

[275] "Alberta's Popular Premier," p. 2.

[276] "First Alberta Premier Dies," p. 8; "Chancellor Dies," p. 6.

[277] "First Alberta Premier Dies," p. 8.

[278] "Chancellor Dies," p. 6.

[279] "Officials Attend Funeral Service," p. 3.

*A very able colleague and a man of rare intellectual strength. His command of affairs and a decisive capacity were exceptional, his knowledge and estimate of men equally remarkable*

# Sifton 1910–1917

# ARTHUR LEWIS WATKINS SIFTON

Arthur Lewis Watkins Sifton was appointed as the second Premier of Alberta by Lieutenant Governor George H. V. Bulyea (1905–1915) immediately following the resignation of Premier Alexander C. Rutherford (1905–1910) on May 26, 1910.[1] At the time of his appointment, Sifton was serving as Alberta's first Chief Justice. Considered 'firm, stoical and politically astute,'[2] Sifton was well-positioned to renew the confidence of Albertans, which had been diminished by the Alberta and Great Waterways (A&GW) Railway issue. Significantly, he had no connection to the railway controversy, which had been the predominant issue during the final days of Rutherford's premiership. The prevailing themes of Sifton's term in office were compromise and progress—compromise in the resolution of outstanding A&GW issues and progress in social policy. Premier Sifton's seven-year term coincided in part with the tenures of Lieutenant Governors George H. V. Bulyea and Robert G. Brett (1915–1925). At the time of his appointment to the premiership, Sifton was 51 years of age.

## Family History

Arthur Lewis Watkins Sifton was born on October 26, 1858[3] on the family farm near the village of St. Johns (now Arva), Middlesex County, Canada West (Ontario).[4] Arthur was the second of the three surviving children* of John Wright Sifton (1833–1912[5]) and Catherine 'Kate' Watkins (1832–1909[6]).[7] John W. Sifton was born in London Township, Upper Canada (Ontario), the son of Bamlet Ellis Sifton (1793–1876), a farmer, and his wife, Mary Evans. Bamlet and Mary Sifton emigrated from Clonmel, County Tipperary, Ireland, in 1832 to join other members of Bamlet's family in London Township.[8] The Siftons were Wesleyan Methodists.[9]

Kate, the daughter of James Watkins, a farmer in Deleware Township, Middlesex County, had emigrated with her family from King's County, Ireland, as a young woman, in 1850.[10] On October 1, 1853, John Wright Sifton married Kate Watkins[11] and established a dynamic home environment, stemming from John's varied experience in farming, railway, banking, telegraph and petroleum ventures[12] as well as from his dedication to the temperance movement.[13] A Liberal in politics, John Sifton served for four years on the County Council of Lambton, Ontario, before relocating his family to Manitoba, in 1875,[14] where he was appointed a justice of the peace.[15] Winning a seat in the Manitoba general election of December 18, 1878, Sifton entered the Legislative Assembly as the Member for St. Clements and was elected Speaker when the Legislative Assembly met in 1879. He lost his seat in the general election later that year.[16] On

---

* Kate and John Wright Sifton had five children, two of whom, a son and a daughter, died in infancy. The three who survived into adulthood were Sophia (b. ca. 1857, d. 1892), Arthur Lewis Watkins (1858–1921) and Clifford (1861–1929). Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, John W. Sifton Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 16, Brant North, sub-district c-1, Town of Paris, schedule 1, pp. 44–45, household 183, microfilm C-9916, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, John W. Sifton Household, 1881 Canadian Census, Manitoba, district no. 183, Selkirk, sub-district a, Assiniboia, schedule 1, household 21, microfilm C-13282, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; D. J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton*, vol. 1, *The Young Napoleon 1861-1900* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981), p. 6.

MAKE SESSION HISTORIC

October 26, 1881, he was elected in a by-election to the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba as the Member for Brandon.[17] John Sifton was subsequently unsuccessful in the provincial general elections of 1883 and 1886 as a candidate in the constituency of West Brandon.[18] By 1902, he had become vice-president, and later president, of the Manitoba Free Press Company, holding the latter position until his death on September 19, 1912.[19]

Of John and Kate Sifton's two sons, Arthur was reputed to be the more extroverted.[20] Both Arthur and Clifford followed their father's example and became involved in church activities and in the temperance movement, and both held executive posts with the Independent Order of Good Templars while residing in Selkirk, Manitoba.[21]

Clifford Sifton was a prominent public servant, both in Manitoba and federally. He served as Manitoba's Attorney General and Minister of Education (1891–1896) and was the Liberal Member of Parliament for Brandon, from 1896 to 1911. In addition, he served in the Cabinet of Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1896–1911) as Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, from 1896 to 1905.[22] As Minister of the Interior, Sifton played an important role in the negotiations regarding the granting of responsible government to the North-West Territories in 1897.[23] He resigned from his Cabinet position in 1905 following a disagreement over the so-called 'schools clause,' which formed a part of the legislation that created the new Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Clifford Sifton* continued to serve in the House of Commons as a Private Member until 1911, at which time he strongly disagreed with his former Cabinet colleagues with respect to their support in the 1911 federal general election of reciprocity (free trade) with the United States. He decided not to run again for office.[24]

## Education

Arthur Sifton was educated at public school in London and, with Clifford, at the Dundas Wesleyan Institute, at Dundas, Ontario, subsequently returning to London to attend high school.[25] Arthur went on to attend Wesley College in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and in 1880, he earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from Victoria College,† located in Cobourg, Ontario, which, like Wesley College, was a Methodist institution.[26] Sifton was also granted a Master of Arts (1888) degree by Victoria University, and earned a Bachelor of Laws (1888) from the University of Toronto.[27]

---

* Clifford was knighted by King George V on January 1, 1915. David J. Hall, "Sifton, Sir Clifford," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, vol. 15, [Internet], (Toronto: University of Toronto Press/Library and Archives Canada, 2004), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.biographi.ca; Canada. Library of Parliament, "Sifton, The Hon. Sir Clifford, P.C.," House of Commons – Historical Information, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp

† Victoria College became known as Victoria University in 1884, when it federated with Albert College. "The Cobourg Years," About Vic: History of Victoria University, *Victoria University in the University of Toronto*, [Internet], (2004), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.vicu.utoronto.ca/English/The-Cobourg-Years.html. In 1890, the *University Act* was proclaimed, providing for the federation of Victoria University with the University of Toronto. *An Act respecting the Federation of the University of Toronto and University College with other Universities and Colleges*, S.O. 1887, c. 43. Victoria University conferred its last degrees in 1892. C. B. Sissons, *A History of Victoria University* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), pp. 190, 203–204.

## Marriage and Family

On September 20, 1882, in Cobourg, Arthur Lewis Watkins Sifton married Mary Horsman Deering (1861–1939)[28] in a service presided over by Methodist Minister Nathanael Burwash.[*][29] Mary was the youngest of the four children[†] of boot and shoe manufacturer[30] William Deering and his wife Margaret, both of Cobourg.[31] Mary's parents were born in Ireland.[32] Arthur and Mary Sifton had two children: Nellie Louise (b. 1883)[33] [George Clark Dennis;[34] Walter Roger T. Kenny[‡][35]] and Lewis Raymond St. Clair (1898).[36] The Siftons were members of the Methodist Church.[37]

## Early Career

The Sifton brothers articled in Winnipeg: Arthur with local lawyer Albert Monkman,[§][38] and Clifford with temperance-supporter and Reform politician Samuel C. Biggs.[39] Arthur Sifton relocated to Brandon in the early 1880s to help establish a branch of Monkman's law practice in the burgeoning prairie town.[40] Arthur Sifton was appointed a commissioner for oaths in 1882,[41] and was admitted to the Bar of Manitoba in 1883.[42] During his time in Brandon, Sifton engaged in real estate speculation, assisted in the launch of a loans company and became a partner in Clifford's law practice.[43] In 1885, Arthur Sifton moved to Prince Albert, North-West Territories

---

[*] Burwash was a prominent teacher, educator and minister. He began teaching at Victoria College in 1866, became a professor in 1871 and was appointed dean of the newly created Faculty of Theology in 1873. He became Chancellor and president of Victoria University in 1887, overseeing its amalgamation with the University of Toronto in 1890. Neil Semple, "Burwash, Nathanael," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Year 2000 ed., ed. James H. Marsh (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999), p. 330.

[†] Jennie (b. ca. 1850), Henry (ca. 1852), William A. (ca. 1857) and Mary (1861–1939). Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Deering Household, 1881 Census of Canada, district no. 124, County of Northumberland West, sub-district d-1, Town of Cobourg, schedule 1, p. 15, household 64, microfilm C-13240, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Deering Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 54, County of Northumberland West, sub-district b-2, Town of Cobourg, schedule 1, p. 32, household 126, microfilm C-9983, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada.

[‡] Air Vice Marshal Walter Kenny of the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) was a recipient of the Distinguished Flying Cross (DFC), presented for valour, courage or devotion to duty while engaged in active flying operations against a war-time enemy. "Orders and Decorations: Distinguished Flying Cross," Records and Collections, *V.A.C. Canada Remembers*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Veterans Affairs Canada, 2001), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=collections/cmdp/mainmenu/group01/dfc. Kenny died on April 11, 1944, and is buried in the Sifton family plot at Ottawa's Beechwood Cemetery together with his wife, Nellie Louise Sifton Kenny (d. 1972). Gene Alfred Lotz, "Decorated Casualties: Decorations Presented during World War II," *The Masonic War Dead from the Twentieth Century*, [Internet], (Windsor, ON: E-M@son, 2000), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://freemasonry.org/OntWarMemorial/world_war_ii.htm; E-mail from Jody Graham, Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa, 9 December 2004.

[§] In his application to the Law Society of Manitoba, Sifton noted that he "particularly studied the following branches of law, that is to say, the law of Real Property and the Common Law." Correspondence with Law Society of Manitoba, Legal Judicial History Fond, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, P 1328.

SUFFRAGE BILLS
MAKE SESSION HISTORIC

(Saskatchewan), and the Sifton and Sifton law partnership was dissolved.[44] Arthur was appointed a notary public in 1885[45] and, in 1886, was admitted to the Bar of the North-West Territories.[46] Three years later, Sifton considered moving to the United States, and was admitted to the Bar of California.[47] However, he decided to remain in Canada and by 1901, was a partner in the firm of Sifton, Short and Stuart in Calgary, North-West Territories (Alberta), often acting as Crown Prosecutor.[48] Sifton was appointed King's Counsel (KC) in 1902.[49]

## Political Career

In June 1882, Arthur Sifton was elected to the first City Council of Brandon, serving as an alderman in 1883 and 1884.[50] In 1889, after spending time in other parts of the North-West Territories, he and his wife settled in Calgary, where he again practised law.[51] In 1898, Sifton decided to re-enter politics, running in the Territorial general election in the constituency of Banff against Dr. Robert G. Brett.*[52] Sifton won the seat by a small margin.[53] However, Brett chose to contest the result on the ground of 'irregularities' under section 106 of "The Territories Elections Ordinance."[54] Justice Charles B. Rouleau of the Supreme Court of the North-West Territories, jurisdiction of Northern Alberta, Calgary (1887–1901), found in favour of Brett, and Brett was deemed to have prevailed by two votes. Sifton in turn appealed the decision under "The Controverted Elections Ordinance."[55] As a result of Sifton's appeal, a by-election was held on June 27, 1899; Sifton won the seat with a decided majority, and Brett's career as a Member of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories came to an end.[56]

Sifton was re-elected in a 1901 by-election and in the 1902 general election.[57] His participation in the by-election was necessitated by the fact that he was appointed to the Executive Council of the North-West Territories.†[58] Sifton succeeded James H. Ross‡ in the portfolios of Commissioner of Public Works and Treasurer, and served in these roles from March 1901 to January 1903.[59]

The leading concerns of the late 1890s and the early 1900s in the North-West Territories were the closely connected issues of autonomy and Territorial finance. Having detailed knowledge of the Territories' finances, Territorial Treasurer Sifton supported the requests of Premier Frederick

---

* Brett was later to serve as the second Lieutenant Governor of Alberta.

† Section 9 of *The North-West Territories Act* of 1897 states that a Member of the Legislative Assembly may hold "any office, commission or employment to which an annual salary from the Crown is attached … [p]rovided he is elected while holding such office … ." Consequently, a Member who was appointed to the Executive Council had to be re-elected in a by-election so as to comply with the Act. *An Act further to amend the Acts respecting the North-west Territories*, S.C. 1897, c. 28, s. 9. This legislation was in force in Alberta until 1909, at which time the first statute dealing with the Legislative Assembly of Alberta was passed. This stipulation was also incorporated into this Act and was in effect in Alberta until 1926. *An Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, S.A. 1909, c. 2, s. 16. *The Legislative Assembly Act Amendment Act, 1926* was assented to on April 8, 1926. The Act amended the *Legislative Assembly Act of 1922* by removing the provision that stated that if a Member became a member of the Executive Council, then the Member was required to go back to the electorate. *Legislative Assembly Act Amendment Act, 1926,* S.A. 1926, c. 3, s. 6; *The Legislative Assembly Act*, R.S.A. 1922, c. 3, s. 17.

‡ Ross had served as the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories (1891–1892, 1892–1894).

W. A. G. Haultain (1897–1905) for increases to the parliamentary appropriation, on which the Territories depended for the majority of its funding.[60] In June 1901, Sifton was concerned about having to present a deficit budget and urged the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories to "press upon the Dominion Government the necessity of a radical change."[61] In October 1901, Sifton and Haultain were involved in negotiations for provincial status with members of the Cabinet of Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier, including Minister of the Interior Clifford Sifton. Arthur Sifton, Haultain and the other members of the Executive Council believed autonomy to be the means through which stable and consistent public funding for the North-West Territories could be attained.[62] According to an historian of the autonomy movement in the North-West Territories, "the people of the Territories were ready for complete self-government. Their legislature had largely exhausted all its powers in an effort to keep up the growth and development of the country ..."[63]

Arthur Sifton resigned as a Member of the Territorial Assembly when he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the North-West Territories on January 3, 1903.[64] On September 16, 1907,[65] Sifton became the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Alberta, in which post he maintained a "type of steadfastness throughout his career" and in which "he openly declared his intention of discouraging cattle rustlers" by handing down stiff sentences.[66] Chief Justice Sifton resigned from the bench upon his appointment to the Office of Premier in 1910.[67]

## As Premier

May 26, 1910 was an eventful day in the short history of the Province of Alberta. That day, Alberta's first Premier, Alexander C. Rutherford, resigned, having lost the support of the governing Liberal caucus in the aftermath of the Alberta and Great Waterways (A&GW) Railway Company controversy,*[68] and Arthur L. W. Sifton, who had resigned from the bench the previous day,[69] was sworn in as Premier hours later.†[70] Lieutenant Governor George H. V. Bulyea

---

* The A&GW Railway was to link Edmonton with the Fort McMurray region. The provincial government subsidized its construction and offered bonds to private investors at more than favourable rates as incentives to build the railway lines. Questions began to be raised about the ability of the A&GW Company to construct the railway lines to acceptable standards and about the pecuniary interests involved. The crisis led to deep divisions within the governing caucus and to the resignation of Premier Rutherford. D. R. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona* (Calgary: Friends of Rutherford House and University of Calgary Press, 1989), pp. 57–63.

† While serving as Premier, Arthur Sifton also held the portfolios of Provincial Treasurer (1910–1912, 1913); Minister of Public Works (1910–1912); and Minister of Railways and Telephones (1911–1917). During his term in office, Sifton was a member of the *Special Committee of the Legislative Assembly to consider The Medical Profession Act* (1910). He also served on the following Select Standing Committees: *Agriculture and Colonization* (1915–1917); *Legal Bills* (1910–1917); *Municipal Law* (1911–1912); *Privileges and Elections* (1910–1911); *Printing* (1911–1912); *Public Accounts* (1910–1912); and *Railways* (1910–1913, 1915–1917).

supported Sifton as the best candidate for the role.*[71] Recognizing the need for an individual unconnected with the Rutherford Government or the A&GW controversy,[72] Bulyea first had to "win over … sufficient support from the Liberal caucus in the assembly."[73] However, despite the Lieutenant Governor's convictions, there were some practical impediments to Sifton's appointment to the premiership. The Chief Justice was not a Member of the Legislative Assembly nor the leader of the Liberal Party. Given the circumstances, it was with more hope than confidence that the *Vegreville Observer* introduced the new Premier to its readership: "[T]he Sifton family has shown marked talent and ability in administrative affairs, and the talent and ability of the Hon. A. Sifton will be taxed to the utmost in the present state of political matters in Alberta."[74]

Because of the difficulties of his new position, Sifton would benefit from the fact that Lieutenant Governor Bulyea prorogued the Legislature the same day on which Rutherford's resignation and the Premier's appointment were announced in the Legislative Assembly. In the spring of 1910, Premier Sifton set about the process of forming a new Government, and on June 1, 1910, he announced his Cabinet.[75] He himself served as Provincial Treasurer and Minister of Public Works; Charles R. Mitchell, like Sifton recruited from the bench,[76] was Attorney General and Minister of Education; Archibald J. McLean was Provincial Secretary; and Duncan M. Marshall served as Minister of Agriculture.[77] Sifton soon thereafter successfully contested the June 29, 1910 by-election and was elected to the Legislative Assembly as the Member for the constituency of Vermilion.[78]

During the Second Session of the Second Legislature—Sifton's first as Premier—the issue of the ownership of natural resources became prominent in the proceedings. The question came up when Member for Alexandra Alwyn Bramley-Moore moved a resolution stating that the Government should spearhead the effort to "acquire the control of all such natural resources as are of purely local concern" because the "development of the Northern Districts of our province entails serious financial and other obligations."[79] The new Premier was fully aware of the issue. Sifton informed the Legislative Assembly that his Government had already opened such negotiations as were mentioned in the resolution and urged Bramley-Moore to withdraw the motion. The motion was eventually amended to reflect the Assembly's approval for the Government's approach to the question.†[80]

---

* Lieutenant Governor Bulyea played a pivotal role in the transition from Rutherford to Sifton. Firstly, he attempted to encourage the government caucus, deeply divided over the railway controversy, to reach a compromise. John T. Saywell, *The Office of Lieutenant-Governor: A Study in Canadian Government and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957; reprint, Copp Clark Pitman 1986), p. 102. Unable to resolve the conflict, Bulyea next accepted Rutherford's resignation and, passing over the candidates of two rival factions in the Liberal caucus, appointed Sifton to the post. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. V, 26 May 1910, p. 89; Ernest Watkins, *The Golden Province: Political Alberta* (Calgary: Sandstone Publishing, 1980), pp. 43–44. Finally, Bulyea prorogued the Legislature, a decisive action that gave the new Premier time "to defuse the crisis and prevent an open split in the [Liberal] party." Watkins, *The Golden Province*, p. 41.

† The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 indefinitely delayed the Sifton Government's plans to engage in negotiations with the Dominion Government on this matter. It was not until 1930 that Alberta gained control over the natural resources of the Province. *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21.

The settlement of outstanding issues related to the construction of the A&GW Railway also engaged the new Government during the Second Session, which had opened on November 10, 1910.[81] Work on the A&GW project had been suspended earlier that year, in March 1910, with the Rutherford administration's appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate the railway question. It was determined that the project would be delayed until the Royal Commission on the A&GW Railway Company produced its final report.[82] When the report was released in August,* the issue facing the Sifton Government was whether it should proceed with building railroads in the province's north or abandon plans for railway development in that region and instead allot funds already raised to other projects.[83] In late November, the Government announced its plans to abolish the A&GW Railway Company.[84] The Sifton Government introduced legislation† in response to the default of the A&GW Company on its loans and the consequent need for the Province to pay its first interest instalment, requiring that the proceeds and interest generated by the sale of Government bonds for the benefit of the A&GW Railway must be immediately turned over to the provincial treasury.[85]

Once the Act was granted Royal Assent on December 16, 1910,[86] Sifton's Government served the Royal Bank of Canada‡ and other banks with notice to comply with the Government's requests for funds.[87] The Royal Bank declined and subsequently found itself the defendant in *R. v. Royal Bank*.[88] In November 1911, Justice John D. R. Stuart of the Supreme Court of Alberta ruled in favour of the Province,[89] a decision upheld on appeal in April 1912.[90] The effect of this protracted civil litigation was that railway planning stalled; as long as "the future of bondholders' money was under consideration, it was extremely difficult for the Sifton government to adopt any realistic railway policies."[91]

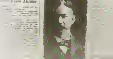
In January 1912, the federal Minister of Justice, on hearing a separate appeal launched by the A&GW Company, also ruled for the Province.[92] This decision was significant because it determined that the Act in question was a 'purely provincial concern.'[93] It also meant that the threat of disallowance of the legislation by the Dominion Government was dispelled, at least for the present time, and that the Government of Alberta could proceed with its railway policies.[94] Premier Sifton responded, in January 1912, in the Third Session of the Second Legislature, by moving that the Assembly consider granting loan guarantees to a number of new rail lines, including one to the Peace River country and one to Fort McMurray.[95] Shortly thereafter, the Sifton Government devised and proposed its new railway policies, and the associated legislation was passed in the Legislative Assembly.[96]

---

* The report of the Royal Commission was tabled in the House on November 10, 1910. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 2nd Session, 2nd Legislatur*e, vol. VI, 10 November 1910, p. 11.

† The full title of the Act is *An Act respecting the Bonds Guaranteed for the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company, being an Act to specify certain defaults of the Railway and the consequent rights of the Province*, S.A. 1910, c. 9.

‡ The amount requested from the Royal Bank was more than six million dollars. *R. v. Royal Bank*, [1913] C.R.A.C. 77, 3 W.W.R. 994, 9 D.L.R. 337 (J.C.P.C.).



Litigation regarding the A&GW Railway was finally resolved in early 1913, more than two years after it had begun. The Royal Bank had appealed the decision of the Supreme Court of Alberta to Canada's highest court, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (JCPC).*[97] On January 31, 1913, the JCPC declared the Sifton administration's legislation *ultra vires.*† The ruling determined that the Government of Alberta interfered with the right of the Dominion Government to control banking.[98] But despite the damaging effect of the decision on the Sifton administration in terms of its not being able to extricate millions of dollars in proceeds from the sale of A&GW bonds,[99] the Government could take satisfaction in the fact that it had recently developed its own railway policy. These new and popular measures would serve the Sifton Government well given an impending provincial general election.[100]

Members of Second Legislature; Premier A.L.W. Sifton fifth from left, in front row (ca. 1913).

On September 3, 1912, Premier Arthur L. W. Sifton served as a host at a number of the celebrations in honour of the opening the new Legislature Building.‡ In the afternoon, after attending a luncheon hosted by Lieutenant Governor George H. V. Bulyea, the Duke of Connaught, Governor General of Canada (1911–1916), presided over the opening of the Legislature Building. During the ceremonies, Premier Sifton welcomed the Governor General and pledged Albertans' loyalty to the King.§[101] The Governor General was then invited to use a ceremonial key, made of locally mined gold, to open the front doors to the building.[102] A royal ball followed the dedication ceremonies, during which the Premier toasted the Governor General's health.[103] In 1913, Sifton was the first to occupy the Legislature Building's third floor Premier's office.[104]

---

* The Supreme Court of Canada was created in 1875. However, it was not the last resort for litigants in Canada until 1933 for criminal cases and 1949 for civil cases. Until these changes came into effect, the last court of appeal for Canadian cases was the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the United Kingdom. Canada. Supreme Court, *The Supreme Court of Canada* (Ottawa: The Court, 1991), p. 3; *An Act to establish a Supreme Court, and a Court of Exchequer, for the Dominion of Canada*, S.C. 1875, c. 11.

† The legal term *ultra vires* means 'beyond the powers.' For more information, see the Glossary.

‡ At the time of the official opening, construction of the Legislature Building had not been entirely completed. The central portion of the Building, containing the main entrance, rotunda, dining room, Library and Assembly Chamber, and the east wing, containing some government offices, were mostly finished. Construction on the Building was not completed until 1913, although the Legislative Assembly had been meeting in the Chamber since November 1911. Frank Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature: A Celebration* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1987), pp. 22–23.

§ There are ambiguities in the different accounts of this speech. What is known is that a Loyal Address to the King was made, after which the Duke was invited to open the Legislature Building on behalf of his nephew the King. There are inconsistencies amongst the various reports as to who delivered the Loyal Address and invitation. Printed copies of the Loyal Address include the invitation as part of the Address, leading to the conclusion that one person did both. "Governor General Reaches Edmonton: Facsimile of Government Address to the Governor General," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 September 1912, p. 2. Some accounts suggest that Speaker Charles W. Fisher (1906–1919) read both the Address and the invitation. "Royal Visitors in City Today," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, A.M. ed., 3 September 1912, p. 1; "Magnificent Pile Formally Opened by H. R. H. the Duke," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 4 September 1912, p. 2. Other newspaper accounts imply that Premier Sifton read both the Address and the invitation. "Duke Opened New Alberta Buildings," *Globe* (Toronto), 5 September 1912, p. 11.

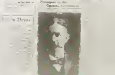
Although the resolution of the railway question was a major preoccupation of the Sifton administration, especially in light of the impending election, other important issues engaged the Government during the first few years of Sifton's premiership. Amongst the most prominent were those dealing with the interests and concerns of Alberta farmers. In fact, the Fourth Session of the Second Legislature was dubbed a 'farmers' session' because much of the legislation enacted was geared towards the interests of agriculturalists.[105] One example was *The Agricultural Schools Act*, which made possible the establishment of agricultural schools in the province at Olds, Vermilion and Claresholm, each having an affiliation with demonstration farms to aid students in learning the practice and techniques of agriculture.[106] The Assembly passed *The Farm Machinery Act*, by which farmers were to be protected from unfair contracts in the purchase of their machinery,[107] while *The Co-Operative Associations Act* was enacted to provide for the organization, and definition of the duties, obligations, privileges and liabilities, of co-operative organizations.[108] *An Act to Incorporate the Alberta Farmers Co-operative Elevator Company, Limited* was certainly the most significant farmers' legislative initiative because it enabled the more systematic marketing of grain through infrastructure such as government-owned grain elevators.[*][109] Public ownership of grain elevators was an important measure that had been advanced by the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA),[†] the official organization of Alberta farmers which, in a province whose economy was dominated by agriculture, was growing in stature and influence.[110] Indeed, the incorporation of the Alberta's Farmers' Co-operative Elevator Company, Limited "marked the growing influence of the organized farmers on the policies of the provincial government."[111]

The Sifton Government's proposal of direct democracy legislation was also a result of the UFA's influence.[112] A proposal for legislation on recall and referendums was put forth during the UFA convention of January 1913. The Sifton administration responded months later by proposing similar legislation, and on March 25, *The Direct Legislation Act* received Royal Assent. The Act stipulated that a referendum on the approval of new legislation could be called if the coming into force of the legislation had been deferred for 90 days after the close of Session and if, during that period, a petition were advanced that was approved by a number of electors equal to not less than 10 per cent of the votes cast in the most recent election, with at least 85 per cent of constituencies having petitioners in the amount of at least eight per cent of the votes cast therein.[113] The Act further stipulated that a petition signed by a number of electors equal to not less than 20 per cent of the votes cast in the most recent election, with at least 85 per cent of

---

[*] This legislation was introduced by Charles Stewart, who became Alberta's third Premier (1917–1921).

[†] The UFA was the result of a coming together, in 1909, of the Canadian Society for Equity and the Alberta Farmers' Association to promote the interests of Alberta's farmers to the provincial government. It evolved into a political movement and formed administrations in Alberta from 1921 to 1935. Tom Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta: A Movement, a Government* (Edmonton: Crang Publishing, 1989), pp. 1–3; William Kirby Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), pp. 31–32.



constituencies having petitioners in the amount of at least eight per cent of the votes cast therein, could propose an Act that would then need to be either enacted in the Legislative Assembly or submitted to a vote of the electorate.[114] The Act limited legislative proposals to those that did not provide "for any grant or charge upon the public revenue or which is not certified by the Attorney General as being in his opinion within the legislative jurisdiction of the Legislature of Alberta."[115]

Late in the Session, *An Act to Amend the Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* was passed, increasing the number of seats in the Legislative Assembly from 41 to 56.[116] The Act added one seat each to Edmonton and Calgary. It created eight new electoral districts* north of Red Deer and eight in the south of the province, located mostly in the newly opened farming areas in the southeast.[117] Despite considerable opposition, the Act received Royal Assent on March 25, in time for the upcoming provincial general election.[118]

The Liberals prevailed in the general election of April 17, 1913. They were elected in 39 constituencies, while the Conservatives acquired 17 seats out of a total of 56. However, the Liberals' share of the popular vote declined sharply from 59 to 49 per cent, which was only approximately four percentage points more than that earned by the Conservatives.[119] Arthur Sifton contested two constituencies: he was re-elected as the Member for Vermilion; however, he was defeated in the constituency of Macleod.[120]

The First Session of the Third Legislature convened on September 16, 1913. Once again, the dominant issue of the Session was the railway question. The Sifton Government resolved to settle the railway issue firstly by repealing the 1910 railway legislation on October 22[121] and secondly, by proposing legislation authorizing railway contractor John D. McArthur[122] to complete a rail line between Edmonton and Fort McMurray by the end of 1915.[123] However, labour and materials shortages occasioned by the First World War bankrupted McArthur, and the beleaguered project was once again delayed.[124] The final construction of the railway eventually became the responsibility of the Province "under circumstances that rendered the cost much higher than was originally provided for."[125]

The Sifton administration, although troubled by railway difficulties, successfully addressed some of Alberta's pressing social questions, especially those of prohibition and women's suffrage. The history of the temperance movement in Canada dates back to the 19th century. Temperance organizations, such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), founded in 1874, advocated moral reform for a society which they believed was becoming increasingly affected by the abuse of alcohol.[126] Essentially, temperance reformers wanted governments to prohibit, or at least impose severe restrictions on, the manufacture and distribution of alcoholic beverages, a measure which they felt would rid society of its most urgent social problems.[127]

---

* Seven additional electoral districts were created in the north, while the constituency of Strathcona became the electoral district of South Edmonton.

The temperance campaign continued into the 20th century, gaining support and building on its successes. In the years after 1903, Louise C. McKinney* established local chapters of the WCTU throughout western Canada, fostering support for the temperance cause.[128] The Rev. W. G. W. Fortune, organizer of the Temperance and Moral Reform Society, toured Protestant churches in Alberta soliciting pledges of total abstinence.[129] With the UFA's endorsement of the cause, the temperance movement gained the support of a vocal group with varied political ties.[130]

Prohibitionists had to wait until the outbreak of the First World War, however, before they achieved their ultimate goal.[131] Alberta prohibitionists seized the opportunity afforded to them by the recently enacted *Direct Legislation Act*. They began a successful "frenzy of petition-circulating to bring the Prohibition question to a plebiscite,"[132] forcing Premier Sifton to call Albertans to the polls for a referendum on July 21, 1915.[133] Ultimately, prohibitionists' appeals to "religion, patriotism, morality, and the pocket-book" proved fruitful as the 'drys' achieved a majority of more than 20,000 votes out of a total of over 97,000 votes cast.†[134]

The Sifton Government duly prepared legislation designed to restrict the manufacture, sale and consumption of alcohol in Alberta. *The Liquor Act* was passed by the Legislative Assembly and received Royal Assent on April 19, 1916.[135] The voluminous and complex Act contained a number of provisions to limit the sale of alcohol to "medicinal, mechanical, scientific and sacramental purposes only."[136] The operations of distilleries were restricted, and all remaining sales of alcohol—whether for purchase or barter—were outlawed.‡[137] Alberta had gone 'dry.'§[138]

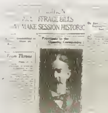
---

* McKinney was one of the first two women to be elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

† Ultimately, prohibition legislation owed much to the UFA, the WCTU and other lobbyists, as "the means by which it was brought into being was the first of a series of surrenders of power by the Sifton … government … to well-organized pressure groups." L. G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 163.

‡ *The Liquor Act* ultimately proved difficult to enforce, owing to rum-runners, bootleggers and ordinary Albertans who were determined to circumvent the law. Frank W. Anderson, *The Rum Runners* (Edmonton: Lone Pine, 1991), pp. 11–13.

§ In a plebiscite of November 5, 1923, Albertans voted to end seven years of prohibition by placing the liquor trade under the control of the Government's Alberta Liquor Control Board. Anderson, *The Rum Runners*, p. 62; "Cabinet Issues Views on Wet Vote: Northern and Western Areas Wettest," [Official Statement Prepared By Alberta Government], *Edmonton Journal*, 6 November 1923, p. 1; *Government Liquor Control Act of Alberta*, S.A. 1924, c. 14, s. 4.



Closely affiliated with the campaign to 'ban the bar' was the effort to obtain equal suffrage or 'votes for women.' Vitally important to Nellie L. McClung* and other reformers was that the inherent goodness of women† inform a wave of social reform to rid the modern industrial world of social vices. This change could happen through a variety of measures including addressing the problems of child care; slum conditions; and perhaps most importantly, the abuse of alcohol.[139]

In order to effect this campaign of moral reform, however, these activists believed that women would have to have access to legislative power; simply put, they needed to be able to vote and to hold office.[140] In Alberta, some of the first rumblings in favour of female enfranchisement came in 1902 from the WCTU, the group of women reformers who had spearheaded temperance reform.[141] The movement grew throughout the first decade and a half of the 20th century and counted amongst its supporters such noted activists as Emily Murphy and Alice Jamieson.[142] By 1912, the pressure that was being exerted in favour of the equal franchise increased when, during its convention, the UFA adopted the cause of votes for women as part of its campaign of social reform.[143] The following year saw the creation in Edmonton of the Equal Franchise League,‡ the "province's first strictly pro-suffrage lobby."[144] Also in 1913, Alberta women first brought their demands for the vote to the steps of the new Legislature Building, where Premier Sifton refused entry to the 150 suffragists. Undaunted, suffrage reformers continued their campaign. Both Edmonton and Calgary, responding to the growing votes for women movement, amended their City Charters to allow for equal suffrage. Although a victory for the movement, these legislative actions were not the triumph that the suffragists were looking for, as the franchise would not be granted to women unless the Legislative Assembly approved.[145]

---

* Nellie McClung was one of the 'Famous Five,' a group of reformers which also included Emily Murphy, Henrietta L. Muir Edwards, Louise C. McKinney and M. Irene Parlby and which fought for the inclusion of women as 'persons' in Canadian law. In 1928, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that women were not persons according to the *British North America Act* and therefore that they could not hold office as Senators. The following year, under pressure from the Famous Five, the decision was appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which reversed the Supreme Court's decision and ruled that women were in fact persons under the Constitution. The Persons Case was a landmark decision in Canadian history. David A. Cruickshank, "Persons Case," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com; Susan Jackel and Catherine Cavanaugh, "Murphy, Emily," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com.

† Both the temperance and suffrage movements were motivated by a belief that it was the woman's role to set standards of morality. As Nellie McClung said, "The hand that rocks the cradle does not rule the world. If it did, human life would be held dearer and the world would be a sweeter, cleaner, safer place than it is now!" Nellie L. McClung, *In Times Like These*, The Social History of Canada (Toronto: McLeod and Allen, 1915; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 22. These reformers were often called maternal feminists because of their belief in the importance to society of the role of women as mothers. Veronica Strong-Boag, "Introduction," in Nellie L. McClung, *In Times Like These*, The Social History of Canada (Toronto: McLeod and Allen, 1915; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. viii.

‡ Interestingly, this organization's first president was a man, Dr. W. H. Alexander of the University of Alberta. Faye Reineberg Holt, "Women's Suffrage in Alberta," *Alberta History* vol. 39, no. 4 (Autumn 1991): p. 26.

Alberta suffragists continued their campaign of protests and petitions, which was highlighted by a visit to the Legislature Building on October 10, 1914, when they brought with them a petition, signed by 12,200 people, demanding that women be included in *The Alberta Election Act*.[146] This time, Sifton was much more receptive to the women's delegation, praising their organizational abilities and suggesting that the women's franchise would come one day.[147] However, the Premier cited two reasons for his continued resistance against the proposition: the doubling of election costs and the uncertainty as to whether rural women wanted the vote.[148]

Additional petitions were presented to the Sifton Government by the end of 1914.[149] The most dramatic event of the Alberta suffrage campaign occurred on February 27, 1915, during the Third Session of the Third Legislature. Sifton and the Cabinet agreed to meet with a small group of suffragists that Friday afternoon. When the members of the Cabinet arrived in the Chamber, they were shocked to see suffragists sitting in the Members' seats and the galleries filled with suffrage supporters. The president of the Equal Franchise League read a petition advocating equivalent legal rights for both men and women.[150] Sifton responded respectfully to this display of solidarity. However, he made no promises with regard to the timing of a law enacting equal suffrage. Instead, he argued that the "women of Alberta have been labouring hard, but not for a great length of time. … Even men do not get justice without a great deal of work."[151]

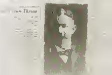
By mid-1915, however, the Premier appeared to accept the inevitability of votes for women.[152] Clearly, the impetus for the newfound support had much to do with the suffrage campaign's efforts to lobby the Government.[153] The success of Alberta prohibitionists in the summer of 1915—a very important achievement for the moral reform movement, of which women formed the core component—also placed increased pressure on the Sifton Government to carry out further reforms.[154] As one author remarked, "[W]hen the vote proved prohibition had the public's endorsement, rights for women in Alberta gained an air of inevitability."[155] In September 1915, the Premier indicated that he had ordered the preparation "of a statute placing men and women in Alberta on a basis of absolute equality."[156] On April 19, 1916, Alberta's recently appointed Lieutenant Governor, Robert G. Brett, granted Royal Assent to *The Equal Suffrage Statutory Law Amendment Act*.[157] Alberta was the third Province in Canada, after Manitoba and Saskatchewan,* to grant women the right to vote.

In addition to equal suffrage, Alberta women also gained certain property rights during the premiership of Arthur Sifton, including the dower—a property-based statute in force in central Canada in which a wife had a life-time interest in one-third of the property owned by her husband.[158] In creating the system devised to grant and record homesteads in the West, the Dominion Government in 1886 abolished the dower in the North-West Territories pursuant to *The Territories Real Property Act*.†[159] Upon entering Confederation in 1905, both Saskatchewan and Alberta continued to follow the system of land registration established in the North-West Territories period.[160]

---

* Manitoba had granted equal suffrage to its citizens on January 28, 1916, and Saskatchewan, on March 14, 1916.

† The dower had been abolished in Manitoba in 1885. Margaret McCallum, "Prairie Women and the Struggle for a Dower Law, 1905–1920," *Prairie Forum* vol. 18, no. 1 (Spring 1993): p. 21.



Like prohibition and equal suffrage, the campaign for the dower became a principal objective for many women's organizations, including the WCTU, the Women's Canadian Club, the National Council of Women of Canada and the United Farm Women of Alberta (UFWA), as well as for a leading advocate of female property rights, the *Grain Growers' Guide*.*[161] The primary argument of the supporters of dower legislation was that women deserved to share in an interest in homestead property because they played an essential role in improving and maintaining the land and therefore had earned the right to some interest in the property.[162] As Frederick J. Dixon, Member of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, argued, in cases in which "a woman has performed an equal part in the accumulation of property, she should have an equal say in the disposal of it …"[163]

The dower campaign overcame some discouraging setbacks in the first decade and a half of the 20th century, with Alberta becoming the first of the Prairie Provinces to protect this property right of women. In 1915, the Legislative Assembly of Alberta passed *The Married Woman's Home Protection Act*.[164] Through this legislation, a wife was entitled to file a caveat on the title of her husband's homestead, meaning that the Registrar of Land Titles was prohibited from registering "any transfer, mortgage, encumbrance, lease or other instrument made by or on behalf of the husband purporting to affect the land in respect to which the caveat is filed."[165] In other words, the caveat effectively prevented any sale or mortgage of the homestead without the consent of the wife, unless the husband was able to obtain an order from a superior court judge for removal of the caveat.[166]

As the general election of 1917 approached, the Sifton administration continued its program of progressive legislation, enacting several important laws. The Government drew up legislation on the eve of that election—the first one in which women could vote—to improve upon the married women's property legislation. *The Dower Act*, which repealed *The Married Woman's Home Protection Act*, provided a wife with a lifetime interest in the family homestead. It did so by affirming the need for the husband to gain the consent of his wife before engaging in any dealing with respect to the family homestead[167] and by providing that upon the death of the husband, the interest in the homestead was vested in his wife for the rest of her life. Through this Act, a wife did not have to file a caveat in order to gain a lifetime interest in the homestead.[168] *The Dower Act* received Royal Assent on April 5, 1917.

The Sifton Government also enacted legislation pertaining to rural credit, crops, the grain elevator co-operative and livestock development. *The Alberta Co-operative Credit Act* made it lawful for the Government, amongst other things, "to guarantee the securities, obligations or financial undertakings of any society incorporated under this Act for an amount equal to one-half of the total amount of stock subscribed for by the shareholders of the said society."[169] *The Alberta Farm Loan Act* established the Alberta Farm Loan Board, which was empowered "to lend money secured by duly registered first mortgages on farm lands in the Province of Alberta …"[170] *The Seed Grain Act, 1917* was designed in large part to guarantee advances of seed grain or moneys for the purchase of seed grain for Alberta farmers.[171] The Legislative Assembly of Alberta also passed *An Act to amend An Act to incorporate the Alberta Farmers' Co-operative Elevator Company, Limited.*[172] Rounding out the rural-oriented legislation of the Fifth Session of the Third Legislature was *The Live Stock Encouragement Act*, another legislative measure put forward by the Sifton Government in an attempt to aid Alberta farmers. This Act provided loans, up to an amount of $500, to any association for the purchase of livestock.[173]

---

* The *Grain Growers' Guide* was a journal published between 1908 and 1928, when its name changed to the *Country Guide*. It was designed to appeal to the interests of prairie grain growers' associations and supported a variety of social reform causes, including the temperance movement, the social gospel and the progressive movement. Ian MacPherson, "Grain Growers' Guide," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

Sifton's administration was also concerned with electoral reform in light of the exigencies of the First World War. *An Act amending The Election Act respecting Members of the Legislative Assembly on Active Service* provided that Members serving in the military be "nominated and elected as a Member of the Fourth Legislative Assembly for the Electoral District which they now respectively represent, as if … each of them had been duly nominated and elected in accordance with the provisions of *The Elections Act* …"[*][174] A second piece of legislation was designed to provide the franchise to soldiers stationed and serving abroad. *The Alberta Military Representation Act* provided for the election of two Members-at-large by Alberta residents who were stationed overseas.[†][175] In a final legislative electoral reform occurring a month prior to the provincial general election, Premier Sifton announced that any newcomers to Alberta who had been naturalized before August 4, 1914 would also be eligible to vote.[176] As a result of this legislation, in combination with the establishment of suffrage for women and the facilitation of the vote for soldiers serving abroad, the 1917 general election constituted an expansion of the franchise to thousands of Albertans.

The general election took place on June 7, 1917. The Liberals were victorious[‡] in an election that, although notable for the fact that it was the first in the province in which women could vote, was overshadowed by the events of the First World War and national politics.[177] The First Session of the Fourth Legislature opened on February 7, 1918, with WCTU organizer Louise C. McKinney, Independent Member for Claresholm, being the first woman to take her seat as a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta because of the absence of Member-at-large Roberta C. MacAdams, due to her overseas service.[178]

---

[*] The Members are actually indicated by name in the Act.

[†] Roberta C. MacAdams was one of the two Soldiers' Overseas Representatives for the province at large. With Louise C. McKinney (also elected in the provincial general election on June 7, 1917), she was one of the first two women elected to a legislature in the British Empire. "Roberta Catherine MacAdams Price," First Women in Provincial and Territorial Government, *Women in Government: Celebrating Women's Achievements*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, 2000), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/women/002026-833-e.html

[‡] Out of a total of 58 seats, the Liberals won 34, the Conservatives 19, the Independents two and Labour one. The two additional seats were taken by Members-at-large. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 11.

## Later Career

After leading the Alberta Liberals to success in the general election,[179] Sifton acted upon his brother Clifford's advice to enter federal politics[180] in support of the pro-conscription Unionist coalition, then forming under Prime Minister Sir Robert L. Borden (1911–1920).[181] The Conservative Government under Borden was seeking to persuade leading Liberals from across the Dominion to unite with them in an endeavour to support the war effort.*[182] On October 12, 1917, Arthur Lewis Watkins Sifton resigned as Premier of Alberta,[183] having been sworn in as a member of the Cabinet of Prime Minister Borden that same day. Sifton became the Minister of Customs (later the Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue),[184] and a Member of the King's Privy Council for Canada.[185] The Toronto *Globe* expressed its satisfaction with the Prime Minister's choice: "He is a constructive thinker, clear-seeing and far-seeing: he is urbane and erudite; he has imagination and yet a shrewd discernment of values ..."[186] Member for Sedgewick and Minister of Public Works Charles Stewart succeeded Sifton as Premier on October 13.[187]

In early November 1917, Sifton became the first Union Government† candidate in Alberta and in the West.[188] That Sifton's nomination in the federal constituency of Medicine Hat was uncontested certainly indicated voters' approval for Sifton, but it also very much demonstrated an endorsement of the new Union Government's policy of conscription and, by extension, the Dominion Government's vigorous pursuit of the war effort.[189] Sifton went on to become Member of Parliament for Medicine Hat after winning his seat in the general election of December 17, 1917.[190]

---

* Although prominent Liberals such as Sifton did leave their party to help form the Union Government in 1917, a small group, staunchly loyal to their leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, remained in the Liberal Party and hence became known as 'Laurier Liberals.' While supportive of the war effort, the Laurier Liberals were adamantly opposed to the Union Government's policy of conscription. J. L. Granatstein and J. M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: The History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1985), pp. 71, 70; Réal Bélanger, "Laurier, Sir Wilfrid," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

† By early 1917, enlistment for the First World War had dropped considerably, and the Dominion Government under Borden decided on the implementation of conscription, or forced enlistment, as a means by which to maintain Canada's substantial military commitment overseas. Borden asked Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Leader of the Opposition and of the Liberal Party, to join with Borden's administration to form a coalition government. Laurier refused. The Borden Government then endeavoured to persuade leading Liberals both at the federal and the provincial levels to join the so-called Union Government. By the fall of 1917, these measures had met with considerable success, as a number of Liberals, including Premier Arthur L. W. Sifton, left the Liberal Party to join what would become the Union Government. On October 12, the Union Government was formally established. The Cabinet comprised 12 Conservatives, nine Liberals or Independents and one Labour Member of Parliament. In the federal general election, held in December 1917, the Union Government received a large majority, an endorsement, principally from English-speaking Canada, of its conscription policy. John English, "Union Government," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

Following the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, signalling the cessation of hostilities of the First World War, Sifton represented Canada at the Paris Peace Conference, held between January and June 1919. He contributed to the peace proceedings by acting as the vice-president of the Commission on the International Régime of Ports, Waterways and Railways, at whose meetings "it fell to him to put forward the British proposals, and both in and out of meetings to attempt a reconciliation of the conflicting policies of the powers" represented at the peace conference; as a member of the Sub-committee on Régime of Rivers, Ports, and Railways; and as an alternate Canadian delegate to the Supreme Economic Council.[191] He also represented the interests of the Dominion Government concerning aerial navigation.[192] Moreover, Sifton's signature appears on the Treaty of Versailles, the peace agreement signed by the representatives of the Allies and Germany.[193] The Treaty made provision for the formation of the International Labour Organization (ILO)* and the League of Nations.† Sifton helped to create the Labour Commission, which led to the establishment of the ILO.[194] It was Sifton's sharp eye that first detected a draft stipulation in Article IV of the Treaty by which Canada, as a member of the British Empire, would have been barred from full participation in the League of Nations.[195] Left unchallenged, Article IV would have impaired Canada's ability to take its place independently on the world stage.[196] As a result of Sifton's diligence, negotiations began between Prime Minister Borden and President of the United States T. Woodrow Wilson (1913–1921),[197] with the result that Canada maintained its status as a signatory to the Treaty with full rights of membership in one of the world's first truly international organizations.[198]

Sifton continued his Cabinet work upon his return to Canada, serving briefly as Minister of Public Works between September and December 1919, after which he became Secretary of State until 1921.[199] He also became the first Chair of the Air Board, which was an organization designed to perform three chief functions: "the regulation of civil aviation" in the Dominion; "the conduct of civil government operations"; and "the air defence of Canada."[200]

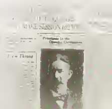
## Community Activities and Personal Interests

In July 1889, Arthur L. W. Sifton became, along with his wife, Mary, a member of the Independent Order of Good Templars.[201] The Siftons were also granted life memberships in the Canadian Red Cross Society in 1915.[202] In the following year, the Premier became vice-president of the Council for Alberta of the Canadian Boy Scouts.[203] On April 3, 1917, he was honoured with a presentation by the Edmonton Exhibition Association during his attendance at the official opening of Edmonton Spring Horse Show.[204]

---

* Today, the ILO operates under the auspices of the United Nations and works towards establishing international labour standards and practices. Founded in 1919, it is the only institution created by the Treaty of Versailles still operating according to its original mandate.

† The League of Nations was created through the Treaty of Versailles and was the first organization dedicated to international cooperation. Dissolved in 1946, the League of Nations was the direct precursor of the United Nations.



## Honours and Awards

The University of Alberta bestowed on Arthur L. W. Sifton an Honourary Doctor of Civil Laws degree in 1908.[205] On June 22, 1911, Sifton represented Alberta at the Coronation of King George V and Queen Mary at Westminster Abbey, and was presented to the King at St. James' Palace.[206] On October 12, 1917, he was appointed to the Privy Council of Canada.[207] On January 22, 1920, he was appointed as a member of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council by King George V, thereby becoming the Right Honourable Arthur Lewis Watkins Sifton.[208]

Sifton Elementary School in Edmonton,[209] Sifton School District No. 727,[210] Sifton Boulevard in Calgary, Alberta,[211] and the Sifton Park neighbourhood of Edmonton[212] are named in honour of Alberta's first Chief Justice and second Premier. Sifton was a founding member of the Historical Society of Alberta, as were other prominent legislative figures of the time: Lieutenant Governor George H. V. Bulyea, Premier Frederick W. A. G. Haultain, Charles W. Fisher, Richard B. Bennett (Prime Minister 1930–1935) and Dr. Robert G. Brett.[213] Sifton Street is located in the Village of Heisler, Alberta, which is known as the 'Premier Village' because its streets are named in honour of former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[214]

## Death

At Christmas 1920,[215] Sifton was found to be suffering from advanced heart disease.[*][216] After a brief rally, Arthur Lewis Watkins Sifton died on the morning of January 21, 1921 in his suite in Ottawa's Chateau Laurier Hotel.[217] With him, at his death, were his son and "Senator W. J. Harmer, who was a close friend."[218] Sifton was 62 years of age. His funeral took place on January 24 and was attended by family, friends and colleagues, amongst whom were younger brother Clifford, federal Cabinet colleagues, Prime Minister Arthur Meighen (1920–1921, 1926), former Prime Minister Sir Robert L. Borden, Senator Sir James Lougheed,[†] members of the Supreme Court and representatives of provincial governments and the military.[219] Sifton was laid to rest in Ottawa's Beechwood Cemetery on January 25, 1921.[‡][220] Sifton's wife, Mary, died 18 years later, on September 22, 1939.[221] She was also buried in the family plot at Beechwood Cemetery.[§][222]

---

[*] Arthur L. W. Sifton suffered from endocarditis, an inflammation of the interior lining of the heart chambers and valves. The former Premier's death certificate lists endocarditis as the primary cause of death. Ontario Vital Statistics, "Sifton, Arthur Lewis." Carleton County, City of Ottawa, 31 January 1921, no. 009734, [Death Registration].

[†] Sir James Lougheed was the grandfather of E. Peter Lougheed, who served as Premier of Alberta from 1971 to 1985.

[‡] In March, 1921, the probate of Sifton's will revealed that his substantial estate would go to his wife, Mary, and the couple's two adult children, Nellie Louise and Lewis Raymond. The will provided, however, that should any of his heirs die without leaving children, that inheritor's share of the capital was to go to the Government of Alberta to fund state-supervised 'homes for orphans or neglected children.' "Hon. A. L. Sifton Leaves $490,794," *Globe* (Toronto), 8 March 1921, p. 5.

[§] Also buried beside Sifton are son-in-law Air Vice Marshall Walter Kenny (d. 1944), son Lewis Raymond Sifton (1952) and daughter Nellie Louise Sifton-Kenny (1972). E-mail from Graham, 9 December 2004.

### Fonds

The Arthur Lewis Sifton Fonds, consisting of correspondence, subject files concerning the Paris Peace Conference, Royal North-West Mounted Police (RNWMP) reports, political papers and reference files, are deposited with Library and Archives Canada. Sifton's notebooks created during his tenure as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the North-West Territories are housed with the Legal Archives Society of Alberta. Records related to Sifton's years as Premier of Alberta are located in the Provincial Archives of Alberta.

### Tributes

Of Sifton's varied and remarkable career, one contemporary noted that Sifton

> did much to lay the foundation of constitutional government in the Territories deep and strong. Later, as Premier of Alberta at a time when there was a great influx of immigration from the United States and Europe, including many to whom our form of government was practically unknown, Mr. Sifton gave wise and sound counsel and leadership. In a very real sense he was one of the Makers of the West, in which he had lived for considerably over half a century.[223]

Prime Minister Arthur Meighen described Sifton as "a very able colleague, a man of rare intellectual strength. His command of affairs and a decisive capacity were exceptional, his knowledge and estimate of men equally remarkable."[224] Provincial Treasurer Charles R. Mitchell said of Sifton that he preferred "to allow the result of his work in the ultimate analysis to justify his course of thought and action."[225]

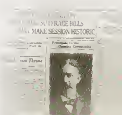
Upon Sifton's death, Vina A. Lackner, a representative of a prominent women's organization, lauded the progressive legislative measures enacted during Sifton's administration, which both protected and empowered Alberta's women:

> With the death of Right Honorable A. L. Sifton there passes an eminent western nation builder. In his mountain home at Banff, in Calgary as chief justice, in Edmonton as premier, [the] Hon. Arthur Sifton will not be forgotten. The women of Alberta will remember him for granting them the franchise. For distinguished service at the peace conference, and in advancing Canada's status on nationhood, Canada will remember [a] gifted patriot son.[226]

## Notes

[1] Alexander C. Rutherford to George H. V. Bulyea, Lieutenant Governor of Alberta, 26 May 1910, [Letter of Resignation], Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 70.257, file B15; "Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 6, no. 11, 15 June 1910, p. 301.

[2] W. F. Bowker, "Sifton, Arthur Lewis," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com



[3] Ida Reed, “Wesleyan Methodist Baptismal Register,” *Bill Martin's Genealogy Home Page*, [Transcription], [Internet], (Thunder Bay, ON: RootsWeb.com, 2001), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~wjmartin/wm-s_61.htm. Evidence from a number of additional sources indicates that Arthur Sifton's date of birth is October 26, 1858. Ontario Vital Statistics, “Sifton, Arthur Lewis,” Carleton County, City of Ottawa, 31 January 1921, no. 009734, [Death Registration]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, John W. Sifton Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 16, Brant North, sub-district c-1, Town of Paris, schedule 1, pp. 44–45, household 183, microfilm C-9916, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Hector Charlesworth, ed., *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: Hunter-Rose Co., 1919), p. 209; D. J. Hall, *Clifford Sifton*, vol. 1, *The Young Napoleon 1861–1900* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981), p. 6. Other sources claim that he was born on October 26, 1859. Louis Knafla and Richard Klumpenhouwer, *Lords of the Western Bench: A Biographical History of the Supreme and District Courts of Alberta, 1876–1990* (Calgary: Legal Archives Society of Alberta, 1997), p. 166.

[4] Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1920 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1920), p. 180; Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, p. 6.

[5] Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, p. 304; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, John W. Sifton Household, 1871 Census of Canada.

[6] Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, p. 209; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, John W. Sifton Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Manitoba, district no. 12, City of Winnipeg, sub-district b-6, Ward 2, schedule 1, p. 8, household 63, microfilm T-6435, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Manitoba Vital Statistics, “Sifton, Kate,” City of Winnipeg, 15 July 1909, no. 382, [Death Registration].

[7] “Marriage Notices of Ontario, *Christian Guardian*, October 1851 – December 1854, page 400,” The Ontario Register, 1780s–1870s, ed. Thomas Wilson, *Genealogy.com: Family Tree Maker, Family History Software and Historical Records*, [Transcription], [CD-ROM], (Genealogy.com, 1997), accessed 2 August 2005, available from http://www.genealogy.com/index_n.html; Reed, “Wesleyan Methodist Baptismal Register,” [Internet].

[8] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, John W Sifton Household, 1901 Census of Canada; Manitoba Vital Statistics, “Sifton, Kate,” [Death Registration].

[9] Reed, “Wesleyan Methodist Baptismal Register,” [Internet].

[10] “Marriage Notices of Ontario, *Christian Guardian*, October 1851 – December 1854, page 400,” [CD-ROM].

[11] Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, p. 6; “Marriage Notices of Ontario, *Christian Guardian*, October 1851 – December 1854, page 400,” [Internet].

[12] Manitoba Library Association and Marjorie Morley, eds., *Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba: A Dictionary of Manitoba Biography from the Earliest Times to 1920* (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers, 1971), p. 218; Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, pp. 6–7.

[13] John W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times* (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1931), p. 7; Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, p. 7.

[14] C. H. Mackintosh, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Companion and Annual Register*, 1881 ed. (Ottawa: Citizen Printing and Publishing, 1881), p. 354.

[15] Ibid.

[16] "Sifton, John Wright," Members: Biographies of Deceased Members, *The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba*, [Internet], (Winnipeg: Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 2004), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.gov.mb.ca/legislature/members/bios_deceased.html; Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, p. 13.

[17] "Sifton, John Wright," [Internet].

[18] Ibid.

[19] Manitoba Library Association and Morley, eds., *Pioneers and Early Citizens of Manitoba*, p. 218; "Hon. J.W. Sifton Dies: A Prominent Westerner," *Globe* (Toronto), 20 September 1912, p. 1.

[20] Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, p. 7.

[21] Ibid., p. 12.

[22] W. Stewart Wallace, ed., *The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), s.v. "Sifton, Sir Clifford."

[23] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada, 8th Parliament, 2nd Session*, 25 May 1897, col. 2797; Ibid., 15 June 1897, col. 4115.

[24] David J. Hall, "Sifton, Sir Clifford," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, vol. 15, [Internet], (Toronto: University of Toronto Press/Library and Archives Canada, 2004), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.biographi.ca

[25] Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, p. 7.

[26] Archibald Oswald MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta*, vol. 2 (Calgary: Western Canada History Co., 1912), p. 1000; Letter from Ken Wilson, Archivist, United Church Archives/Victoria University Archives, University of Toronto, 15 December 2004.

[27] MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta*, p. 1000; Letter from Wilson, 15 December 2004; University of Toronto Register of Graduates: Faculty of Arts, 1920, Register of the University of Toronto for the Year 1920, United Church Archives/Victoria University Archives, Toronto, ON, 87.145V 1-1.

[28] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Deering Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 124, County of Northumberland West, sub-district d-1, Town of Cobourg, schedule 1, p. 15, household 64, microfilm C-13240, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; E-mail from Jody Graham, Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa, 9 December 2004.

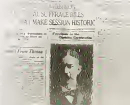
[29] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Arthur Lewis Watkins Sifton - Mary Horseman Deering," Ontario, Northumberland County, Town of Cobourg, 1882, no. 8004, [Marriage Registration].

[30] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Deering Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 54, County of Northumberland West, sub-district b-2, Town of Cobourg, schedule 1, p. 32, household 126, microfilm C-9983, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Deering Household, 1881 Census of Canada.

[31] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Deering Household, 1881 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, W. H. Deering Household, 1861 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 2, Northumberland County, Town of Cobourg, schedule 1, p. 4, microfilm C-1054, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada.

[32] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Deering Household, 1871 Census of Canada.

[33] MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta*, p. 1000; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Arthur L. Sifton Household, 1901 Census of Canada, North-West Territories, district no. 202, Alberta, sub-district r-1, Calgary Centre, schedule 1, p. 8, household 53, microfilm T-6550, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 2 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html



[34] "Mr. Clark Dennis Married," *Cobourg World*, 17 August 1906, [p. ?]; *An Act for the relief of Nell Louise Dennis*, S.C. 1920, c. 135.

[35] E-mail from Graham, 9 December 2004.

[36] MacRae, *History of the Province of Alberta*, p. 1000; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Arthur L. Sifton Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; *Alberta, Formerly the Northwest Territories: Index to Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths, 1870 to 1905*, vol. 1 (Edmonton: Alberta Genealogical Society, 1995), p. 538.

[37] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Arthur L. Sifton Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[38] Articles of Agreement, 16 June 1880, [Contract], Legal Judicial History Fond, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, P 1328.

[39] Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, p. 16; Personal Communication with Christopher Kotecki, Reference Services Assistant, Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 8 February 2005.

[40] Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, pp. 19, 17.

[41] Commissioner for Oaths for Manitoba, 30 January 1882, A. L. Sifton Papers, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, MG 237, II D19, item 3.

[42] Chambers, ed., *CPG 1920*, p. 180.

[43] Hall, *Clifford Sifton: The Young Napoleon*, pp. 19, 24.

[44] Ibid., p. 24.

[45] "Appointments," *North-West Territories Gazette*, vol. 2, no. 6, 2 November 1885, p. 117.

[46] "Advocates Enrolled," *North-West Territories Gazette*, vol. 3, no. 1, 8 April 1886, p. 9.

[47] Admission to Practise Law in the State of California, 1889, A. L. Sifton Papers, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, MG 237, II D19, item 5.

[48] Knafla and Klumpenhouwer, *Lords of the Western Bench*, pp. 165–166.

[49] "Appointments," *Canada Gazette*, vol. 35, no. 44, 3 May 1902, p. 2195.

[50] Letter from Heather Ewasiuk, Heritage Resources Officer, City Clerk's Office, Brandon, MB, 9 December 2004.

[51] Knafla and Klumpenhouwer, *Lords of the Western Bench*, p. 166.

[52] Ibid.

[53] "Banff Election," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 10 April 1899, p. 2; Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000* (Regina: Saskatchewan Archives Board, 2001), p. 1–21.

[54] "Banff Election," p. 2; North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "The Territories Elections Ordinance," *Ordinances of the North-West Territories, 3rd Legislature, 3rd Session*, no. 11, 1897, s. 106.

[55] Knafla and Klumpenhouwer, *Lords of the Western Bench*, p. 160; North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, "The Controverted Elections Ordinance," *The Consolidated Ordinances of the North-West Territories*, no. 4, 1898; Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000*, p. 1–21; "Banff Election," p. 2.

[56] Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000*, p. 1–21; Arnott J. Magurn, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide and Work of General Reference for Canada, the Provinces, and the Northwest Territories*, 1901 ed. (Ottawa: Office of Publication, 1901), p. 424.

[57] Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000*, pp. 1–12 to 1–13.

[58] North-West Territories. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories, 4th Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. XV, 2 May 1901, p. 10.

[59] Saskatchewan Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000*, pp. 1–3, 1–9 to 1–13; Knafla and Klumpenhouwer, *Lords of the Western Bench*, p. 166.

[60] C. Cecil Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada: The Autonomy Question in the Old North-West Territories* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946), pp. 36–37.

[61] "North-West Budget: Masterly Speech by Mr. A. L. Sifton the New Territorial Treasurer," *Leader* (Regina), 13 June 1901, p. 5.

[62] "Provincial Autonomy: A Conference is Now Being Held in Respect to the Future of the North-West Territories," *Daily Herald* (Calgary), 28 October 1901, p. 1.

[63] Lingard, *Territorial Government in Canada*, p. 37.

[64] Knafla and Klumpenhouwer, *Lords of the Western Bench*, pp. 165–166.

[65] Ibid., p. 165.

[66] "Sifton's Justice Was Tough," *Docket*, no. 25 (April/May 1981): p. 6.

[67] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. V, 26 May 1910, p. 89; Knafla and Klumpenhouwer, *Lords of the Western Bench*, p. 166.

[68] Rutherford to Bulyea, 26 May 1910, [Letter of Resignation].

[69] Knafla and Klumpenhouwer, *Lords of the Western Bench*, p. 165.

[70] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 26 May 1910, p. 89; Arthur L. W. Sifton, President of the Council, 26 May 1910, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; Chambers, ed., *CPG 1920*, p. 180; "All Ministry Will Resign and Judge Will Have a Free Hand," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 26 May 1910, p. 1.

[71] "Can Sifton Hold Them?" *Calgary Daily Herald*, 27 May 1910, p. 10.

[72] Ernest Watkins, *The Golden Province: Political Alberta* (Calgary: Sandstone Publishing, 1980), p. 43; L. G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 88.

[73] Watkins, *The Golden Province*, p. 44.

[74] "Alberta's New Premier: Hon. Arthur L. Sifton," *Vegreville Observer*, 1 June 1910, p. 1.

[75] "Premier Sifton Announces His New Slate Which Includes Duncan Marshall," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 1 June 1910, p. 1.

[76] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 90.

[77] Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1912 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1912), p. 517.

[78] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 27, 31, 175.

[79] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 2nd Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. VI, 21 November 1910, p. 20.

[80] Ibid., 5 December 1910, pp. 46–47.

[81] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 95; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 2nd Session*, 10 November 1910, p. 11.

[82] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 18–19 March 1910, pp. 79–88; "Unanimous Vote in Legislature," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 17 March 1910, p. 1; "Adjournment Granted: Alberta Opposition Carry Their Point," *Globe* (Toronto), 19 March 1910, p. 2.

[83] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 109.

[84] Ibid., p. 110.

[85] *An Act respecting the Bonds Guaranteed for the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company,* being an *Act to specify certain defaults of the Railway and the consequent rights of the Province*, S.A. 1910 (2nd Sess.), c. 9, s. 2.

[86] *An Act respecting the Bonds Guaranteed for the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company*, being an *Act to specify certain defaults of the Railway and the consequent rights of the Province*, S.A. 1910 (2nd Sess.), c. 9, s. 2.

[87] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 110.

[88] *R. v. Royal Bank*, [1911] 1 W.W.R. 1, 19 W.L.R. 377 (Alta. S.C.(T.D.)).

[89] John Blue, *Alberta Past and Present: Historical and Biographical*, vol. 1 (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924), p. 128.

[90] *R. v. Royal Bank*, [1912] 20 W.L.R. 929 (Alta. S.C. En Banc).

[91] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 113.

[92] "Refuse to Disallow A. & G. W. Legislation," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, A.M. ed., 23 January 1912, p. 9.

[93] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 122.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 2nd Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. VII, 6 February 1912, pp. 100–102; 7 February 1912, pp. 101–118; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 121–122.

[96] *Statutes of the Province of Alberta Passed in the Third Session of the Second Legislature* (Edmonton: Jas E. Richards, Government Printer, 1912), p. 4.

[97] *R. v. Royal Bank*, [1913] C.R.A.C. 77, 3 W.W.R. 994, 9 D.L.R. 337 (J.C.P.C.).

[98] *R. v. Royal Bank*, [1913] C.R.A.C. 77, 3 W.W.R. 994, 9 D.L.R. 337 (J.C.P.C.).

[99] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 128.

[100] Ibid., p. 134.

[101] "Connaught Given Great Reception at Edmonton," *Calgary News Telegram*, 4 September 1912, p. 14; "Duke Opened New Alberta Buildings," *Globe* (Toronto), 5 September 1912, p. 11; "Governor General Reaches Edmonton: Facsimile of Government Address to the Governor General," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 September 1912, p. 2.

[102] "Royalty Banquetted in New Legislative Building," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, A.M. ed., 4 September 1912, p. 10; "Magnificent Pile Formally Opened by H. R. H. the Duke," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, A.M. ed., 4 September 1912, p. 2; "The Governor-General Formally Opens Alta.'s Parliament Building," *News-Plaindealer* (Edmonton), 6 September 1912, p. 1.

[103] "Royalty Banquetted," pp. 1, 10.

[104] Frank Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature: A Celebration* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1987), pp. 22–23.

[105] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 134.

[106] *The Agricultural Schools Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 11, s. 3; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 134.

[107] *The Farm Machinery Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 15.

[108] *The Co-Operative Associations Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 12, ss. 14–15.

[109] *An Act to Incorporate the Alberta Farmers Co-operative Elevator Company*, Limited, S.A. 1913, c. 13, ss. 5–6.

[110] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 135.

[111] Ibid.

[112] Ibid., p. 136.

[113] *The Direct Legislation Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 3, s. 4.

[114] *The Direct Legislation Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 3, s. 6.

[115] *The Direct Legislation Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 3, s. 6.

[116] *An Act to Amend the Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, S.A. 1913, c. 2, s. 1.

[117] *An Act to Amend the Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, S. A. 1913, c. 2, Schedule 1; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 137.

[118] *An Act to Amend the Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, S.A. 1913, c. 2; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 137.

[119] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 10.

[120] Ibid., pp. 26–27.

[121] *An Act respecting The Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company*, S.A. 1913 (2nd Sess.), c. 6.

[122] "Alberta and Waterways: Terms of Settlement," *Globe* (Toronto), 22 September 1913, p. 11; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 3rd Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. IX, 22 September 1913, p. 19.

[123] *An Act respecting The Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company*, S.A. 1913 (2nd Sess.), c. 6, s. 5.

[124] Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 129.

[125] Ibid.

[126] R. Douglas Francis, "Social Criticism," in *Canada, Confederation to Present*, ed. Bob Hesketh and Chris Hackett, [CD-ROM], (Edmonton: Chinook Multimedia, 2001), p. 28; Sharon Anne Cook, "The Canadian Women's Christian Temperance Union," in *Canada, Confederation to Present*, ed. Bob Hesketh and Chris Hackett, [CD-ROM], (Edmonton: Chinook Multimedia, 2001), p. 8.

[127] Francis, "Social Criticism," p. 28; Lisa Gaudet, "Reform and Activism," in *Canada, Confederation to Present*, ed. Bob Hesketh and Chris Hackett, [CD-ROM], (Edmonton: Chinook Multimedia, 2001), pp. 8–9.

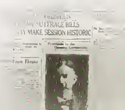
[128] Nancy Millar and Frances Wright, eds., *The Famous 5: Nation Builders* (Calgary: Famous 5 Foundation, 1999), p. 13.

[129] James H. Gray, *Booze: When Whiskey Ruled the West* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1995), pp. 89–90.

[130] Ibid., p. 90.

[131] Francis, "Social Criticism," p. 29.

[132] Gray, *Booze*, p. 90.



[133] "'Wets' Campaign Worker Sent Money, But Not to Deputy Returning Officer," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 July 1915, p. 1.

[134] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 159–160; "Majority for Liquor Act in Neighborhood of 20,000," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 22 July 1915, p. 1; "Alberta Declares Strongly for Prohibition," *Coronation Review*, 22 July 1915, p. 1.

[135] *The Liquor Act*, S.A. 1916, c. 4.

[136] *The Liquor Act*, S.A. 1916, c. 4, s. 4, 6–7.

[137] *The Liquor Act*, S.A. 1916, c. 4, ss. 21, 23.

[138] "Alberta Declares Strongly for Prohibition," p. 1.

[139] Veronica Strong-Boag, "Introduction," in Nellie L. McClung, *In Times Like These*, The Social History of Canada (Toronto: McLeod and Allen, 1915; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), pp. vii–viii; Paul Voisey, "The 'Votes for Women' Movement," *Alberta History* vol. 23, no. 3 (Summer 1975): p. 18.

[140] Voisey, "The 'Votes for Women' Movement," p. 18.

[141] Faye Reineberg Holt, "Women's Suffrage in Alberta," *Alberta History* vol. 39, no. 4 (Autumn 1991): p. 25.

[142] Ibid., pp. 25–26.

[143] Ibid., p. 26.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid., pp. 26–27.

[149] Ibid., p. 27.

[150] Ibid., pp. 27–28.

[151] Ibid., p. 28.

[152] Ibid. p. 29.

[153] Ibid., pp. 28–29.

[154] Voisey, "The 'Votes for Women' Movement," p. 22.

[155] Faye Reineberg Holt, "Women's Suffrage in Alberta," p. 29.

[156] "Women's Suffrage for Alberta Will Be Passed at Next Session of the Provincial Legislature," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, A.M. ed., 19 September 1915, p. 1.

[157] *The Equal Suffrage Statutory Law Amendment Act*, S.A. 1916, c. 5.

[158] Margaret McCallum, "Prairie Women and the Struggle for a Dower Law, 1905–1920," *Prairie Forum* vol. 18, no. 1 (Spring 1993): p. 19.

[159] *The Territories Real Property Act*, S.C. 1886, c. 26, ss. 8–9; McCallum, "Prairie Women," pp. 19, 21.

[160] McCallum, "Prairie Women," p. 21.

[161] Ibid., pp. 21–22.

[162] Ibid., p. 24.

[163] F. J. Dixon, “Let the Women Vote,” *Grain Growers’ Guide*, 26 May 1915, p. 19.

[164] *The Married Woman’s Home Protection Act*, S.A. 1915, c. 4.

[165] *The Married Woman’s Home Protection Act*, S.A. 1915, c. 4, s. 4.

[166] McCallum, “Prairie Women,” p. 26.

[167] *The Dower Act*, S.A. 1917, c. 14, ss. 8, 3.

[168] *The Dower Act*, S.A. 1917, c. 14, s. 3.

[169] *The Alberta Co-operative Credit Act*, S.A. 1917, c. 11, s. 10.

[170] *The Alberta Farm Loan Act*, S.A. 1917, c. 10, s. 19.

[171] *The Seed Grain Act*, 1917, S.A. 1917, c. 8, s. 2.

[172] *An Act to amend An Act to incorporate the Alberta Farmers’ Co-operative Elevator Company, Limited*, S.A. 1917, c. 29.

[173] *The Live Stock Encouragement Act*, S.A. 1917, c. 9, s. 3.

[174] *An Act amending The Election Act respecting Members of the Legislative Assembly on Active Service*, S.A. 1917, c. 38, s. 1.

[175] *The Alberta Military Representation Act*, S.A. 1917, c. 12, ss. 2–3.

[176] “Naturalized Aliens May Vote in Alberta,” *Globe* (Toronto), 18 May 1917, p. 9.

[177] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 178.

[178] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 29.

[179] Ibid., pp. 11, 29–31.

[180] Hall, *Clifford Sifton: A Lonely Eminence*, p. 59.

[181] “Mr. Sifton Believes in Union Government,” *Globe* (Toronto), 2 October 1917, p. 3.

[182] J. L. Granatstein and J. M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: The History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1985), pp. 70–73.

[183] Bowker, “Sifton, Arthur Lewis,” [Internet]; “Stewart to Be Premier,” *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 13 October 1917, p. 1; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 180; Canada. Library of Parliament, “Sifton, The Right Hon. Arthur Lewis,” Federal Political Experience, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp

[184] Canada. Library of Parliament, “Sifton, The Right Hon. Arthur Lewis,” [Internet].

[185] Ibid.

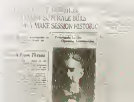
[186] “Premier A. L. Sifton, Alberta’s Representative,” *Globe* (Toronto), 12 October 1917, p. 3.

[187] “Ministerial Appointments,” *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 13, no. 20, 31 October 1917, p. 661.

[188] “Honourable A. L. Sifton in Medicine Hat,” *Globe* (Toronto), 2 November 1917, p. 5.

[189] Ibid.; Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), pp. 186–187.

[190] *History of the Federal Electoral Ridings, 1867–1992*, vol. 1: British Columbia, Alberta (Ottawa: Information and Technical Services Branch, Library of Parliament, 1993), p. AB-3.



[191] G. P. de T. Glazebrook, *Canada at the Paris Peace Conference* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 97, 138.

[192] Ibid., pp. 101–103.

[193] "Treaty of Versailles 1919 (including Covenant of the League of Nations)," *Documenting a Democracy*, [Internet], (National Archives of Australia), accessed 20 July 2006, available from http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/scan.asp?sID=6

[194] Glazebrook, *Canada at the Paris Peace Conference*, pp. 76, 74–82.

[195] Robert Craig Brown, *Robert Laird Borden: A Biography*, vol. 2: 1914–1917 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1980), p. 157.

[196] Ibid., pp. 156–158.

[197] Ibid., pp. 156–157.

[198] *Treaty of Versailles*, June 28, 1919.

[199] Canada. Library of Parliament, "Sifton, The Right Hon. Arthur Lewis," [Internet].

[200] "Air Board," Series part of Pre-unification Air Force records [textual record], R112-748-3-E, *AchiviaNet: General Inventory*, [Descriptive Record, R112-392-1-E], [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://search-recherche.collectionscanada.ca/archives/search.jsp?Language=eng

[201] Independent Order of Good Templars, Memberships of Mr. and Mrs. Sifton, 27 July 1889, [Clearance Card], Arthur Lewis Sifton Fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, MG 27-II D19, vol. 6.

[202] Canadian Red Cross Society, Life Memberships for Sifton Family, 10 July 1915, Arthur Lewis Sifton Fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, MG 27- II D19, vol. 6.

[203] Canadian Boy Scouts Warrant as Vice-President, Alberta, 21 March 1916, Arthur Lewis Sifton Fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, MG27- II D19, vol. 6.

[204] Edmonton Exhibition, 3 April 1917, [Letter], Arthur Lewis Sifton Fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, MG27- II D19, vol. 6.

[205] University of Alberta. Office of the Registrar and Students Awards, "Honorary Degree Recipients," *2006–2007 University of Alberta Calendar*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2006), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.registrar.ualberta.ca/calendar/University-Staff/Honorary-Degree-Recipients/243.html

[206] Henry James Morgan, ed., *The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: W. Briggs, 1912), s.v. "Sifton, Hon. Arthur Lewis."

[207] Chambers, ed., *CPG 1920*, p. 180; "Members of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada," Information Resources, *Government of Canada: Privy Council Office*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/default.asp?Language=E&Page=InformationResources&Sub=PrivyCouncilMembers

[208] [Appointment of Arthur Lewis Sifton to the United Kingdom Privy Council], 22 January 1920, Arthur Lewis Sifton Fonds, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, MG 27-II D19, vol. 6, p. 5.

[209] M. A. Kostek, *Looking Back: A Century of Education in Edmonton Public Schools* (Edmonton: M. E. LaZerte Composite High School Press, 1982), p. 329.

[210] E-mail from Darlene Pruden, Education Manager, Governance and Program Delivery, Alberta Learning, Edmonton, 6 October 2003.

[211] Donna Mae Humber, *What's in a Name ... Calgary?: A Look at the People Behind Place Names in Calgary* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1995), p. 153.

[212] Edmonton Historical Board. Heritage Sites Committee, *Naming Edmonton: From Ada to Zoie* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004), p. 288.

[213] *An Act to Incorporate the Historical Society of Alberta*, S.A. 1907, c. 23, s. 1.

[214] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; *Welcome to The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

[215] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Sifton, Arthur Lewis," [Death Registration].

[216] Ibid.; "Former Premier of Alberta Dies in Ottawa Today," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 January 1921, p. 1.

[217] "A. L. Sifton Dies After Relapse Despite Hopes," *Globe* (Toronto), 22 January 1921, p. 5.

[218] "Former Premier of Alberta Dies," p. 1.

[219] "Many Attend Sifton Funeral," *Globe* (Toronto), 25 January 1921, p. 5.

[220] E-mail from Graham, 9 December 2004.

[221] "Mrs. Mary Sifton, Widow of Former Alberta Premier Dies," *Albertan* (Calgary), 23 September 1939, p. 2; E-mail from Graham, 9 December 2004.

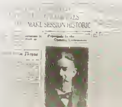
[222] E-mail from Graham, 9 December 2004.

[223] "A Maker of the West," *Globe* (Toronto), 22 January 1921, p. 4.

[224] "Country Loses Wise Counsellor in Hon. A. Sifton," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 January 1921, p. 1.

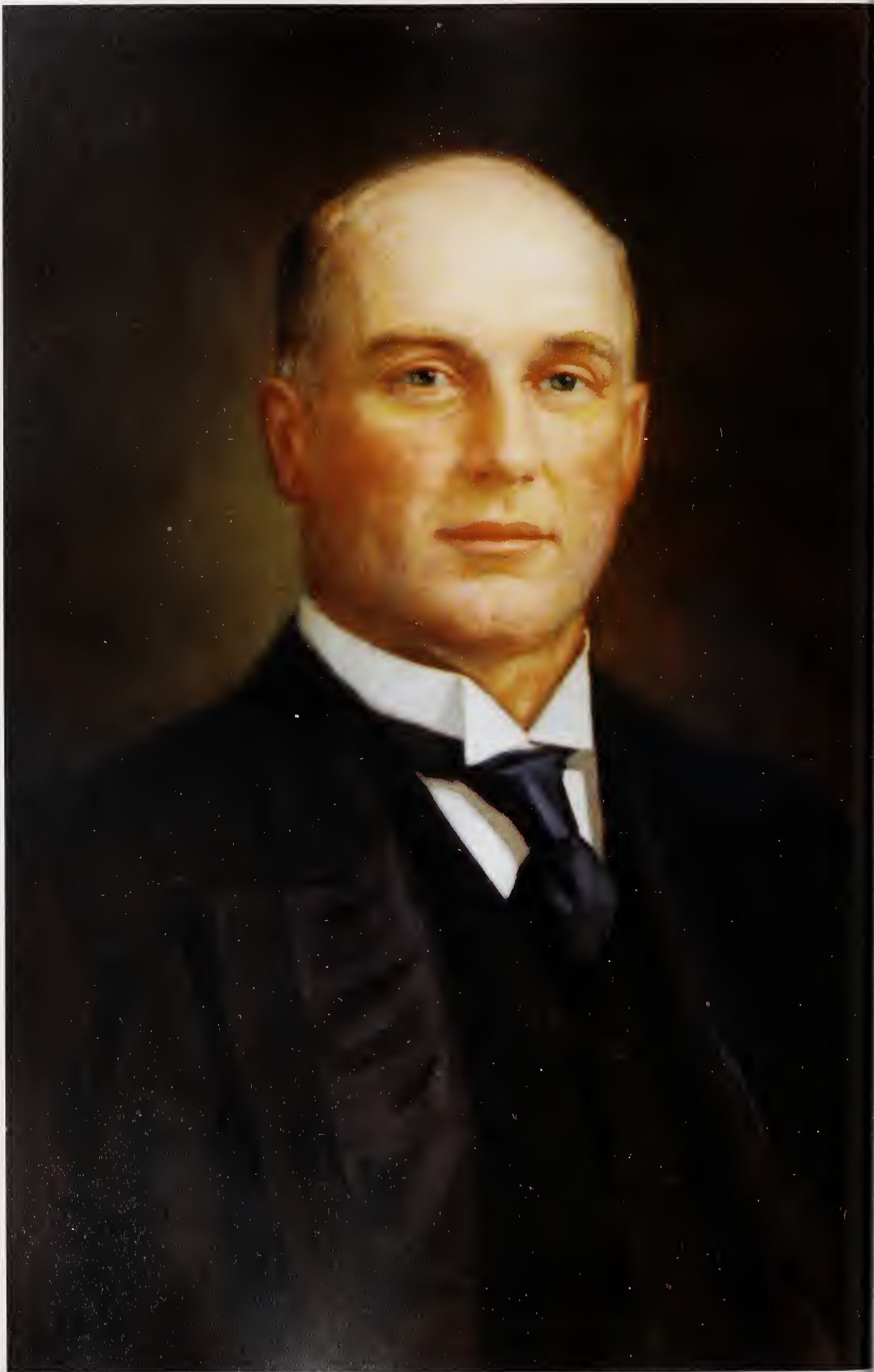
[225] "Alberta's Loss Is a Heavy One Say Colleagues," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 January 1921, p. 3.

[226] "Many Prominent Men of Canada Show Honor to Dead Statesman," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 January 1921, p. 1.



*I have endeavoured in every way possible to assist in placing legislation on the Statute Books that would be beneficial to the people of the whole province*

# Stewart *1917–1921*



# CHARLES STEWART

Charles Stewart served as the third and last Liberal Premier of Alberta in the 20th century. Stewart was a pioneer farmer who was known to be a 'thoroughly practical man'[1] and "an authority on matters pertaining to the prairies."[2] When Premier Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917) resigned to accept a Cabinet position in the federal Union Government in October 1917, Charles Stewart was called upon to form a new Government. The Stewart administration was faced with the complex social, economic and political pressures that emerged at the end of the First World War. After his tenure as Premier of Alberta, Stewart served as a Member of Parliament for 13 years and, in that capacity, played a role in the transfer to Alberta of rights to natural resources in 1930. As Premier, Stewart served with Lieutenant Governor Robert G. Brett (1915–1925). At the time of his appointment as Premier, Charles Stewart was 49 years of age.

## Family History

Charles 'Charlie'[3] Stewart was born on August 26, 1868, at Waddle Hill farm, West Flamborough Township, near the village of Strabane, Wentworth County, Ontario.[4] He was the eldest of the eight children* of Charles Stewart and Catherine Finlay.[5] Charlie's father, Charles Stewart Sr. was born in 1841 in the Parish of Dundee, County of Angus, Scotland.[6] In 1854, Charles Sr. came to Canada with his father, also named Charles Stewart (b. ca. 1802, d. 1874), who was a stonemason and later a farmer, and his mother, Anna Niven (ca. 1805, d. 1880).[7] The Stewart family settled near Strabane, where Charlie's father was a stonemason, who also supplemented the family income by farming.[8] Catherine Finlay, who was of Scottish descent, was the daughter of Alexander Finlay and Ellen Ferrier.[9] Catherine was born in Strabane in March 1844.[10] Charles Stewart Sr. and Catherine Finlay were married in 1866.[11]

In 1884,[12] the Stewart family relocated to a farm near the village of Midhurst in Vespra Township, Simcoe County, Ontario, where Charles Stewart Sr. farmed and continued to work as a stonemason.[13] After his father's death, Charlie, as the eldest, took on more responsibility for his family and the farm.[14] Sometime after April 1901, Catherine Stewart moved to the North-West Territories (Saskatchewan), where she and her son Ernest each made entry for quarter section 'homesteads' next to each other, near the village of Ralph.[15] Catherine later moved to Alberta, where she lived with her youngest son, William, and then to Saskatchewan, where she lived with her daughters Nellie and Alice until her death in 1925.[16] The Stewarts were Presbyterian.[17]

---

* Charles (1868–1946), Ellen 'Nellie' (1870–1941) [Walter Waites], Alice (1872–1947) [Henry MacGowan], Annabella 'Annie' (1874–1949) [Charles O. F. Wright (1873–1922)], Janet 'Jessie' (1876–1944) [Samuel G. Cotton (b. 1872– d. ca. 1944)], Finlay Alexander (1878–1880), Ernest Gordon (1881) and William 'Will' James (1884). Christiana Munro Sneath (Stewart) Marshall, "Stewart Family," [Unpublished Manuscript], n.d., p. 1; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles O. F. Wright Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 114, Simcoe (North), sub-district h-2, Vespra, schedule 1, p. 4, household 27, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; "Last Rites for C. O. F. Wright at Hughenden," *Edmonton Journal*, 29 March 1922, p. 1; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Samuel G. Cotton Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Alberta, district no. 6, Strathcona, sub-district 14, Township 13, Range 13, W4, schedule 1, p. 3, household 34, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 11 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Ernest Gordon Stewart," County of Wentworth, Division of West Flamborough, 28 September 1881, no. 036333, [Birth Registration]; E-mail from Ardis Kamra, [Granddaughter of Charles Stewart], 15 July 2006.

Two members of Stewart's family later served in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. In the July 18, 1921 provincial general election, United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) candidate Charles O. F. Wright, Stewart's brother-in-law, was elected to Legislative Assembly of Alberta as the Member for Ribstone. He served until his death on March 28, 1922.[18] Stewart's nephew, Charles William Stewart (1917–1991) served as the Progressive Conservative Member for Wainwright from 1975 to 1982.[19]

## Education

Charlie Stewart attended the nearby local school in Strabane[20] and subsequently a school in Hamilton, Ontario, where he boarded with his aunt and uncle, the Davidsons.[21] While Charlie was living at home, his father had taken advantage of opportunities to enhance Charlie's knowledge of events of historical significance. At the age of 10, Charlie went with his father to the neighbouring community of Carlisle to hear a speech by Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald (1867–1873, 1878–1891).[22] Years later, the story was reported as follows:

> The old Tory chieftain had a keen eye for the young folk. He noticed the lad and after the speech he asked to have him presented to him.
> "What is your name, my boy," asked the great statesman.
> "Charlie," replied the lad.
> "Well, Charlie," said Sir John, to the amusement of the spectators, "You're a fine boy and you've got a long enough head to be a good politician some day." Sir John patted the tousled curls and moved on.[23]

## Marriage and Family

On December 17, 1890, Charles Stewart married Jane Russell Sneath at St. Paul's Church in Midhurst, Simcoe County, Ontario.[24] Jane was born on June 20, 1865, in Vespra Township, Simcoe County, Canada West (Ontario).[25] She was the eighth of the 11 children,* and the elder of the two daughters, of George Sneath and Christiana Munro.[26] George Sneath was born in 1820 in Croydon, Surrey, England, the son of William Sneath and Millicent Fidler of Nottinghamshire, England.[27] The Sneath family immigrated to Vespra, Canada West, in 1842.[28] George Sneath taught school for 14 years, serving as Superintendent of Schools for part of that time.[29] He was also a justice of the peace.[30] In 1854, George became the first clerk of the Township of Vespra[31] and he ultimately served on the township council as clerk and treasurer[32] for over 53 years.[33] He was a 'staunch Reformer' in politics.[34] George was also a general merchant and served as postmaster of Midhurst[35] from 1863 until his death in 1907.[36] One of his sons, John M. Sneath, subsequently served in the position until 1911.[37] Christiana Munro, the daughter of John Munro and Isabel Gordon MacKay, was born in 1829 in Novar House, Rosshire, Scotland.[38] In 1832, the Munro family came to Penetanguishene, Upper Canada (Ontario), moved to Barrie and then finally to Vespra in about 1835.[39] George and Christiana were married in 1845.[40]

---

* John M. (b. ca. 1846), Alfred (ca. 1848), George (ca. 1850), Alexander (ca. 1852), Charles (ca. 1858), Henry (ca. 1860), Frederick (ca. 1863), Jane (1865–1944), Thomas (ca. 1868) and Isabella Alice (1870). Another child, Andrew Albert, died two days after being born in 1874. Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Sneath Household, 1861 Census of Canada, Canada West, Simcoe County, Vespra Township, p. 3, microfilm C-1074, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Sneath Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 139, Simcoe North, sub-district e-1, Vespra, schedule 1, pp. 36–37, household 181, microfilm C-13251, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Isabella Alice Sneath," Simcoe County, Vespra Township, 26 December 1870, no. 015673, [Birth Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Andrew Albert Sneath," Simcoe County, Vespra Township, 22 December 1874, no. 020664, [Birth Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Andrew Albert Sneath," Simcoe County, Vespra Township, 22 December 1874, no. 006797, [Death Registration].

Jane was the organist at St. Paul's Church for a number of years and was a member of the Women's Auxiliary.[41] Her skill with a needle and thread was well-known in the family.[42]

Charles and Jane Stewart had eight children: George Sneath (b. 1891, d. 1968), Catherine Isabel Doris (1893–1989) [Jasper 'Doke' Caldwell (1879–1967)], Charles Herbert (1895–1918), Christiana Munro Sneath (1898–1988) [Wilfrid Marmaduke Marshall (1898–1983)], Robina Jane 'Jennie' Millicent (1900–1990) [Frederick Primrose Whitman (1896–1974)], Frederick John (1902–1969), Roseanna 'Rose' Alice (1905–1973) [Dr. Maynard Cook (d. 1973)] and Henry Alexander Russell (1908–1959).[*][43] Upon marrying, Charles became a member of the Church of England (Anglican), and the children were raised in that faith.[44] Catherine's husband, Jasper Caldwell, worked in the Department of Indian Affairs as an agent for the Assiniboine Indian Reserve, in Sintaluta, Saskatchewan.[45] Jennie's husband, Frederick P. Whitman, served as a Member of Parliament for Mount Royal (1940–1949) and Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (1949–1953), both of which are ridings in Quebec.[46] Charles and Jane's youngest daughter, Roseanna, was active in the Young Liberals Club, and their youngest son, Russell, worked on Charles' 1935 campaign.[47]

## Early Career

Following the July 1905 destruction of his farm by violent weather,[48] Charles Stewart sought opportunities in the West.[49] Subsequently, Stewart made entry for a homestead in Saskatchewan, but later abandoned the claim.[50] In 1906, Charles and his youngest brother, William, came to Alberta by train through Daysland and into the Amisk District.[51] By September 20, 1907, Stewart had made entry for a second homestead, near Killam, Alberta.[†][52] On November 1, 1907, Charles and his wife, Jane, took up residence in their modest 55.7 m$^2$ timber-frame house.[53]

---

[*] All but the youngest of Charles and Jane Stewart's children were born in Midhurst, Ontario. The Stewarts' youngest child, Henry Alexander Russell, was born in Killam, Alberta. Marshall, "Stewart Family," pp. 3–4. Russell disappeared in 1949, and was declared dead in 1959. Ardis D. Kamra, "Charles Stewart, Stone Mason of Dundee," July 2006, [Unpublished Manuscript], p. 13.

[†] Charles Stewart's Killam homestead entry was for southeast quarter of Section 4, Township 44, Range 13, West of the 4th Meridian.

In 1907, Charles Stewart served as the founding chair of the Killam School District No. 1578,[54] and later, in 1911, as the first president of the Prairie Park Mutual Beef Association.[55] To supplement his farming income, Stewart worked part-time as a stonemason and bricklayer, skills very much in demand in the burgeoning community of Killam.[56] He laid the foundations for several Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) stations and dug the first well in the town of Killam.[57] Stewart also worked as a stonemason on the High Level Bridge, which spans the North Saskatchewan River in Edmonton, Alberta.[58] Soon after settling in Alberta, Stewart once again lost crops to severe weather just as a construction strike deprived him of his secondary income. This turn of events moved Stewart into a career in real estate and in farm equipment sales for the Massey-Harris Company.[59]

Charles Stewart's entry into public service was attributed years later to his experience as a pioneer on the prairies:

> Mr. Stewart's intimate knowledge of the problems of the new settlers, his faith in his fellow-men, and his belief in what they could accomplish by team play won him the confidence of the wide community which he served. … He also entered with enthusiasm into the upbuilding of church, community and municipal organizations …[60]

## Political Career

On March 22, 1909, Charles Stewart was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta as the Liberal Member for the new constituency of Sedgewick.[61] Stewart's popularity amongst his constituents made him a perennially successful candidate. Sedgewick voters would go on to elect Stewart over Conservative candidates in the provincial general elections of 1913 by more than 500 votes, out of the possible 1,260 votes, and of 1917 by almost 700 votes, out of the 2,628 votes cast.*[62]

Stewart's election to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta in 1909 coincided with the Alberta and Great Waterways (A&GW) Railway crisis. The A&GW Railway was to link the city of Edmonton with the Fort McMurray region. On October 7, 1909, the Liberal Government under Premier Alexander C. Rutherford (1905–1910) struck an agreement with the A&GW Railway Company wherein the Province would guarantee the principal and interest of A&GW Company bonds, capped at $20,000 per mile to a maximum of 350 miles.[63] Questions were raised about the wisdom of such a risk to the public purse,[64] and allegations of 'government graft or incompetence' caused a split in the Liberal caucus.[65] It was reported that Stewart indicated that "he was elected by acclamation on the record of the Rutherford government. He was proud of this, and of being a follower of the premier. But when he had a difference of opinion he did not intend to follow him blindly."[66] On March 11, 1910, a vote of no-confidence in the Government occurred in response to the crisis.[67] Stewart voted against the Liberal Government, but the Government prevailed by a vote of 20 to 17.*[68] On the afternoon of March 15, when Liberal Member for Sturgeon John R. Boyle moved that the files regarding the A&GW Company, which had been "tampered with and stripped" by the Government, be "immediately restored," Stewart was again on the losing side as he voted for the motion and against the Government.[69] That same evening, Stewart attempted to move a resolution forcing the Government to account for $740,000—the difference between the selling price of A&GW bonds and the par value.[70] After a lengthy debate and realizing that no progress was being made on resolving the issue, Stewart withdrew the motion.[71] On March 16, 1910, a Royal Commission was struck to investigate whether any officer of the government or Member of the Legislative Assembly had an interest in the A&GW, or in the contract between the Government of Alberta and the railway company.[72] On May 26, Premier Rutherford tendered his resignation over the affair.[73] When the Commission's report was tabled at the beginning of the next Session on November 10, 1910, Rutherford and his Government were cleared of wrongdoing.[74]

---

* Total votes cast are not available for the 1913 general election. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 30.

Upon Rutherford's resignation as Premier, Lieutenant Governor George H. V. Bulyea (1905–1915) appointed Arthur L. W. Sifton as Alberta's second Premier.[75] Sifton had been serving as Alberta's Chief Justice.[76] On May 4, 1912, Sifton appointed Stewart as the first Minister of Municipal Affairs.[77] The appointment required that Stewart go back to the electorate,† and he was returned to the Assembly convincingly in the by-election held on May 27. Stewart had made a favourable impression on Premier Sifton with his "common sense and practical knowledge of Alberta problems."[78] Stewart was "considered an authority on municipal management"[79] because of his knowledge of the Ontario municipal system. That knowledge was relied upon as Alberta set up its own system of local government.[80]

As Minister of Municipal Affairs, Stewart helped to promote the interests of the rural and farming communities. On March 13, 1913, Stewart introduced a Bill to grant assistance to the Alberta Farmers' Co-operative Elevator Company.‡[81] It was reported that Stewart concluded after much investigation that "the lack of storage facilities or the fact that the storage facilities were in the hands of the elevator companies who did not compete on the purchase of grain" resulted in the low grain prices farmers were receiving.[82] *An Act to Incorporate the Alberta Farmers' Co-operative Elevator Company, Limited* provided for the financial assistance required to construct the grain elevators needed by farming communities.[83] In the same Session, Stewart's support of *The Farm Machinery Act*, which regulated the sale of farm equipment, was also noted.[84]

---

* The two Conservative Members, one Independent Liberal and one Independent voted with 13 Liberal Members, including Stewart, against the Government. All 20 votes in favour of the Government were cast by Liberal Members. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. V, 11 March 1910, pp. 66–67.

† The legislation in force at the time was *An Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, S.A. 1909, c. 2, s. 16, which stated that if a Member of the Legislative Assembly became a member of the Executive Council, then the Member was required to go back to the electorate. The provision was in effect until an amendment to the Act came into force on April 8, 1926. *The Legislative Assembly Act Amendment Act, 1926,* S.A. 1926, c. 3, s. 6.

‡ In 1917, the Alberta Farmers' Co-operative Elevator Company and the Grain Growers' Grain Company merged and became known as the United Grain Growers Ltd. J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 1919 ed. (Toronto: Annual Review Publishing Co., 1920), p. 362; *An Act respecting The Grain Growers' Grain Company, Limited, and to authorize it to change its name to 'United Grain Growers, Limited,'* S.C. 1917, c. 79.

In addition to sponsoring amendments to the *Rural Municipalities Act*, *The Village Act* and *The Town Act*,[85] Stewart's other major legislative contribution was the introduction, on March 4, 1913, of a Bill regarding direct legislation.[86] *The Direct Legislation Act*, also known as *An Act to Provide for the Initiation or Approval of Legislation by the Electors*, specified that a referendum on the approval of new legislation could be called if the coming into force of the legislation had been deferred for 90 days after the close of Session and if a petition were advanced that was approved by a number of electors equal to not less than 10 per cent of the votes cast in the most recent election, with at least 85 per cent of constituencies having petitioners in the amount of at least eight per cent of the votes cast therein.[87] The Act further stipulated that a petition signed by a number of electors equal to not less than 20 per cent of the votes cast in the most recent election, with at least 85 percent of constituencies having petitioners in the amount of at least eight per cent of the votes cast therein, could propose an Act that would then need to either be enacted in the Legislative Assembly or submitted to a vote of the electorate.[88] Legislative proposals were limited to those that did not provide "for any grant or charge upon the public revenue or which is not certified by the Attorney General as being in his opinion within the legislative jurisdiction of the Legislature of Alberta."[89] If the Members of the Legislative Assembly did not enact legislation to that effect in that Session, then the proposed legislation would be submitted to a referendum.[90] If the majority of voters were in favour of the legislation, the Legislative Assembly was bound to pass the proposed Act in the next Session without amendment.[91] *The Direct Legislation Act* was in force until April 1958, when it was repealed.[92]

After the First Session of the Third Legislature, on November 28, 1913, Stewart relinquished the post of Minister of Municipal Affairs upon being appointed Minister of Public Works.[93] He described his approach as Minister of Public Works as follows: "I have endeavored to construct it strictly on business principles, and have never allowed partisanship to creep into the administration."[94] Stewart had long been "one of the strongest champions" of a government-owned telephone system and reportedly was not going to "feel satisfied in his efforts until such time as every farmer in the Province of Alberta [had] a telephone installed in his house."[95] Over the next four years, Stewart introduced legislation regarding roads in Edmonton and drainage as well as amendments to his 1913 *Farmers' Co-operative Elevator Company Act*, *The Public Works Act* and *The Private Ditches Act*.[96]

On March 25, 1915, during the Third Session of the Third Legislature, Stewart introduced a Bill regarding the organization of irrigation districts.[97] The need for such legislation was due in part to the rapid settlement of 'dry-land' areas of southeastern Alberta during the first decade and a half of the 20th century.[98] *The Irrigation District Act, 1915*, which received Royal Assent on April 17,[99] allowed farmers to organize themselves in districts for the purpose of constructing and operating irrigation projects.[100] The issue of irrigation had been an ongoing concern for farmers, especially in southern Alberta.*[101] *The Irrigation District Act, 1915* provided for provincial government support for these locally devised and maintained districts.[102]

The provincial election campaign of 1917 has been described by one historian as "the least exciting in the period of Liberal dominance."[103] The general public was focused on the war and the federal government's response and was consequently somewhat less interested in the provincial political scene.[104] One factor that would distinguish this provincial general election, however, was that it would be the first in which women could vote and stand for election to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. On April 19, 1916, Alberta had become the third Province in Canada, after Manitoba and Saskatchewan,† to grant equal suffrage.[105]

On May 25, 1917, Stewart was nominated as the Liberal candidate for the constituency of Sedgewick by Mrs. William Gibb of Killam.[106] Mrs. Gibb, "in a speech that would have done credit to many a masculine legislator," spoke of Stewart's service and "his ability, thrift, integrity, honesty and energy," all of which made him the unanimous choice of Liberal delegates at the nomination meeting.[107] Following his selection as a candidate, Charles Stewart was named honourary president of the Sedgewick Liberal Association.[108] So confident was Stewart in his constituents' support that his 1917 campaign materials extended only to a 'short synopsis of the various acts' passed in the preceding Legislature.[109] Like many of his fellow Liberals, Stewart was campaigning on the Government's record of achievements.[110] On June 7, 1917, Stewart was returned to the Legislative Assembly as the Liberals won 34 of the 56 available seats in the province.‡

Federally, in 1917, the Government of Prime Minister Sir Robert L. Borden (1911–1920) dedicated itself to meeting the challenges of the First World War by drafting conscription legislation. According to the Borden Government, conscription had become a necessity in the face of waning voluntary enlistment for military service.§[111] On August 29, the *Military Service*

---

* Irrigation had first been seen as the way to attract settlement in the Lethbridge area in the late 1880s. By the mid-1890s, the necessity for irrigation as a means of saving drought-stricken crops pushed the Parliament of Canada to pass the *Northwest Irrigation Act*. This Act placed water rights under the Dominion Government. The Dominion Government used private companies as a means of ensuring that the irrigation canals were dug. Deborah F. Gregorash, *Just Add Water: The History of the Lethbridge Northern Irrigation District*, ed. 1995/96 Lethbridge Northern Irrigation District Board (Lethbridge, AB: Lethbridge Northern Irrigation District, 1996), pp. 8–11.

† Manitoba had granted equal suffrage to its citizens on January 28, 1916, and Saskatchewan, on March 14, 1916. Canada. Library of Parliament. Information and Documentation Branch, "Women's Right to Vote in Canada," About Parliament: Historical Information, *Parliament of Canada*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 11 June 2006, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/information/about/process/House/asp/WomenVote.asp

‡ In addition to the 56 available seats in the province, there were two Members-at-large (non-partisan) elected to represent soldiers and nurses serving abroad. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 31.

§ Despite the efforts of Borden and Sir Wilfrid Laurier to "appeal to a greater interest beyond party and politics," Canadians remained divided over conscription along lines of ethnicity and language. Many French-speaking Canadians were of the opinion that only the protection of Canada's interests justified sending its citizens to war. John English, *The Decline of Politics: The Conservatives and the Party System, 1901–20* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), pp. 90–92.

*Act, 1917*, the legislation which mandated and enforced conscription, received Royal Assent.[112] In addition, members of the Borden Government were seeking to entice leading Liberals from across the Dominion to unite with them in this renewed endeavour to support the war effort.[113] Prior to the June provincial election, it was rumoured that Premier Sifton would resign and join the Union Government[*] and that Stewart would become his successor.[114] On October 12, 1917, Arthur Lewis Watkins Sifton did, in fact, resign as Premier of Alberta,[†][115] having been sworn in as a Minister in the Cabinet of Prime Minister Borden that same day. Sifton became the Minister of Customs and a Member of the King's Privy Council for Canada.[116]

## As Premier

On October 13, 1917, Charles Stewart was sworn in as President of the Executive Council (Premier) by Lieutenant Governor Robert G. Brett.[117] Stewart's popularity with Members from all caucuses made the choice an easy one; it was "improbable that a more generally accepted member could be selected."[118] Having served as a Member of the Legislative Assembly for eight years, five of those as a Cabinet Minister under Sifton, Stewart was a solid choice; "[t]he character of Mr. Stewart's previous experience … was an assurance that the policies of his departments would be shaped by a thorough practical understanding of the services they were called upon to render."[119] On October 16, 1917, Stewart assumed the portfolio of Minister of Railways and Telephones.[‡][120]

---

[*] By early 1917, enlistment for the First World War had dropped considerably, and the Dominion Government under Borden decided upon the implementation of conscription, or forced enlistment, as a means of maintaining Canada's substantial military commitment overseas. Borden asked Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Leader of the Opposition and of the Liberal Party, to join with Borden's administration to form a coalition government. Laurier refused. The Borden Government then endeavoured to entice leading Liberals both at the federal and the provincial levels to join the so-called Union Government. By the fall of 1917, these measures had met with considerable success, as a number of Liberals, including Premier Arthur L. W. Sifton, left the Liberal Party to join what would become the Union Government. On October 12, the Union Government was formally established. The Cabinet comprised 12 Conservatives, nine Liberals or Independents and one Labour Member of Parliament. In the federal general election, held in December 1917, the Union Government received a large majority, an endorsement, principally from English-speaking Canada, of its conscription policy. John English, "Union Government," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 26 May 2005, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

[†] Although prominent Liberals such as Sifton did leave their party to help form the Union Government in 1917, a small group, staunchly loyal to their leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, remained in the Liberal Party and hence became known as 'Laurier Liberals.' While supportive of the war effort, the Laurier Liberals were adamantly opposed to the Union Government's policy of conscription. J. L. Granatstein and J. M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: The History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman, 1985), pp. 71, 70; Réal Bélanger, "Laurier, Sir Wilfrid," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 11 June 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

[‡] Over the years, Stewart served on many Standing Committees: *Railways* (1910, 1911–1912, 1913, 1915–1920); *Agriculture and Colonization* (1910–1920); *Public Accounts* (1910, 1911–1912, 1915–1917); and *Municipal Law* (1910–1917).

After Stewart took office, it soon became evident that his leadership style was "the very opposite" of Sifton's:

> His methods are simple and direct. If the other side does not happen to like a piece of legislation he is trying to put through, he does not, to save trouble, use his majority to gain his end, but co-operates in a friendly, earnest way, with the Opposition leader to thresh the matter out.[121]

In April 1918, at a luncheon held in his honour, Stewart stated:

> I think you will all agree with me that [the premiership] is a position I never was particularly keen about. I had enjoyed my position as minister of public works and I could have enjoyed working in any department of government again. I had one idea on going into public life and that was to make good. … I was raised on Liberal principles and I have never at any time in my life had to believe Liberal principles were wrong. … Call parties what you will, there is a great principle at stake. We have never been ashamed of our name. We may disagree with a leader, but not about the principal thing. The great underlying principle is the same throughout. It stands for freedom and democracy …[122]

Former Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta Robert A. Andison (1923–1955) later described Stewart as "happy-go-lucky and right on the charm, but he'd listen to the Opposition and he wasn't so forceful as Sifton was."[123] Stewart had an "intense practicality and … calm reasonableness, both of which offered and invited co-operation."[124] Stewart's first Session as Premier was marked by his "determination to avoid hasty legislation."[125]

Premier Stewart's early tenure also coincided with the election of the first women Members to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. When the First Session of the Fourth Legislature convened on February 7, 1918, the first two women elected to a legislature in the British Empire began their service as parliamentarians.[126] Social activist Louise C. McKinney and Canadian Army Medical Corps nurse Lieutenant Roberta C. MacAdams (later Mrs. Harvey Stinson Price) were elected in June 1917. Louise McKinney was elected as the Independent (Non-Partisan League) Member for the constituency of Claresholm, and Roberta MacAdams was elected a Soldiers' Overseas Representative while on active duty. Because of the absence of MacAdams, McKinney gained the distinction of being the first woman to take her seat in the Assembly.[127]

Stewart had taken over leadership of a governing caucus that had suffered from internal conflicts,* stemming from the A&GW Railway crisis and the conscription issue:

> The situation of the Alberta Liberal party … was far from happy. The old strong premier was gone and the new leader, although he was personally popular, did not command, as had his predecessor, the unquestioning obedience of the rank and file, or even of his cabinet.[128]

---

* One example of the internal division was the fact that it took days and a number of ballots to elect a Deputy Speaker in 1918. Eventually, Member for Cardston Martin Woolf was elected by a single vote in the final ballot. L. G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 183; "Are Not Yet Agreed on a Deputy Speaker," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 1 March 1918, p.1.

After Sifton's departure for the Union Government, Stewart had to deal with the problem of his Attorney General, Charles W. Cross (1905–1910, 1912–1918). In August 1918, Premier Stewart asked for Cross' resignation.[129] Although no reasons for this action were announced publicly, it was understood that Cross' support of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the source of the conflict between Cross and Stewart. In 1917, Laurier had declined to join Borden's Union Government, which was in favour of the policy of conscription. However, Stewart, for his part, was "Sifton's chosen successor and had expressed himself as favourable to the Union principle ..."[130] As one newspaper account indicated, Cross' continued support of Laurier 'could only be an embarrassment' to Stewart.[131] Furthermore, Stewart and Cross had "not been working harmoniously for some time, and the action [had] been expected ever since Mr. Stewart became premier."[132] It was rumoured that Cross refused to tender his resignation, hoping that "some sort of compromise" could be brokered by Lieutenant Governor Robert G. Brett.[133] Consequently, Cross was "retired from the Office of Attorney General" on August 23, 1918, through an Order in Council signed by Brett.[134] It was the first time in the history of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta that a Cabinet Minister had refused to resign.[135]

The Stewart administration would also be concerned with social and economic imperatives that emerged at the end of the First World War. In the final months of the First World War, the Spanish Influenza took hold in the trenches of Europe and was borne worldwide by troops who began to be demobilized around the time of the armistice of November 11, 1918. The deadly virus advanced rapidly from first symptoms to life-threatening disease within hours and ran its course within days. Soldiers infected with the virus arrived in Calgary aboard a military transport train on October 2, 1918, marking the generally accepted date of the arrival of the Spanish flu in Alberta.[136] Within two weeks, in an attempt to prevent the spread of the virus, Calgary's health director, Dr. C. Stanley Mahood, imposed quarantine measures,[137] but it was already too late: Calgary's epidemic had dispersed north and south.[138] On October 17, the City of Lethbridge was quarantined, although the 'unexpected and drastic action'[139] was lifted within 48 hours.[140] On October 19, *The Morning Bulletin* in Edmonton reported 41 cases of influenza, hospitals filled to capacity and a shortage of nurses.[141] Two days later, Edmonton's infected numbered over 100.[142] On November 5, Minister of Health and Member for Athabasca Alexander G. MacKay announced 8,563 cases province-wide.[*][143] When the epidemic had finally run its course by the spring of 1919, more than 3,300 Albertans had died of the Spanish Influenza.[†][144]

The Stewart Government was forced to contend with the sudden political, social and economic consequences of this medical catastrophe. Prevention and containment measures had halted public gatherings and brought agriculture, business, education and services to a standstill.[145] Legislation aimed at recovery from the subsiding epidemic and better management of the next outbreak was introduced. In 1919, the Legislative Assembly passed several statutes to address the resulting problems, including *The Public Health Nurses Act*; *The Municipal Hospitals Act, 1919*; *An Act to allow the issue of Debentures for the Payment of Indebtedness contracted in Fighting the Spanish Influenza*; and *The Department of Public Health Act.*[146] This legislative response embodied effective improvements in health administration, resources and public sanitation. Personally, Stewart had canvassed fellow Members of the Legislative Assembly to raise more money for the Red Cross,[147] while his wife, Jane, worked actively within that organization to care for those suffering from the disease.[148]

---

[*] The next day, *The Morning Bulletin* indicated that there were 9,206 cases reported in Alberta, but at the same time cautioned that "the actual figures [were probably] much higher." "Flu Cases Reported in Alberta Up to the Present Total 9,206; Actual Figures Much Higher," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 6 November 1918, p. 1.

[†] Worldwide, the Spanish Influenza claimed between 20 and 40 million lives over the winter of 1918–1919, a figure that was significantly greater than the number of casualties in the First World War. Michael B. A. Oldstone, *Viruses, Plagues, and History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 173.

Prime Minister Borden's Union Government had begun to enact measures aimed towards post-war reconstruction.[149] In August 1917, the Union Government enacted *The Soldier Settlement Act*, which was intended to support agricultural recovery after demobilization by providing homesteads as well as financial assistance, equipment and training to returning soldiers.[150] In 1919, the Act was repealed in favour of a law endowing the Soldier Settlement Board with broad, discretionary corporate and land conveying powers.[151] Land grants to both Canadian soldiers and those of "His Majesty's Allies" or of "any British Dominion or Colony"[152] effectively increased competition for land and resources in a severely depressed agricultural sector, in which the most productive farmland was already committed to homesteads.[153] Ultimately, the program of land grants proved unsuccessful because it provided poor land, and, as a result, many veterans left the land and moved to the towns and cities, where they 'heightened social unrest.'[154] The Stewart Government also participated in the post-war reconstruction effort by helping soldiers to re-integrate into their lives at home. The influx of newcomers competing for jobs when unemployment was high made this transition difficult.

After the First World War, labour strife, which culminated in the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, was also on the rise in Alberta and elsewhere in western Canada due to a number of causes, including growing union membership, increasing economic concerns amongst workers and labour union militancy.[155] In 1919, the Stewart Government sought to relieve labour issues* through *The Alberta Government Employment Bureau Act*[156] and *An Act Respecting Employment Offices*,[157] which together effectively brought the administration of province-wide employment offices under the auspices of the provincial government. Labour unrest, however, would continue to plague the Stewart Government. As late as March 1921, Stewart was confronted by a delegation of 150 unemployed servicemen who had marched on the Legislature Building.[158] To no avail, Stewart had attempted to stop the parade prior to its occurrence by requesting to meet with representatives.[159] Stewart met the marchers in the Legislature Building and addressed them from atop the Grand Staircase.[160] Veterans recounted their experiences including an instance in which an immigrant collecting a German Army pension was employed by a railway company, while Canadian veterans working for the same company were let go.[161] Since it was not possible for Stewart to respond to such a large unorganized group, he suggested that a small committee, along with a delegation from the Great War Veterans' Association (GWVA), confer with him.[162] During a two-hour meeting that evening, Stewart offered assurances that the Government was doing everything in its power and that no excuses for not employing veterans would be accepted.[163]

---

* Comprehensive unemployment statistics were not kept at this time; rather, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics tracked "Persons Engaged in Gainful Occupations." Unemployment in trade unions was tracked, however, and statistics show sharp increases in late 1920 and early 1921. Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The Canada Year Book 1921* (Ottawa: Department of Trade and Commerce, 1922), pp. 598–599, 627. In 1918, Alberta had the second-largest number of strikes in the country (31) after Ontario (71). Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The Canada Year Book 1919* (Ottawa: Department of Trade and Commerce, 1920), p. 477.

On February 27, 1918, Stewart introduced Bill 11, which stated that workers who sustained injuries during the course of employment should be compensated accordingly.*[164] Stewart explained the parameters of this Bill and other initiatives at the time: "I believe economy should permeate every effort of the government—not only the government officially, but every channel of endeavor of the government—during a period like this."[165] With the granting of Royal Assent for *The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1918* on April 13, 1918, Alberta became the fourth province in Canada to have legislation that acknowledged that some level of injury was to be expected and that compensation should be provided regardless of responsibility.[166]

In October 1918, Stewart was unable to attend an interprovincial conference on land settlement.[167] His 24-year-old son Charles Herbert had died on October 11 of complications from Bright's Disease (a kidney disease), for which he was being treated in Bad Axe, Michigan.†[168] The funeral was held on October 19 in Killam and was attended by many dignitaries, including Minister of Public Works and Member for Taber Archibald J. McLean; Provincial Secretary and Member for Grouard Jean L. Côté; Member for St. Paul Prosper E. Lessard; Senator William J. Harmer; and former Lieutenant Governor George H. V. Bulyea (1905–1915).[169]

The Stewart Government also had to contend with the issue of prohibition. In 1916, under the Sifton administration, *The Liquor Act* had been legislated as a result of provisions included in the Stewart-sponsored *Direct Legislation Act* of 1913.‡[170] The Stewart administration's difficulty in addressing prohibition alienated many Alberta voters.[171] In 1918, responsibility for enforcing *The Liquor Act*[172] was divided amongst municipal police departments, the federal Inland Revenue Department and the newly created Alberta Provincial Police.[173] Effective rural policing proved impossible with the inevitable result being extensive, organized illegal importation of beer and spirits into the province.[174] Trafficking in alcohol, inconsistent enforcement and widespread disobedience had eroded the law's credibility. By 1920, even Stewart's own Attorney General, Member for Sturgeon John R. Boyle, admitted that more than 60 per cent of Alberta men broke the law, proving that prohibition was a failure.[175] As one historian summarizes: "Implicitly, its failure meant the government's failure, or so the drys saw it."[176]

---

* The Bill was first introduced as *The Mine Employee's Compensation Act* and was subsequently changed to *The Workmen's Compensation Act* upon second reading, on April 8, 1918.

† Charles Herbert Stewart had been serving in the armed forces and was unable to follow the diet prescribed by his mother to keep his illness in check. Ardis Kamra, "Burnfield-Waugh: Charles Herbert Stewart," Ancestry World Tree Project, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], (Provo, UT: MyFamily.com), accessed 7 March 2006, available from http://awt.ancestry.com

‡ On October 13, 1914, a petition signed by 23,656 people requesting a Prohibitory Liquor Act was presented in the Legislative Assembly. Six days later, the petition was found to conform to *The Direct Legislation Act*. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 3rd Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. X, 13 October 1914, p. 23; Ibid., 19 October 1914, p, 58. A referendum was held on July 21, 1915, and the vote resulted in a majority of 20,000 in favour of prohibition. "Alberta gives 20,000 Majority for Prohibition," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, A.M. ed., 22 July 1915, p. 1. Bill 1, *An Act respecting the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors*, had its first reading on February 25, 1916. The Speech from the Throne, read the previous day, indicated that Albertans had overwhelmingly indicated their support for such a measure. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 3rd Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. XII, 24 February 1916, p. 8; Ibid., 25 February 1916, p. 9.

With the end of the war, a severe economic recession was experienced by Alberta's agricultural sector, and prices plummeted.[177] Many farmers, already disadvantaged by war-time labour and equipment shortages, had succumbed to financial disaster and bankruptcy.[178] Stewart believed that agriculture must always be 'the basic industry' of the province.[179] His commitment to agriculture and dedication to helping his fellow farmers was well-known. In 1919, he declared:

> Every cent I own is in my farm. I went into the Legislature to further the agricultural interests of the Province and accordingly my own. It has been my fight ever since I became a Minister to see that the farmers of the Province were having a square deal and I think I have done this with some success.[180]

Long-standing problems with droughts in Alberta* had led the Liberal administrations to enact amendments to *The Irrigation Districts Act* and *The Reclamation Act*, as well as amendments and Acts respecting the Taber Irrigation District; advances for the purchases of seed grain and feed; arrears of taxes; and the recovery of taxes.[181] Once Stewart had decided upon irrigation as the means of alleviating the condition of Alberta's drought-stricken farm lands, he and his administration committed themselves to wholly supporting it.[182] On September 20, 1919, the Lethbridge Northern Irrigation District came into existence when it received overwhelming support through a local plebiscite.[183] In October, federal and provincial officials signed an agreement to help drought-stricken areas.[184] Despite legislation in support of farmers and seed grain financing,[185] Stewart's vision for the recovery of Alberta agriculture was confounded by depressed crop prices in 1920, followed by a deeper recession in 1921.[186]

Albertans were discontented with the response, or perceived lack thereof, of the Stewart Government to the myriad of difficulties facing the population.[187] People became impatient for solutions and began to look elsewhere.[188] The United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) had come into existence in 1909, the same year that Stewart was first elected as a Member of the Legislative Assembly.[189] The UFA, in its early years, operated as a non-political farmers' movement—'a lobby group.'[190] However, the influence and importance of the UFA gradually became more significant.

---

* Hot, dry spells had been burning crops for years in southern Alberta. In 1916, approximately 45 per cent of the farms in Alberta were in the dry belt; "[i]n the years that followed 1916, rainfall was scant, and the area became a dustbowl." Gregorash, *Just Add Water*, p. 14. Yields plummeted from 35 bushels of wheat per acre in 1915 to 1.4 bushels per acre in 1919. David C. Jones, "Introduction," in *We'll All Be Buried Down Here: The Prairie Dryland Disaster, 1917–1926*, ed. R. C. Macleod and David C. Jones (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1986), pp. xxxiv, xxxvi.

From the effort to champion the enactment of a direct legislation law, which culminated in *The Direct Legislation Act*, to the UFA Women's Auxiliary's campaigning for prohibition during the 1915 referendum, the UFA was gradually drawn into direct political activity. In 1916, the Non-Partisan League (NPL)* became active and ran candidates at both the provincial and federal levels the next year.[191] Two of the four NPL candidates, Louise McKinney (Claresholm) and James Weir (Nanton), were successful in the Alberta provincial election in June 1917. These successes led to the UFA's approving at its annual convention of 1919 "a resolution allowing federal constituency associations and provincial locals within them to engage in political activity."[192] The UFA had become a political movement.[193] On November 3, 1919, in a by-election which was held in the constituency of Cochrane, Alexander Moore was elected as the UFA's first Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.[†194] Moreover, the UFA exerted significant influence on Stewart, as it had on Premier Sifton.[‡195] As one historian asserts, UFA "relations with the Liberal government remained very close, and with Stewart himself even friendly, and the legislative and administrative policies of the government closely reflected U.F.A. demands."[§196]

On February 15, 1921, in a somewhat unusual turn of events, both the Premier and the Leader of the Opposition were absent from the opening of the Fourth Session of the Fourth Legislature. Stewart was recovering from an appendectomy and the anticipated Leader of the Opposition, Conservative Member Albert F. Ewing, was suffering from tonsillitis.[197] Provincial Treasurer Charles R. Mitchell served as Acting Premier.[198] The Speech from the Throne expressed regret over the death of former Premier Arthur Sifton, who had passed away the previous month, on January 21, 1921.[199]

Stewart sought a fifth consecutive Liberal mandate by requesting that Lieutenant Governor Brett call an election for July 18, 1921. In a 1961 interview, John E. Brownlee (Premier 1925–1934) recalled a meeting with Stewart prior to the dropping of the writ:

> … I then intimated to him that, so far as the farmers are concerned, in my judgement he was well regarded and with some changes in his cabinet there was a possibility that he would have no opposition from the farm organization [the UFA]. I cautioned him

---

* The NPL was 'an agrarian protest movement' that had achieved political power in North Dakota shortly before being imported into Alberta in 1916. J. T. Morley, "Non-Partisan League," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 11 June 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com. Many members of the NPL were also members of the UFA. According to an official election source, McKinney and Weir ran and were elected as Independent candidates. *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 29–30.

[†] Moore won the seat, which was vacant due to the death of the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. Charles W. Fisher (1906–1919) had died in May 1919 during the Spanish Influenza epidemic.

[‡] *The Canadian Annual Review* of 1919 described the Stewart administration in this way: "Essentially Liberal in policy, it was entirely dependent on the farmers of the Province for power and the farmers of Alberta were the most independent, the freest-thinking and most radical of the entire West." Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1919*, p. 752.

[§] Direct legislation, the female franchise and prohibition were all UFA policies adopted by the Liberals under Premier Sifton.

> that under no circumstances should he call a snap election as that would be taken as a challenge to the farm organization. Strangely enough, he did the very thing which I warned him against and they did call a snap election, apparently hoping to take the UFA without preparation and organization in the provincial field. But so strong was the organization then that it required no preliminary organization of any kind.[200]

Within days, the UFA had selected 45 candidates to contest the election and to campaign for support in every area of the province.[201] The Liberal campaign emphasized the Government's accomplishments in education, public health and natural resources, and especially in agriculture.[202] A *Sedgewick Sentinel* editorial reported that it was "now generally forecasted in semi-official circles that the Stewart administration will be returned to power with an increased majority …"[203] Charles Stewart's record as Premier was praised by the newspaper:

> Premier Stewart, pioneer and practical farmer that he is, has held at all times rigidly to a policy of sound business methods in conducting the affairs of the province, and in this has been loyally and efficiently supported by the cabinet and the government forces in the legislature.[204]

On July 18, 1921, without a leader or a platform, the UFA was elected to form the Government.[205] Premier Stewart's Liberal Government had fallen to the UFA despite obtaining more of the popular vote.* Brownlee later attributed the UFA victory to the economic recession, low prices for farm products and the growing strength of the UFA: "In proportion to the seriousness of the depression is the extent of unrest that follows."[206] Stewart was one of only 15 Liberal candidates to be elected compared with 38 UFA candidates.[207] Out of respect for Stewart, the UFA had not run a candidate in Sedgewick, and thus Stewart was elected by acclamation.[208] Personally, Stewart was universally liked.[209] The lack of a UFA leader led Stewart to announce that he would continue as Premier until the UFA selected the individual to be the next Premier. Stewart would then recommend that the Lieutenant Governor appoint that individual as Premier, and Stewart would submit his own resignation.[210] After resigning, Stewart did not return to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta as Leader of the Opposition.† On August 12, 1921, prior to the beginning of the next Session of the Legislature, the outgoing Premier submitted his resignation to the Lieutenant Governor, stating "[a]fter about 12 years public service, it is not without some measure of relief that one lays down the responsibilities of office."‡[211] That evening, at an event held in his honour, the Liberals marked the end of their administration and expressed their gratitude to Stewart by presenting him with an extensive set of silverware.[212]

---

* The Liberal Party had received 34 per cent of the popular vote in the 1921 election as compared with the 28 per cent received by the UFA. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Office, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 11.

† To date, the only Alberta Premier to serve as Leader of the Opposition after holding the Office of Premier was Harry E. Strom (1968–1971). Strom served as Leader of the Opposition from September 1, 1971 to November 22, 1972.

‡ The Sedgewick by-election to replace Stewart was held almost a year later, on July 10, 1922. Albert G. Andrews of the UFA won the seat by acclamation. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Office, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 177.

As Premier, Stewart had welcomed many dignitaries to Alberta and participated in many ceremonial events. In November 1917, the Governor General of Canada (1916–1921), Sir Victor Christian William Cavendish, Ninth Duke of Devonshire, visited Alberta to present war decorations to veterans.[213] From May 27 to July 24, 1918, Stewart, Premier Tobias C. Norris of Manitoba (1915–1922), Premier William M. Martin of Saskatchewan (1916–1922), Minister of the Interior Arthur Meighen and Minister of Immigration and Colonization James A. Calder "visited every [military] division, either in England or the continent."[214] Their extended tour included being presented to King George V at Buckingham Palace on July 15.[215] Premier Stewart had earlier met with his provincial counterparts at the Conference of Premiers in Ottawa in February 1918.[216] On September 12, 1919, Stewart participated in celebrations honouring the visit of Edward, Prince of Wales.*[217] Prince Edward was on an extended tour of Canada and the United States. During Prince Edward's visit to the Legislature Building, Premier Stewart spoke of the strengthened bonds which would result from the royal visit.[218] The Prince laid the cornerstone of the Great War Veterans' Memorial Hall.[219] A ball—"the first event of the kind held in the Alberta legislature buildings"—was organized in the Prince's honour with more than 1,300 people attending, including the Premier and his wife, Jane.[220] The Stewarts' daughter Jennie was one of the few young women to have the honour of a dance with the Prince of Wales.[221]

Stewart's tenure as Premier had its challenges, but his administration also oversaw some notable progress. The provincial telephone system had "become one of the greatest state enterprises of the kind on the continent."[222] Changes in health legislation provided better safeguards against illness. Women participated in the legislative process from within the Chamber. An editorial in *The Lethbridge Herald* at the time of his death summed up Stewart's service as Premier by stating: "In his years as premier of the province he stood for sound progress and avoided being unwisely venturesome in the support of schemes that the dreamers of those days tried to foist upon the Government."[223]

### Later Career

During the week before Christmas 1921, newspapers were reporting that Stewart would be appointed to the Cabinet of Liberal Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King (1921–1926, 1926–1930, 1935–1948). UFA members were ready to unanimously endorse this move, since Stewart was "the one man of the former provincial government that still retains the confidence of the Farmer party of the province."[224]

At the age of 53, on December 29, 1921,[225] Stewart was appointed to the King's Privy Council for Canada[226] and to the federal Cabinet, attaining the title the Honourable Charles Stewart.[227] He held two portfolios concurrently: Minister of Mines and Minister of the Interior, the latter of which included service as Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.[228] Upon his appointment, Stewart was described as

> [a] stalwart, rugged chap, with great broad shoulders, large head, kindly blue eyes, he was just the type of farmer who might be expected to hold the scales of government

---

* Edward VIII was the King of the United Kingdom for 325 days in 1936. He abdicated the throne in order to marry an American woman who, having been divorced twice, was not considered an appropriate consort for the King.

> with justice and keep peace in the cabinet family. He had and maintained the record of a man of character, judgment and moderation.[229]

On February 20, 1922, Stewart was given the additional responsibility of being Acting Minister of Immigration and Colonization.[230]

Stewart was presented as Prime Minister King's Alberta representative in the Cabinet,[231] but because there was no available seat in the province, Stewart was elected "[t]hrough the generosity of the Quebec Liberals," as there was a vacancy in Quebec due to the death of Member of Parliament Peter R. McGibbon.[232] Stewart took his seat in the House of Commons as the Liberal Member of Parliament for the rural constituency of Argenteuil, Quebec (80 kilometres north of Montreal), upon winning a by-election on February 28, 1922.[233] As its Member of Parliament, Stewart was bound to represent the interests of Argenteuil. However, he initially claimed that his Quebec constituents understood that he would represent western interests.[234] Eventually Argenteuil voters' resentment over Stewart's belief in free trade generated criticism in the press[235] and at least one call for his resignation.[236] Free trade, which would benefit western farmers, was generally at odds with the protectionist policies, favoured by the Quebec arm of the caucus, which were designed to safeguard manufacturing industries in central Canada.

On February 7, 1922, in the debate on the Speech from the Throne in Alberta, Stewart's potential influence on the transfer of control over natural resources was discussed. Liberal Member for Edmonton and Leader of the Opposition John R. Boyle congratulated Stewart on his federal ministerial appointments. He said that while Alberta had a strong ally in the negotiations over the transfer of natural resources, not too much should be expected of Stewart, as he was after all a representative from another part of the country.[237] However, Premier Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) indicated that he "thought that the Hon. Mr. Stewart is too big a man to let a matter of not being able to obtain a seat in Alberta interfere with matters which would conflict with the welfare of the province."[238]

By 1924, it was "generally understood" that Stewart was considered to be "too much of a westerner to be a Quebec member, both for himself and for his constituents."[239] Stewart himself admitted that 'My wish is that so long as I am in service of the public, it shall be as a western representative, and not as an eastern one."[240] On October 29, 1925, Stewart was re-elected as the Member of Parliament, in this instance for the new federal constituency of Edmonton West.[241] He won three subsequent elections in the same riding. Stewart's Cabinet career was briefly interrupted by the resignation of the King Government on June 28, 1926.* In the general election of September 14,

---

* The King Liberal Government retained the confidence of Parliament into 1926 despite the fact that it had secured only 101 seats during the 1925 federal election as compared with the 116 seats that the Conservatives had won and the 28 seats that the Progressives had obtained. However, on June 25, 1926, the King Government was defeated on a vote of no-confidence, and consequently King asked Governor General Lord Byng to dissolve Parliament. Byng refused, King resigned, and a new Government under Conservative Prime Minister Arthur Meighen (1920–1921, 1926) was formed. Meighen's Government soon lost the confidence of Parliament, and Meighen asked for and was granted the dissolution of Parliament. King's Liberals were returned with a majority government in the ensuing federal election. Eugene A. Forsey, "King-Byng Affair," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 11 June 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

1926, Charles Stewart was returned to the House of Commons as the Member of Parliament for Edmonton West. He was elected by acclamation in a by-election on November 2, 1926, after being appointed Minister of the Interior and Minister of Mines on September 25, 1926.

Hon. Perren Baker
Judge Howey
Mrs Kate Sheran
Miss Sheran
Judge Jackson

Former Premier C. Stewart, at far right, at the unveiling of cairn dedicated to N. Sheran, Lethbridge (July 18, 1928). Sheran was the first coal mine operator in Alberta.

As Minister of the Interior, Stewart championed Canada's natural resources. Stewart urged conservation of Canada's timber[242] and exhibited considerable knowledge of the scope and potential of Canada's natural resources, particularly those of western Canada. Stewart received praise from those involved in the coal industry. For example, his efforts led to the adoption of a "temporary coal [transportation] rate of $6.75 per ton [from Alberta] to Ontario" in 1928.[243] Coal operators were grateful: "This is one time when the people can say they got everything they asked for from a government."[244]

During his second term as Minister of the Interior, Stewart oversaw the negotiations which ultimately resulted in the transfer of control over natural resources from the federal Parliament to the Province of Alberta,[245] a goal toward which Albertans had laboured since the days of Premier Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (1897–1905) and the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories. On January 26, 1926, Stewart presented to the Parliament of Canada an agreement providing for this transfer of control.[246] In May 1926, Stewart submitted a late amendment to the natural resources agreement that both the UFA Government under Premier John E. Brownlee and the other Members of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta found unacceptable.[247] The modification proposed adding a condition to the agreement, which pertained to the use of school lands. In 1879, an educational endowment had been created, through an Act of the federal Parliament, to aid in the development of schooling in Manitoba and the North-West Territories. In *The Act to amend and consolidate the several Acts respecting the Public Lands of the Dominion*, 'school lands' were set aside in each township in the North-West Territories.[248] The proceeds of the sale of such lands were to be invested in Dominion securities, and the accrued interest was to be paid out to the "Government of the Province or Territory within which such lands [were] situated towards the support of public schools therein …"[249] The resulting School Fund, as it came to be known, along with school lands themselves, remained under the control of the Dominion Government even after Alberta became a province, owing to the fact that the federal government retained control over public lands after 1905.[250] The new clause being added to the natural resources agreement as proposed by the Dominion Government stipulated that the school lands should be held by the province "in accordance with section 17 of the *Alberta Act*," which protected the province's separate schools.[251] Indeed, this new provision was interpreted as "an affirmation of the obligation of Alberta to appropriate from the funds derived from school lands a proportionate sum for the maintenance of the separate schools."*[252] Brownlee refused to agree to the amendment, later declaring that the two issues should not be dependent on one another.[253] Although the anticipated transfer was postponed, to the general disappointment of Albertans,[254] Brownlee used the opportunity to criticize the Dominion Government's interference in provincial affairs.[255]

By December 14, 1929, the differences had been resolved,† and Charles Stewart became one of four signatories‡ to the "Agreement between the Dominion of Canada and the Province of Alberta, regarding the transfer of Alberta's natural resources."[256] On April 3, 1930, *The Alberta Natural Resources Act* received Royal Assent, the corresponding federal statute being enacted on May 30 of the same year.[257] The Province was granted the same privileges and control enjoyed by all other provinces outside of the prairies.[258] In practical terms, the agreement provided for the transfer of about 40.5 million hectares of land, 1.21 million hectares of tar sands, 202,300 hectares of petroleum rights and several million hectares of coal leases.§[259] Financially, the arrangement stipulated that the Dominion Government pay to the Province an annual sum of $562,500 until its population reached 800,000, after which it was to pay an annual sum of $750,000 until its population reached 1.2 million. Finally, it was to remit an annual sum of $1.125 million in perpetuity.[260] Years later, Stewart's granddaughter, Ardis Kamra, declared in a letter to the editor of the *Edmonton Journal*: "Alberta's wealth today … is due in no small part to the vision and far-sightedness of Charles Stewart."[261]

In 1930, Stewart held the posts of Minister of the Interior; Superintendent General of Indian Affairs; Minister of Mines; and Acting Minister of Immigration and Colonization. The press described Stewart's extensive responsibilities:

> Not only is he a cabinet quorum in his own person, but he is the boss of nearly one-half the civil service. He remarked the other day to a friend that if he keeps adding to his portfolios he will soon be running as many departments as Mussolini. There must

---

* Brownlee opposed the new provision, arguing that using this funding for separate schools was unnecessary, as "under the existing arrangement there has never been any trouble in caring for the needs of the separate schools" in Alberta. In addition, other critics were concerned that the clause was inserted "on the insistence of Henri Bourassa" and other French-Canadian nationalists, who pressured the King Government to foster legislative initiatives supportive of French-Canadian interests, especially "the rights of the Catholic minority to separate schools." "AB Protests Against New Clause," *Globe* (Toronto), 12 May 1926, p. 1; Franklin L. Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography* (Lloydminster, AB: Foster Learning, 1996), pp. 125–126.

† The additional provision regarding the funding and administration of separate schools, which federal officials had asked to be included in the land-transfer agreement during negotiations in 1926, was dropped in the final settlement.

‡ The other signatories were: federal Minister of Justice and Attorney General Ernest Lapointe (1924–1926, 1926–1930, 1935–1941); Premier Brownlee; and Alberta Minister of Agriculture (1921–1934) and Minister of Public Health (1923–1935) George Hoadley.

§ In imperial measurement terms, these values are equivalent to, respectively: 100 million acres of land, three million acres of tar sands, 500,000 acres of petroleum rights and several million acres of coal leases. "Natural Resources Transfer Most Important Legislation ever before Alberta House," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 February 1930, p. 1.

> be something about Mr. Stewart that invites increased responsibilities. Ever since he achieved cabinet rank in the Alberta government, early in the war, he has had portfolios thrust upon him.[262]

Stewart's final election victory, as the Member of Parliament for Edmonton West, came on July 28, 1930. However, he relinquished his portfolios on August 7, 1930 due to the Conservative victory in the general election of that year.[263] On October 14, 1935, Stewart was defeated for the first time in an election, when he lost to Walter F. Kuhl of the Social Credit Party in the constituency of Jasper-Edson.[264] Subsequently, on January 20, 1936, Stewart was appointed chair of the International Joint Commission, one of six commissioners charged with finding mutually acceptable solutions to disputes between Canada and the United States under the 1909 *Boundary Waters Treaty*.[265] He served in this capacity for the remainder of his life.[266] Stewart had previous international experience as the Canadian delegate (appointed September 1927) to the League of Nations—the antecedent to the United Nations.[267] In 1938, Stewart was named chair of the Canadian Section of the British Columbia-Yukon-Alaska Highway Commission.[268] The *Report on Proposed Highway through British Columbia and the Yukon Territory to Alaska* was published in 1942.[269] In all of these capacities, it was said that Stewart never missed an opportunity to assist the Prairie provinces.[270]

### Community Activities and Personal Interests

Charles Stewart was active in church, community and municipal organizations. He was Superintendent of the Sunday school for St. Paul's Church in Midhurst, Ontario.[271] He served on the financial board of Christ Church Cathedral in Ottawa.[272] Stewart was a keen sportsman with interests in big-game hunting,[273] curling and golf.[274] He held memberships at the Rideau Curling Club in Ottawa, the Chaudière Golf Club[275] and the Royal Ottawa Golf Club.[276]

His wife, Jane, was a member of Killam Chapter of the Eastern Star and first 'Worthy Matron' of the Chapter; a member of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE); and an honourary president of the Edmonton Press Club.[277] After arriving in Ottawa in 1921, Jane joined the Canadian Club and the Local Council of Women and served with the Ottawa Women's Club, the IODE and the Women's Liberal Club. She was also the president of the English-speaking section of Bonne Entente.[278]

### Honours and Awards

Charles Stewart received some unique honours in recognition of his many years of public service. On January 12, 1927, Stewart received a diploma and medal of honour from the Vatican Missionary Exposition in Rome.[279] The *Canadian Annual Review* of 1927 states that Stewart felt the honour was conferred due to the harmony between his Department of the Interior and the Oblate missionaries in relation to the latter's successful mission work with the Native population.[280] On February 7, 1928, a peak located in the Fairholme Range, north-northeast of Canmore, Alberta, was named Mount Charles Stewart in honour of the former Premier.[281] In 1930, Stewart was presented with the first Randolph Bruce Gold Medal by the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy in recognition of his support for the Canadian mining industry.[282] Stewart's efforts had opened new markets and reduced unemployment in coal mining; made beneficial changes to the 'disposal and taxation of mining lands'; and promoted technological research in the mining industry.[283] In 2000, the City of Edmonton named Stewart Crescent in the southwest neighbourhood of Summerside in his honour.[284] Stewart Street is located in the Village of Heisler, Alberta, which is known as the 'Premier Village' because its streets are named in honour of former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[285]

## Fonds

Records related to Charles Stewart's years in the Alberta Cabinet and as Premier of Alberta were deposited with the Provincial Archives of Alberta. Records related to Stewart's career as a federal Cabinet Minister are housed at Library and Archives Canada.

## Death

Following an illness of several months, Charles Stewart succumbed to cancer and died at his Ottawa, Ontario, home on December 6, 1946.[286] He was 78 years of age. His funeral took place on December 9.[287] Stewart is buried at Beechwood Cemetery in Ottawa, beside his wife, Jane, who predeceased him, on April 10, 1944.[288]

## Tributes

Charles Stewart's 37 years of public service resulted in tributes from local, provincial and federal colleagues and friends. Premier Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) characterized Stewart's contribution to public administration as being "held in high regard by those who followed to the premiership and the fact he gained higher political recognition was evidence of his capabilities."[289] Senator William A. Buchanan (1925–1954),* president, owner and managing director of the *Lethbridge Herald*, stated that Stewart "kept his feet on the ground and applied what is commonly termed 'good horse sense' to whatever he did as a public man."[290] Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King offered the highest praise for Stewart's service in the House of Commons and federal Cabinet:

> Mr. Stewart's was indeed an enviable and highly honorable career, marked thoroughly by industry and achievement. As a pioneer in the building of the Canadian West, and a contributor to the development of Canada's institutions of government, he leaves to his country an exceptionally fine record of long and valuable service.[291]

It was said that "[h]is capacity as an administrator [was] only exceeded by his good nature."[292] An editorial published in an Edmonton newspaper indicated that he

> was a strong champion of free trade as an aid to the prairie farmer, and he battled long and successfully to obtain assistance for the Alberta coal industry. He will be remembered for his kindly, genial personality, and with the unspectacular competence with which he filled his various government posts.[293]

---

* Buchanan also served as Minister without Portfolio (1909–1910) in the provincial government, and in 1907, as the first Librarian for the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

## Notes

[1] H. G. Long, "Charles Stewart," [Editorial], *Lethbridge Herald*, 7 December 1946, p. 4.

[2] "Charles Stewart, Ex-Premier, Dies," *Edmonton Journal*, 6 December 1946, p. 1.

[3] John E. Brownlee and Una MacLean, (Interviewer), "The Transfer of Alberta's Natural Resources," *Alberta History* vol. 53, no. 4 (Autumn 2005): p. 23; "At Taking on Portfolios, Stewart Matches Il Duce," [Magazine Section], *Edmonton Journal*, 22 February 1930, p. 2.

[4] Charles Stewart, 26 August 1888, [Baptismal Record], Strabane Presbyterian Church, Ontario, Fonds, 1847–1924, United Church/Victoria University Archives, Toronto, 77.235/MR; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 114, North Simcoe, sub-district h-2, Vespra, schedule 1, p. 4, household 33, microfilm T-6497, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 29 May 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; Christiana Munro Sneath (Stewart) Marshall to Catherine Isabel Doris Caldwell (Stewart), March 1972, [Letter].

[5] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 148, Wentworth North, sub-district c-2, Flamborough West, schedule 1, p. 26, household 89, microfilm C-13256, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1891 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 117, Simcoe County, sub-district h-1, Vespra Township, schedule 1, p. 28, household 128, 129, microfilm T-6369, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Christiana Munro Sneath (Stewart) Marshall, "Stewart Family," [Unpublished Manuscript], n.d., pp. 1–2; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Stewart, Finlay," Wentworth, West Flamboro, 10 July 1880, no. 018625, [Death Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Ernest Gordon Stewart," County of Wentworth, Division of West Flamboro, 28 September 1881, no. 036333, [Birth Registration]. Alice is recorded as 'Allace' on the 1881 census and as 'Allice' on the 1891 Census. Janet is also recorded as 'Teresa' on the 1881 census.

[6] Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 1; Scotland. General Register Office, "Charles Stewart," in *Register of Births and Baptisms*, County of Angus, Parish of Dundee, 30 May 1841, [Certified Copy of Birth and Baptismal Registration], reproduced 29 June 2006, GROS Ref 282/00 019.

[7] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 23, Wentworth North, sub-district d-3, Flamborough East, schedule 1, p. 24, household 83, microfilm C-9925, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 1; Scotland. General Register Office, "Charles Stewart," [Certified Copy of Birth and Baptismal Registration]; Scotland. General Register Office, Charles Stewart Household, 1851 Census of Scotland, County of Angus, Parish of Dundee, household 110, GROS Ref 282/00 036/00 026; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Charles Stewart," Wentworth, 17 May 1875, no. 009147, p. 352, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS935, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 17 July 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Ann Stewart," County of Wentworth, West Flamoboro, 11 May 1880, no. 018643, p. 179, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS935, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 17 July 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca

[8] Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 1; Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., n.d., [Unpublished Manuscript], p. 2, Alberta Legislature Library, Edmonton.

[9] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1891 Census of Canada; Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 1.

[10] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1891 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Catherine Stewart Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 114, North Simcoe, sub-district h-2, Vespra, schedule 1, p. 4, household 30, microfilm T-6497, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 29 May 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; "Mrs. C. Stewart, Aged Pioneer, is Laid to Rest," *Weyburn Review*, 29 July 1925, p. 1.

[11] "Mrs. C. Stewart, Aged Pioneer, is Laid to Rest," p. 1.

[12] Midhurst Historical Society, "Charles Stewart: A Foremost Politician," in *A History of Vespra Township: Pioneers and Settlements, Communities, Historic Places, People and Events*, ed. Allan Anderson and Betty Tomlinson Anderson (Belleville, ON: Vespra Township Council, 1987), p. 605. The obituary for Mrs. C. Stewart indicates that the Stewart family moved in 1883. "Mrs. C. Stewart, Aged Pioneer, is Laid to Rest," p. 1.

[13] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1891 Census of Canada; Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 1.

[14] Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., p. 2. Biographical notes compiled by Charles Stewart's daughter, Christiana Munro Sneath Marshall, list Charles Stewart Sr.'s death as occurring on March 25, 1892, but a newspaper article published at the time of Catherine Stewart's death indicates he died in 1891. Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 1; "Mrs. C. Stewart, Aged Pioneer, is Laid to Rest," p. 1.

[15] "Legal Land Description, NW 14 7 13 W2, Ernest Gordon Stewart, liber 213, folio 307, microfilm C-6101," *ArchiviaNet: Western Land Grants (1870-1930)*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 10 June 2006, available from http://www.archives.ca/02/020111_e.html; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; "Mrs. C. Stewart, Aged Pioneer, is Laid to Rest," p. 1; "Legal Land Description, SW 14 7 13 W2, Catherine Stewart, liber 216, folio 251, microfilm C-6139," *ArchiviaNet: Western Land Grants (1870–1930)*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 10 June 2006, available from http://www.archives.ca/02/020111_e.html

[16] "Mrs. C. Stewart, Aged Pioneer, is Laid to Rest," p. 1.

[17] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1891 Census of Canada.

[18] Marshall, "Stewart Family," [Unpublished Manuscript], n.d., p. 1; E-mail from Ardis Kamra, [Granddaughter of Charles Stewart], 15 July 2006; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 35; "Local Member Passes Away," *Provost News*, 29 March 1922, p. 1.

[19] E-mail from Kamra, 15 July 2006; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 113, 123; Pierre G. Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1981 ed. (Ottawa: Pierre G. Normandin, 1981), p. 594; "Stewart, Charles William," [Obituary], Edmonton Journal, 5 October 1991, p. G17.

[20] Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1917 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1917), p. 470.

[21] E-mail from Ardis Kamra, [Granddaughter of Charles Stewart], 30 May 2006.

[22] "At Taking on Portfolios, Stewart Matches Il Duce," p. 2.

[23] Ibid.; "Charles Stewart: Farmer, Politician and Third Premier of Alberta," Contemporary Canadian Biographies (August 2005), *CPI.Q*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 2 February 2006, available from http://infotrac.galegroup.com

[24] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Charles Stewart - Jane Russell Sneath," County of Simcoe, Vespra Township, Midhurst, 5 January 1891, no. 011138, [Marriage Registration].

[25] Ibid.; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 3.

[26] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Sneath Household, 1861 Census of Canada, Canada West, Simcoe County, Vespra Township, p. 3, microfilm C-1074, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Sneath Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 42, Simcoe North, sub-district d, Vespra, schedule 1, p. 1, household 1, microfilm C-9962, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Sneath Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 139, Simcoe North, sub-district e-1, Vespra, schedule 1, pp. 36–37, household 181, microfilm C-13251, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Sneath Household, 1891 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 117, Simcoe County, sub-district h-1, Vespra Township, schedule 1, pp. 22–23, household 103, microfilm T-6369, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada.

[27] Christiana Marshall, "The Sneath Family," in *A History of Vespra Township: Pioneers and Settlements, Communities, Historic Places, People and Events*, ed. Allan Anderson and Betty Tomlinson Anderson (Belleville, ON: Vespra Township Council and Mika Publishing Co., 1987), p. 603; Earl Richardson, "George Sneath: He Did Everything,"in *A History of Vespra Township: Pioneers and Settlements, Communities, Historic Places, People and Events*, ed. Allan Anderson and Betty Tomlinson Anderson (Belleville, ON: Vespra Township Council and Mika Publishing Co., 1987), p. 600; *Illustrated Atlas of the County of Simcoe*, offset ed. (Toronto: H. Belden & Co., 1881; reprint, Port Elgin, ON: Ross Cumming, 1970), p. 19; United Kingdom. General Register Office, William Sneath Household, 1841 British Census Nottinghamshire, district no. 4, Radford, Hyson Green, folio 7, p. 5, Public Records Office Reference HO 107/860/8, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 8 August 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Sneath, George," Simcoe, Barrie, 15 June 1907, no. 027229, [Death Registration].

[28] Richardson, "George Sneath: He Did Everything," p. 600.

[29] *Illustrated Atlas of the County of Simcoe*, p. 19.

[30] Ibid., p. 52.

[31] Ibid., p. 19.

[32] "Sneath, George," *The Canadian County Atlas Digital Project*, [Internet], (Montreal: McGill University, 2001), accessed 8 April 2006, available from
http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/CountyAtlas/showrecord.php?PersonID=54614

[33] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Sneath Household, 1861 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Sneath Household, 1871 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Sneath Household, 1881 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Sneath Household, 1891 Census of Canada; Mrs. Charles [Jane Russell Sneath] Stewart, [Re: Father George Sneath], 12 May 1970, [Memorandum], Provided by Lori Stewart [Great Granddaughter of Charles Stewart]; Andrew F. Hunter, *A History of Simcoe County in Two Parts* (Barrie, ON: Simcoe County Council, 1909; reprint, Barrie, ON: Historical Committee of Simcoe County, [1986?]), part 2, p. 211; "A Simcoe Pioneer: Death of George Sneath, J. P.," *Globe* (Toronto), 16 July 1907, p. 2.

[34] "A Simcoe Pioneer: Death of George Sneath, J. P.," p. 2.

[35] *Illustrated Atlas of the County of Simcoe*, p. 19.

[36] "A Simcoe Pioneer: Death of George Sneath, J. P.," p. 2.

[37] "George Sneath, Midhurst (333581), Simcoe North (Ontario)," *ArchiviaNet: Post Offices and Post Masters,* [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 11 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/post-offices/index-e.html; "John M. Sneath, Midhurst (333581), Simcoe North (Ontario)," *ArchiviaNet: Post Offices and Post Masters*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 11 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/post-offices/index-e.html

[38] Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., p. 2; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Sneath, George," [Death Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Charles Stewart - Jane Russell Sneath," [Marriage Registration]; "George Sneath," OneWorldTree, *Ancestry.com*, [Geneaology Chart], [Internet], accessed 6 March 2005, available from http://trees.ancestry.com; Marshall, "The Sneath Family," p. 603; Christiana Munro Sneath (Stewart) Marshall, "Christiana Munro Sneath," [Unpublished Manuscript], 1976, [p. 1]; Hunter, *A History of Simcoe County*, part 2, p. 211.

[39] Hunter, *A History of Simcoe County*, part 2, p. 211; Marshall, "Christiana Munro Sneath," [p. 1].

[40] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Sneath Household, 1861 Census of Canada.

[41] Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 3.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid., pp. 3–4; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Catherine Isabel Doris Stewart," Ontario, County of Simcoe, Division of Vespra Township, 20 August 1893, no. 031481, [Birth Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Stewart, George Sneath," County of Simcoe, Vespra, 21 November 1891, no. 036048, p. 76, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS929, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 3 August 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; "Caldwell, [Catherine Isabel]," [Obituary], *Vancouver Sun*, 13 February 1989, [p. ?]; "Jasper Doke Caldwell - Catherine Isabel Doris Stewart," in *Register of Marriages*, Alberta, Edmonton, St. Andrew's, 4 November 1915, [Marriage Certificate]; British Columbia Archives, "Caldwell, Jasper Doke," Coquitlam, 31 August 1967, no. 1967-09-011606, [Death Registration], microfilm B13285; "Stewart, Charles H.," *ArchiviaNet: Soldiers of the First World War (1914-1918)*, [CEF Attestation Paper], [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 19 July 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02010602_e.html; "Local Items [Premier Stewart Left Monday]," *Killam News*, 18 October 1918, [p. 4]; "Local Items [Funeral of Charles Herbert Stewart]," *Killam News*, 25 October 1918, [p. 4]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Stewart, Christiana Munro Sneath," County of Simcoe, 18 May 1898, p. 579, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS929_144, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 21 July 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; Marshall, Christiana S., [August 1988], [Obituary], Provided by Ardis Kamra [Granddaughter of Charles Stewart]; "Marshall, Wilfred Marmduke," *ArchiviaNet: Soldiers of the First World War (1914–1918)*, [CEF Attestation Paper], [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 20 July 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02010602_e.html; E-mail from Ardis Kamra, [Granddaughter of Charles Stewart], 11 June 2006; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Stewart, Robina Jane Millicent," County of Simcoe, 21 May 1900, p. 308, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS929_152, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 3 August 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; "Whitman, Robina Jane (Jennie) Stewart," [Obituary], *Montreal Gazette*, 20 July 1990, p. E12; "Daughter of Former Premier Married at Her Girlhood Home," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 July 1923, p. 10; E-mail from Ardis Kamra, [Granddaughter of Charles Stewart], 14 July 2006; "Frederick Whitman," [Obituary], *Montreal Gazette*, 27 December 1974, p. 16; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Stewart, Frederick John," County of Simcoe, 5 July 1902, p. 588, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS929_160, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 3 August 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; British Columbia Archives, "Stewart, Frederick John," Boswell, 5 February 1969, no. 1969-09-002669, [Death Registration], microfilm B13294; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Stewart, Roseann Alice," County of Simcoe, Vespra, 13 October 1905, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS929_175, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 3 August 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca

[44] A. L. Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1930 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1930), p. 212; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Stewart Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 2.

[45] Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 3.

[46] *History of the Federal Electoral Ridings, 1867–1992*, vol. 6: Quebec (M-Z) (Ottawa: Information and Technical Services Branch, Library of Parliament, 1993), PQ, Mount Royal (1924–1966), pp. 3–4; Ibid., PQ, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (1947–1980), pp. 1–3.

[47] Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 4.

[48] "Midhurst," *Northern Advance* (Barrie, ON), 13 July 1905, p. 4.

[49] Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., p. 3.

[50] Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Charles F. Stewart, no. 1202518, for SE 4 44 13 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2751, 1970.313.

[51] Sharleen M. Chevraux, *The Ten Dollar Bets: A History of Killam and District* (Winnipeg: Inter-Collegiate Press, 1967), p. 58.

[52] Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Charles F. Stewart, no. 1202518, for SE 4 44 13 W4.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Chevraux, *The Ten Dollar Bets*, p. 43.

[55] Ibid., p. 90.

[56] Ibid., p. 41; Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., p. 4.

[57] Chevraux, *The Ten Dollar Bets*, p. 58.

[58] "Charles Stewart: Farmer, Politician and Third Premier of Alberta," [Internet Subscription Service].

[59] Chevraux, *The Ten Dollar Bets*, pp. 41, 45, 58.

[60] Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., p. 4.

[61] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 23.

[62] Ibid., pp. 26, 30.

[63] [Agreement between The Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company and His Majesty the King, Represented herein by the Executive Government of the Province of Alberta and Acting by the President of the Council of the Said Province], 7 October 1909, pp. 2–3, The Alexander Cameron Rutherford Fonds, University of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, 69-164, box 5; "Text of Agreement with the A. & G. W. Co.," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 19 February 1910, p. 5.

[64] L. G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 60.

[65] Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), p. 147; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 58, 71, 74, 87.

[66] "A. & G. W. Railway Deal Debate Continued in the Legislature," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 2 March 1910, p. 1.

[67] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. V, 11 March 1910, pp. 66–67.

[68] Ibid., p. 67.

[69] Ibid., 15 March 1910, pp. 71–72.

[70] Ibid., pp. 72–73.

[71] Ibid., p. 73; "The Government Again Sustained," *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, 16 March 1910, p. 1.

[72] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 16 March 1910, p. 75.

[73] Ibid., 26 May 1910, p. 89; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 90.

[74] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 2nd Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. VI, 10 November 1910, p. 11; Jay Stewart Heard, "The Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Dispute, 1909–1913," (MA thesis, University of Alberta, 1990), p. 123.

[75] "Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 6, no. 11, 15 June 1910, p. 301.

[76] Louis Knafla and Richard Klumpenhouwer, *Lords of the Western Bench: A Biographical History of the Supreme and District Courts of Alberta, 1876–1990* (Calgary: Legal Archives Society of Alberta, 1997), pp. 165–166.

[77] "Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 8, no. 9, 15 May 1912, p. 281.

[78] Long, "Charles Stewart," p. 4.

[79] "The Hon. Charles Stewart: Minister of Municipal Affairs," *Lougheed Express*, 11 April 1913, p. 1.

[80] Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., p. 5.

[81] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 2nd Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. VIII, 13 March 1913, pp. 134–135.

[82] "The Hon. Charles Stewart: Minister of Municipal Affairs," p. 1.

[83] *An Act to Incorporate the Alberta Farmers Co-operative Elevator Company, Limited*, S.A. 1913, c. 13.

[84] *The Farm Machinery Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 15; "The Hon. Charles Stewart: Minister of Municipal Affairs," p. 1.

[85] *An act to amend Chapter 3 of the Statutes of the Province of Alberta, 1911–12, intituled 'An Act respecting Rural Municipalities,'* S.A. 1913, c. 7; *An Act to Amend The Rural Municipality Act*, S.A. 1913 (2nd Sess.), c. 21; *An Act to Amend The Town Act*, S.A. 1913 (2nd Sess.), c. 22; *An Act to Amend The Village Act*, S.A. 1913 (2nd Sess.), c. 23.

[86] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 2nd Legislature, 4th Session*, 4 March 1913, p. 90.

[87] *The Direct Legislation Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 3, s. 4.

[88] *The Direct Legislation Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 3, s. 6.

[89] *The Direct Legislation Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 3, s. 6.

[90] *The Direct Legislation Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 3, s. 7.

[91] *The Direct Legislation Act*, S.A. 1913, c. 3, s. 24.

[92] *An Act to repeal Certain Acts of the Legislature*, S.A. 1958, c. 72.

[93] "Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 9, no. 23, 15 December 1913, p. 983.

[94] "To the Electors of the Sedgewick Constituency," [Letter], *Lougheed Express*, 26 May 1917, p. 8.

[95] "The Hon. Charles Stewart: Minister of Municipal Affairs," p. 1.

[96] *An Act to close and vest in His Majesty, in the right of the Province of Alberta, Certain Highways in the City of Edmonton*, S.A. 1915, c. 23; *The Drainage Act*, S.A. 1916, c. 24; *An Act to amend An Act to incorporate the Alberta Farmers' Co-operative Elevator Company*, Limited, S.A. 1917, c. 29; *An Act to amend The Public Works Act*, S.A. 1917, c. 30; *An Act to amend The Private Ditches Act*, S.A. 1917, c. 31.

[97] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 3rd Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. XI, 25 March 1915, p. 88.

[98] David C. Jones, *Empire of Dust: Settling and Abandoning the Prairie Dry Belt* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1987), pp. 33–41.

[99] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 3rd Legislature, 3rd Session*, 17 April 1915, p. 144.

[100] *The Irrigation District Act*, 1915, S.A. 1915, c. 13; Deborah F. Gregorash, *Just Add Water: The History of the Lethbridge Northern Irrigation District*, ed. 1995/96 Lethbridge Northern Irrigation District Board (Lethbridge, AB: Lethbridge Northern Irrigation District, 1996), p. 16.

[101] Gregorash, *Just Add Water*, pp. 7–12.

[102] *The Irrigation District Act*, 1915, S. A. 1915, c. 13.

[103] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 178.

[104] Ibid.

[105] *The Equal Suffrage Statutory Law Amendment Act*, S.A. 1916, c. 5.

[106] "Sedgewick Liberals Choose the Hon. Chas. Stewart," *Lougheed Express*, 26 May 1917, p. 1.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid.

[109] "To the Electors of the Sedgewick Constituency," p. 8.

[110] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 171.

[111] John English, *Borden: His Life and World* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1977), pp. 136–137.

[112] *An Act respecting Military Service*, S.C. 1917, c. 19.

[113] J. L. Granatstein and J. M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: The History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1985), pp. 70–73.

[114] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 170.

[115] W. F. Bowker, "Sifton, Arthur Lewis," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com; "Stewart to Be Premier," *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 13 October 1917, p. 1; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 180; Canada. Library of Parliament, "Sifton, The Right Hon. Arthur Lewis," Federal Political Experience, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp

[116] Canada. Library of Parliament, "Sifton, The Right Hon. Arthur Lewis," [Internet].

[117] "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 13, no. 20, 31 October 1917, p. 661; Charles Stewart, President of the Council, 13 October 1917, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[118] "General Feeling of Liberal Members of Legislature is for Hon. C. Stewart," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 13 October 1917, p. 1.

[119] Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., p. 6.

[120] "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, 31 October 1917, p. 661.

[121] "[New Premier Charles Stewart]," [Editorial], *Calgary Eye Opener*, 20 April 1917, p. 3.

[122] "Liberals in Legislature Unite in Doing Honor to Premier Charles Stewart," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 15 April 1918, p. 9.

[123] Robert Andison, Interview by George Brandac, Provincial Museum and Archives, 5 May 1969, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 69.362/1-2.

[124] Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., p. 1.

[125] "[New Premier Charles Stewart]," p. 3.

[126] "Roberta Catherine MacAdams Price," First Women in Provincial and Territorial Government, *Canadian Women in Government: Celebrating Women's Achievements*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada, 2000), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/women/002026-833-e.html

[127] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 29, 31.

[128] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 183.

[129] O.C. 1154/18, Alberta; "Hon. J. R. Boyle Is Now Attorney General of Alta.," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 24 August 1918, p. 1.

[130] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 185.

[131] Ibid., pp. 181, 180–182; J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 1918 ed. (Toronto: Annual Review Publishing Co., 1919), p. 707.

[132] "Premier Stewart Has Called upon Cross to Resign as Attorney General of Alberta," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 23 August 1918, p. 1; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 181, 180–182.

[133] "Premier Stewart Has Called upon Cross," p. 1.

[134] O.C. 1154/18, Alberta.

[135] "Minister is Ousted in Alberta," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 3 May 1937, p. 1.

[136] Eileen Pettigrew, *The Silent Enemy: Canada and the Deadly Flu of 1918* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1983), p. 63.

[137] Ibid., p. 64.

[138] By way of example: "'Flu' News," *Grande Prairie Herald*, 5 November 1918, p. 1; "Volunteer Help Is Badly Needed to Aid the Sick," *Medicine Hat News*, weekly ed., 31 October 1918, p. 1.

[139] "Lethbridge Is Now under Quarantine," *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 18 October 1918, p. 1.

[140] "Will Lift Flu' Ban on City This Afternoon," *Lethbridge Daily Herald*, 19 October 1918, p. 1.

[141] "Forty-One Cases of Spanish Influenza in City at Present; Seventeen at Athabasca Hall," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 19 October 1918, p. 1.

[142] "Over 100 Cases of Spanish Influenza Reported by the City Authorities Since Friday Last," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 21 October 1918, p. 1.

[143] "Minister Issues Appeal to All People of the Province for More Strenuous Effort," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 5 November 1918, p. 1.

[144] Pettigrew, *The Silent Enemy*, p. 71.

[145] Ibid., pp. 64, 66–68, 71.

[146] *The Public Health Nurses Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 7; *The Municipal Hospitals Act, 1919*, S.A. 1919, c. 8; *An Act to allow the issue of Debentures for the Payment of Indebtedness contracted in Fighting the Spanish Influenza*, S.A. 1919, c. 13; *The Department of Public Health Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 16.

[147] "Prem. Stewart Makes a Plea for Red Cross," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 15 April 1918, p. 3.

[148] Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 3.

[149] *The Department Of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Act*, S.C. 1918, c. 42; *The Soldier Settlement Act, 1917*, S.C. 1917, c. 21; *The Soldier Settlement Act, 1919*, S.C. 1919, c. 71; *The Returned Soldiers' Insurance Act*, S.C. 1920, c. 54.

[150] *The Soldier Settlement Act, 1917*, S.C. 1917, c. 21.

[151] *The Soldier Settlement Act, 1919*, S.C. 1919, c. 71, ss. 64(1), 4(1).

[152] *The Soldier Settlement Act, 1919*, S.C. 1919, c. 71, s. 2(s)(1-3).

[153] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 187.

[154] Ibid.

[155] D. C. Masters, *The Winnipeg General Strike* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), pp. 11, 139, 141; David Bright, "The Winnipeg Strike and the Canadian Labour Revolt, 1919," in *Canada, Confederation to Present*, ed. Bob Hesketh and Chris Hackett, [CD-ROM], (Edmonton: Chinook Multimedia, 2001), pp. 7–14.

[156] *The Alberta Government Employment Bureau Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 14.

[157] *An Act respecting Employment Offices*, S.A. 1919, c. 15.

[158] "Premier Deals Frankly with the Edmonton Unemployed," *Morning Albertan* (Calgary), 10 March 1921, p. 1.

[159] "Unemployed Vets Start Parade to Legislative Block," *Edmonton Journal*, 9 March 1921, p. 1.

[160] "Unemployed Vets Name Committee to Meet Premier," *Edmonton Journal*, 10 March 1921, p. 6.

[161] Ibid.

[162] Ibid.

[163] "Alberta Government Will Do All in Its Power to Assist Returned Men Needing Relief," *Edmonton Journal*, 11 March 1921, p. 8; "Premier Gives Assurances to Returned Men," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 11 March 1921, p. 1.

[164] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 4th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XIV, 27 February 1918, p. 19.

[165] "Provincial Expenditures Will Be Cut to Bone: Money is Needed to Aid Returned Men, Says Premier," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 27 February 1918, p. 1.

[166] *The Workmen's Compensation Act, 1918*, S.A. 1918, c. 5; D. A. Smith, "Workers' Compensation," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 17 April 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com. Ontario (1914), Nova Scotia (1915) and British Columbia (1916) had legislation to this effect prior to Alberta. New Brunswick also passed similar legislation in 1918, but it was granted Royal Assent on April 26, 1918. New Brunswick. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick, 7th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 26 April 1918, p. 169.

[167] "Substantial Progress Was Made in Negotiations for Closer Land Settlement: Hon. C. R. Mitchell," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 22 October 1918; Hopkins, *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1918,* p. 428.

[168] "Son of Premier Stewart Dies in Michigan," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 14 October 1918, p. 3.

[169] "Funeral of Premier Stewart's Son is Held at Killam," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 21 October 1918, p. 2.

[170] Peter W. Hogg, *Constitutional Law of Canada*, 3rd ed. (Scarborough, ON: Carswell, 1992), p. 351; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, pp. 157–160.

[171] George Oake, "With Neither Policies nor Leader, the UFA Ends the Liberal Era," in *The Great War and Its Consequences*, Alberta in the 20th Century: A Journalistic History of the Province, vol. 4, ed. Ted Byfield (Edmonton: United Western Communications, 1996), p. 344.

[172] *The Liquor Act*, S.A. 1916, c. 4.

[173] *The Alberta Provincial Police Act*, S.A. 1917, c. 4; Frank W. Anderson, *The Rum Runners* (Edmonton: Lone Pine, 1991), pp. 14–15.

[174] Anderson, *The Rum Runners*, pp. 16, 22.

[175] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 192.

[176] Oake, "With Neither Policies nor Leader," p. 344.

[177] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 189; Oake, "With Neither Policies nor Leader," p. 344.

[178] William Kirby Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 95.

[179] "Hon. Chas. Stewart Addresses His Constituents," *Sedgewick Sentinel*, 30 June 1921, p. 1.

[180] J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 1919 ed. (Toronto: Annual Review Publishing Co., 1920), p. 755.

[181] *An Act to amend The Irrigation District Act, 1915*, S.A. 1919, c. 35; *An Act to amend The Reclamation Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 34; *An Act respecting the Taber Irrigation District*, S.A. 1919, c. 30; *The Seed Grain Act, 1919*, S.A. 1919, c. 10; *The Arrears of Taxes Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 18; *The Tax Recovery Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 20.

[182] Long, "Charles Stewart," p. 4.

[183] Gregorash, *Just Add Water*, p. 16.

[184] Hopkins, *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1919*, p. 760.

[185] *The Mortgagees' Seed Grain Security Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 9; *An Act to Amend The Municipal Districts Seed Grain Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 11; *The Seed Grain Act, 1919*, S.A. 1919, c. 10.

[186] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 189.

[187] Ibid., pp. 188–189.

[188] Ibid.

[189] Tom Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta: A Movement, a Government* (Edmonton: Crang Publishing, 1989), [p. 2]; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 31–32.

[190] Bradford James Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy: The United Farmers and Farm Women of Alberta, 1909–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), p. 52.

[191] Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [pp. 16, 18–19]; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, p. 60.

[192] Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [p. 19].

[193] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 80–81, 83.

[194] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 176.

[195] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, p. 99; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 201.

[196] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 200.

[197] "Legislation Forecast in Speech," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 15 February 1921, p. 1.

[198] Ibid.

[199] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 5th Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. XX, 15 February 1921, p. 7.

[200] John E. Brownlee, Interview by Una MacLean, 28 March–12 May 1961, [Transcript], p. 7, United Farmers of Alberta Oral History Project Collection, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M-4079.

[201] Ibid.; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 11.

[202] "Hon. Chas. Stewart Addresses His Constituents," p. 1.

[203] "A Few Reasons Why the Stewart Government Should Be Returned," *Sedgewick Sentinel*, 30 June 1921, p. 1.

[204] Ibid.

[205] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 11; Oake, "With Neither Policies nor Leader," p. 343; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 101–102.

[206] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 8.

[207] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 11.

[208] Ibid., p. 35; "Premier Stewart Returned by Acclamation," *Sedgewick Sentinel*, 14 July 1921, p. 5.

[209] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 181; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, p. 60.

[210] "Farmer Majority in New House Continues to Grow," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 July 1921, p. 1; Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 205.

[211] "Stewart Issues a Statement to Alberta Public," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 13 August 1921, p. 32; "Farmers Approve Cabinet Slate but Refuse to Give Names," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 August 1921, p. 1.

[212] "Presentation is Made to Retiring Alberta Premier," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 13 August 1921, p. 1.

[213] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 4th Legislature, 1st Session*, 7 February 1918, p. 11; Canada. Governor General, "The Duke of Devonshire," Former Governors General, *Governor General of Canada*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Governor General, 2005), accessed 16 April 2006, available from http://www.gg.ca/gg/fgg/bios/01/connaught_e.asp; J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 1917 ed. (Toronto: Annual Review Publishing Co., 1918), p. 283.

[214] "Canadian Ministers Reach This Side," *Globe* (Toronto), 25 July 1918, p. 8.

[215] "Attends War Cabinet," *Globe* (Toronto), 16 July 1918, p. 1; Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 2.

[216] Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta*, p. 183.

[217] Hopkins, *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1919*, p. 294.

[218] Ibid.

[219] Ibid.; "Program Drawn up for Prince during Visit," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 12 September 1919, p. 3.

[220] "Ball for Prince at Edmonton a Brilliant Affair," *Morning Albertan* (Calgary), 15 September 1919, p. 4.

[221] Ibid.

[222] "A Few Reasons," p. 1.

[223] Long, "Charles Stewart," p. 4.

[224] "Ex-Premier Stewart Almost Certainty for Cabinet Post," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 December 1921, p. 15.

[225] Canada. Library of Parliament, "Stewart, The Hon. Charles A., P.C.," Federal Political Experience, *Senators and Members, House of Commons - Historical Information*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 16 April 2006, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp

[226] "Appointments," *Canada Gazette*, vol. 55, no. 28, 7 January 1922, p. 2721.

[227] "Hon. Charles Stewart is Minister of Interior," *Edmonton Journal*, 29 December 1921, p. 1.

[228] Canada. Library of Parliament, "Stewart, The Hon. Charles A., P.C.," [Internet]; "Hon. Charles Stewart is Minister of Interior," p. 1.

[229] Hon. Chas. Stewart, [1921], Newspaper Clipping, Alberta Legislature Library, Edmonton.

[230] Canada. Library of Parliament, "Stewart, The Hon. Charles A., P.C.," [Internet].

[231] "Hon. Charles Stewart is Minister of Interior," p. 1.

[232] Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 2; *History of the Federal Electoral Ridings, 1867–1992*, PQ, Argenteuil (1967–1947), p. 4.

[233] *History of the Federal Electoral Ridings, 1867–1992*, PQ, Argenteuil (1967–1947), p. 4.

[234] "No Elections until Another Session Ends," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 August 1924, p. 1.

[235] "Mr. Stewart is Target of Hot Shot in Paper," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 April 1924, p. 1.

[236] "No Agitation Yet Against Stewart," *Edmonton Journal*, 17 June 1924, [p. ?].

[237] "Alberta Looks to Cabinet Representative for the Return of Its Resources," *Edmonton Journal*, 7 February 1922, p. 11.

[238] Ibid.

[239] "Hon. Chas. Stewart May Be Candidate for West Edmonton," *Edmonton Journal*, 1 August 1924, p. 1.

[240] "No Elections until Another Session Ends," p. 1.

[241] *History of the Federal Electoral Ridings, 1867–1992*, AB, Edmonton West (1914–1987), pp. 2–3.

[242] "Save the Forests, Urges Minister: Speech of Hon. Chas. Stewart," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 July 1928, p. 19.

[243] Hon. Charles Stewart is Banquetted Here by Alberta Coal Men, [6 August 1928], Newspaper Clipping, Alberta Legislature Library, Edmonton.

[244] Ibid.

[245] *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21; *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.C. 1930, c. 3.

[246] F. C. Mears, "Alberta Protests Against New Clause," *Globe* (Toronto), 12 May 1926, p. 1; Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debates, 15th Parliament, 1st Session*, 26 January 1926, pp. 428–429.

[247] W. L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, Social Credit in Alberta: Its Background and Development (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 225; Mears, "Alberta Protests Against New Clause," p. 1.

[248] *An Act to amend and consolidate the several Acts respecting the Public Lands of the Dominion*, S.C. 1879, c. 31, ss. 22–23.

[249] *An Act to amend and consolidate the several Acts respecting the Public Lands of the Dominion*, S.C. 1879, c. 31, ss. 22–23.

[250] *The Transfer of Public Lands Act*, S.A. 1926, c. 69, Schedule ss. 2, 5.

[251] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 43.

[252] Mears, "Alberta Protests Against New Clause," p. 1; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 43–44.

[253] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 43–44; Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, p. 225.

[254] "Brownlee Postpones Resources Statement; Disappoints Throng," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 May 1926, p. 2.

[255] Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, p. 225.

[256] J. W. Horan, *'West, Nor'West': A History of Alberta* (Edmonton: Northgate Books, 1945), p. 91.

[257] *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21; *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.C. 1930, c. 3.

[258] "Brownlee's Resourceful Victory," *Docket*, no. 24 (February/March 1981): pp. 6–7; *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.C. 1930, c. 3, s. 2.

[259] "Natural Resources Transfer Most Important Legislation Ever before Alberta House," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 February 1930, p. 1.

[260] *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21, s. 20.

[261] Ardis Kamra, "Alberta Owes Its Financial Might to Far-Sighted Former Premier," [Letter to the Editor], *Edmonton Journal*, 9 September 2005, p. A19.

[262] "At Taking on Portfolios, Stewart Matches Il Duce," p. 2.

[263] Canada. Library of Parliament, "Stewart, The Hon. Charles A., P.C.," [Internet].

[264] *History of the Federal Electoral Ridings, 1867–1992*, AB, Jasper-Edson (1933–1966), p. 1.

[265] United States-Canada International Joint Commission, *The Annual Report of the International Joint Commission, United States-Canada, 1974* (Ottawa: The Commission, May 1975), p. 5; J. K. Johnson, ed., *The Canadian Directory of Parliament, 1867–1967* (Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1968), p. 551; Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 2.

[266] Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 2.

[267] Ibid.; E-mail from Blandine Blukacz-Louisfert, Chief, Registry, Records and Archives Unit, United Nations Office at Geneva Library, 6 April 2005.

[268] British Columbia-Yukon-Alaska Highway Commission (Canada), *Report on Proposed Highway through British Columbia and the Yukon Territory to Alaska, August, 1941* (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, King's Printer, 1942), p. 11.

[269] Ibid.

[270] "Charles Stewart, Ex-Premier, Dies," p. 2.

[271] Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 2.

[272] "Charles Stewart, Ex-Premier, Dies," p. 2.

[273] Chevraux, *The Ten Dollar Bets*, p. 58.

[274] Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 2.

[275] Ibid.

[276] *Advance Press Service Containing Latest Data and Original Photographs of Hon. Charles Stewart, P.C., M.P. Minister of Interior, Mines and Indian Affairs, Ottawa, Ont.* (Toronto: Advance Press Service, [19-]).

[277] Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 3.

[278] Ibid.

[279] Rodolphe Lemieux, et al., eds., *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 1926–27 ed. (Toronto: Canadian Review Company, 1927), p. 600; Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., p. 7; Marshall, "Stewart Family," p. 2.

[280] Lemieux et al., eds., *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1926–27*, p. 600.

[281] Aphrodite Karamitsanis, ed., *Mountains, Mountain Parks and Foothills*, vol. 1, *Place Names of Alberta* (Edmonton: Alberta Community Development, Friends of Geographical Names of Alberta Society and University of Calgary Press, 1991), s.v. "Charles Stewart, Mount."

[282] "Hon. Charles Stewart Awarded First Randolph Bruce Gold Medal," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 March 1930, p. 1; Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., p. 6.

[283] "Hon. Charles Stewart Awarded First Randolph Bruce Gold Medal," p. 1.

[284] Edmonton Historical Board. Heritage Sites Committee, *Naming Edmonton: From Ada to Zoie* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004), p. 293.

[285] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; *Welcome to The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

[286] E-mail from Jody Graham, Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa, 14 December 2004; "Liberal Stalwart Served Alberta and Dominion," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 7 December 1946, p. 7.

[287] "Social and Personal News," *Evening Citizen* (Ottawa), 10 December 1946, p. 7.

[288] E-mail from Annette Bryson, Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa, 8 March 2005; "Mrs. Charles A. Stewart," [Obituary], *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 11 April 1944, p. 20.

[289] "Charles Stewart, Ex-Premier, Dies," p. 2.

[290] Long, "Charles Stewart," p. 4.

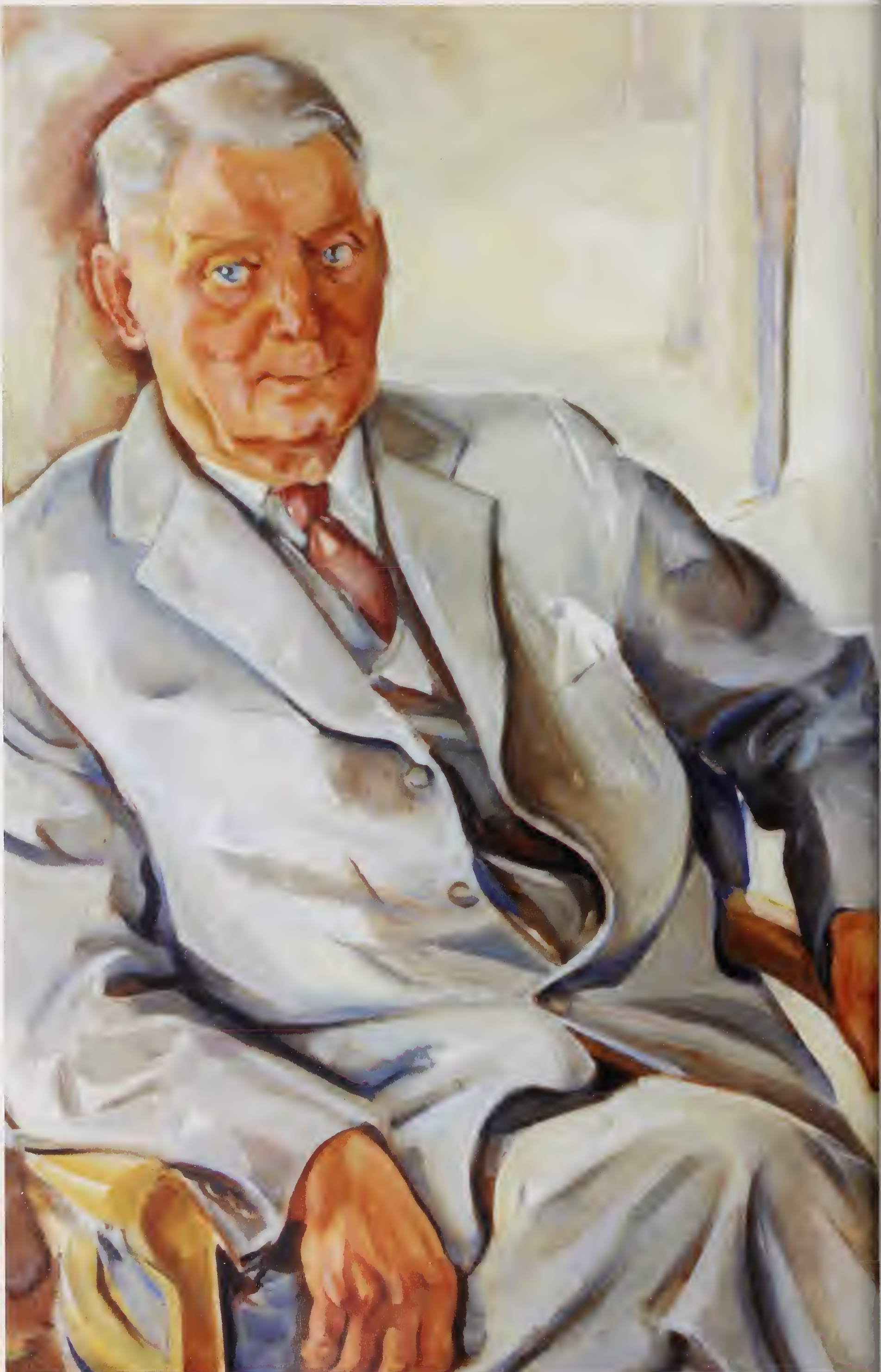
[291] Honourable Charles Stewart, P.C., p. 11.

[292] "At Taking on Portfolios, Stewart Matches Il Duce," p. 2.

[293] "Charles Stewart," [Editorial], *Edmonton Journal/Edmonton Bulletin*, 7 December 1946, p. 4. From May 30, 1946 to December 31, 1947, the *Edmonton Journal* and *Edmonton Bulletin* were published jointly, due to a printers' strike.

*His methods were always fair and above-board, while his character as a man was impeccable, a consideration not to be overlooked when selecting public leaders.*

# Greenfield *1921–1925*



# HERBERT GREENFIELD

Herbert Greenfield, a successful farmer from northern Alberta and vice-president of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) organization, formed the first UFA Government upon being appointed the province's fourth Premier. Greenfield was chosen to serve as Premier largely because of his agricultural and public-service experience. Following his tenure as Premier, Greenfield served as Alberta's representative in England, and later as president of the Alberta Petroleum Association. Premier Greenfield's years in office were partially concurrent with the terms of two Lieutenant Governors: Dr. Robert G. Brett (1915–1925), by whom he was called upon to form a Government on August 13, 1921; and Dr. William Egbert (1925–1931).* At the time of his appointment to the Office of Premier, Herbert Greenfield was 52 years of age.

## Family History

Herbert Greenfield was born on November 26, 1868, in Winchester, Hampshire, England.[1] He was the sixth of the nine children† of John Greenfield and his second wife, Mary Leake.[2] John Greenfield (b. ca. 1830, d. 1909), born in Ripley, Surrey, England, was the son of Thomas Greenfield, a draper.‡[3] For over half a century, John Greenfield made his living at various occupations, many of which were somewhat related to his father's trade, including: haberdasher's§ shopman, grocer, draper and tailor (at one time employing up to 16 people), commercial clerk in the provision markets and commercial traveller.[4] Mary (b. ca. 1835, d. 1904), born in Cransley, Northamptonshire, England, was the daughter of John Leake, a farmer, and Mary Thompson.[5] By the age of 15, Mary was working as a housekeeper, residing with two of her elder brothers near the market square in the town of Northampton.**[6] In 1860, John Greenfield, a widower, and Mary Leake were married in the Particular Baptist Chapel, in Nottingham, England.[7]

## Education

By the mid-1870s, the Greenfield family had left Winchester and relocated to Dalston, Hackney Parish, in the suburbs of London, England,[8] where Herbert attended Dalston Wesleyan School for a short time.[9] Due to his father's financial misfortune,* Herbert's formal schooling ended early. From the age of 12 until he was in his early twenties, Herbert was employed as a clerk in a coal merchant's business in London, England.[10] Although this early training in business proved to be very useful in later life, Greenfield also felt a need to compensate for his lack of formal education by reading extensively, especially in the fields of economics and trade.[11] Greenfield immigrated to Canada in 1896.[12]

---

* William Egbert's tenure as Lieutenant Governor commenced on October 29, 1925. Herbert Greenfield resigned as Premier approximately four weeks later, on November 23, 1925.

† Edith Mary (b. 1861), Frank (1862), Arthur (ca. 1864), Frederick John or John Frederick (ca. 1866), George (ca. 1867), Herbert (1868–1949), Florence (1870), Helena (1873) and Walter Leake (1876).

‡ In this context, a draper is primarily a dealer in textile fabrics and sewing articles but may also sell 'ready-made clothes.' "Draper," Ranks, Professions, Occupations & Trades, *GenDocs: Genealogical Research in England and Wales,* [Internet], (John Hitchcock, 1996–2003), accessed 9 June 2006, available from http://www.gendocs.demon.co.uk/trades.html#D; Katherine Barber, ed., *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2004), s.v. "draper."

§ A haberdasher is either a dealer in small articles, such as thread, ribbons, needles and pins, or in men's clothing and accessories, such as shirts, hats and ties. Barber, ed., *Canadian Oxford Dictionary*, s.v. "haberdasher."

** Northampton's market square is one of the oldest market squares in England, dating back to 1235. "Things to Do: Northampton," Explore Market Towns, *Explore Northamptonshire*, [Internet], (2005), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.explorenorthamptonshire.co.uk/exec/112345/5470

### Marriage and Family

On February 28, 1900, Herbert Greenfield of Warwick Township, Lambton County, Ontario, and Elizabeth Ann Harris of Adelaide Township, Middlesex County, Ontario, were married at the home of the bride's parents.[13] Elizabeth (1871–1922) was the eldest of the five children† of Samuel P. Harris, a farmer, and Mary Jane Crews of Adelaide Township.[14] Samuel (1848–1906)[15] was the son of Thomas Harris and Ann 'Annie' Phipps, emigrants from Wiltshire, England, and pioneers who arrived in Adelaide Township in 1832.[16] Samuel Harris served as a councillor in Adelaide Township for eight years, until his death.[17] Mary Jane (1851–1908),[18] the daughter of Joseph Crews, a farmer, and Elizabeth Burrows, was raised in Adelaide Township.[19] In 1860, the Crews family, having emigrated from the village of Morwenstow, Cornwall, England, settled near Napperton in Adelaide Township, becoming neighbours of the Harris family.[20] Two sons were born to Herbert and Elizabeth Greenfield while they were living in Lambton County: Franklin Harris was born in Warwick Township in 1902, and Arnold Leake was born in Brooke Township in 1904.[21]

In 1906, Herbert Greenfield moved his family to Alberta, where he homesteaded near the village of Edison, located east of Westlock.[22] He developed his land into a 258-hectare‡ model farm.[23]

---

* "His father had lost his life's savings in an abortive English dredging business, forcing Herbert from school at the equivalent of Grade 6," according to George Oake, former newspaperman and CBC reporter. George Oake, "With Neither Policy Nor Leader the Farmers Take Over Alberta," in *Brownlee and the Triumph of Populism, 1920–1930*, Alberta in the 20th Century: A Journalistic History of the Province, vol. 5, ed. Ted Byfield (Edmonton: United Western Communications), p. 55. Herbert Franklin 'Frank' Greenfield of Westlock, grandson of Herbert Greenfield, maintains that his great-grandfather was a merchant and invested heavily in a plan to dredge the Thames River. Personal communication with Herbert Franklin Greenfield, [Grandson of Herbert Greenfield], 12 January 2005.

† Elizabeth Ann (1871–1922), twins Emma Jane (1875–1923) and Anna Maria (1875–1933), William Edgar (1878–1915) and Joseph Luther (1880–1935). Anna has been alternatively referred to as 'Annie,' and Joseph as 'Luther' and 'Shoot.' Ontario Vital Statistics, "Elizabeth Ann Harris," Middlesex County, Adelaide Township, 3 February 1872, no. 005630, [Birth Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Emma Jane Harris," Middlesex County, Adelaide, 14 January 1867, no. 019898, [Birth Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Anna Maria," Middlesex County, Adelaide, 14 January 1867, no. 019899, [Birth Registration]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Samuel Harris Household, 1891 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 93, Middlesex County, sub-district a-1, Adelaide Township, schedule 1, p. 20, household 94, microfilm T-6353, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; *Adelaide Township... A History* (Strathroy, ON: Adelaide Township Heritage Group, 2001), pp. 188, 190.

‡ In imperial measurement terms, this area is equivalent to approximately 640 acres.

Sadly, Elizabeth Greenfield died in an Edmonton hospital on January 14, 1922, following a 'very serious operation.'[24] She is buried in Edmonton Cemetery along with her son Arnold and his wife, Leona.[25]

On July 6, 1926, at the First Presbyterian Church in Edmonton, Greenfield married widow Marjorie Parker Cormack,[26] the youngest child of Howard F. Greenwood and Maria Stewart.[27] Marjorie was born in 1893 in Lethbridge, Alberta,[28] where her father was employed as chief accountant for North West Coal Navigation (Alberta Railway and Coal Company). The Greenwood family moved to Edmonton in 1900.[29] Marjorie Cormack was the widow of Shibley S. Cormack, an Edmonton barrister.[30] Marjorie had two children from her first marriage, Frank and a daughter, who later became Mrs. James Lougheed.[31]

## Early Career

Upon his arrival in Canada, Greenfield "learned the practical science of Canadian farming"[32] through employment as a farm labourer in Ontario, first in Middlesex County, then in Lambton County.[33] While living and farming near Westlock, Alberta, Greenfield became actively involved in community affairs. In about 1907, he became the first chair of the Council of the Local Improvement District (in Edison), a district established 'to tend to local government matters.'[34] He served on the board of the Methodist Church in Edison, before the church was moved to Westlock in 1914.[35] He also served as secretary and treasurer of the local school board for several years, president of the Westlock Agricultural Society, president of the Alberta Association of Municipal Districts and president of the Rural Municipalities Association.[36] Indeed, according to one contemporary historian, during this time, "[a]ll the public movements for government, schools, and other things that make a modern, enlightened community had his support and cooperation."[37]

## Political Career

Greenfield's early political affiliations were with the Alberta Liberal Party.[38] However, his business experience as a young man in England exposed him to "merchandising and marketing methods and practices possessed by few men in the agricultural field,"[39] as well as giving him knowledge of British 'co-operative activities.'[40] Consequently, when he became a farmer in Alberta, Greenfield soon "joined eagerly in the formation of agrarian organizations which would improve the political or economic status of the farmer in the province."[41] The UFA would emerge as the dominant farmers' organization in Alberta, and from 1918 to 1921, Greenfield would serve as its vice-president.[42]

At the beginning of the 20th century, Alberta, as a prairie province, relied heavily on its agricultural industry, particularly wheat farming. Alberta's distance from the national centres of commerce resulted in comparatively high transportation costs for agricultural products, which diminished farmers' returns.[43] Thus, when farmers began to feel that they were unable to 'secure full profits from their labour,' they united in an effort to bring about economic reforms.[44] The UFA was established in 1909, with the union of two competing provincial farmer organizations, the Canadian Society of Equity and the Alberta Farmers' Association.[45] On January 20, 1909, a headline on the front page of *The Great West*, the official organ of the Canadian Society of Equity, read: "Amalgamation Completed—The Two Great Farmers' Societies of the Province of

Alberta Now One Great Society!"[46] Another article in the same paper predicted that the merger, by creating "one large and effective organization," would "prove one of the most important events in the history of the Agriculturists of the province of Alberta."[47]

At the time of its inception, the UFA was an agrarian organization without political aspirations, expounding as its goal the improvement of "the farmer's economic position through programs of self-education and united pressure on the provincial and dominion governments."[48] In fact, that year, the UFA organization published a constitutional statement of its objectives, clearly proclaiming that it was not a political party and that it did not endorse any political party. Rather, amongst its objectives were listed the attainment of "profitable prices for all products of the farm and orchard"; the encouragement of the building of granaries and warehouses for the storage of marketable products; the securing of "equitable rates of transportation" for farmers; the advocacy of "the establishment of an equitable banking system"; and the promotion of the enactment of legislation relating to farmers' interests.[49] UFA members were, at this time, "united by a common desire to better themselves and sometimes by a common resentment of the treatment of western farmers."[50] At the core of the farmers' movement were economic concerns. The movement emerged partly as an 'economic protest' against the railway, immigration and tariff initiatives of the federal government's National Policy,* which had been in place since 1879.[51] Chief amongst the farmers' economically based demands were: "tariff reductions, farm co-operatives, reduced freight rates, government-established wheat standards, federal regulation of the grain trade, and the construction of railways under provincial and federal assistance or ownership."[52]

In a broader social context, the UFA embodied and actively endorsed a social and political philosophy influenced by progressive ideals, which sought social justice and improvement to the quality of life through direct government action. A prime example of this was the UFA's advocacy of legislative reforms congruent with direct democracy such as “the referendum, recall and fixed election dates”; equal suffrage; and an end to “cabinet domination” in the Legislative Assembly.[53] The UFA also sought to bring ‘business efficiency’ skills to Alberta farmers, while attempting to overcome farmers’ social isolation, and to remove legislative and social barriers, primarily government-imposed, to agricultural prosperity.[54] Moreover, the UFA became inspired to some extent by the social gospel movement[*][55] and, upon extending UFA membership to women in 1914,[†] by rural health and educational concerns.[56]

---

* Introduced under Conservative Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald (1867–1873, 1878–1891), the National Policy sought three goals: populating the Canadian West through immigration; completion of a national railway; and protection of nascent Canadian industries through high tariffs. All of the foregoing had far-reaching social, political and economic consequences for Alberta's farmers. The main tenets of the National Policy program were continued under the Liberal Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1896–1911) and under the administration of Sir Robert L. Borden (1911–1920). Consequently, the National Policy dominated Dominion Government practices for several decades during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. W. L. Morton, "The Western Progressive Movement, 1919–1921," in *Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Canada*, ed. Samuel D. Clark, J. Paul Grayson and Linda M. Grayson (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing, 1975), p. 115; Robert Craig Brown, "National Policy," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available from www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com. Macdonald's Minister of Finance Sir Samuel L. Tilley is considered to have been 'the architect of the National Policy,' and in an impassioned address to the House of Commons in March 1879, in which he defended the increase of tariffs for the promotion of Canadian industry, Tilley famously referred to the Bible, stating: "The time has arrived when we are to decide whether we will be simply hewers of wood and drawers of water … or [whether we] will rise to the position, which, I believe Providence has destined us to occupy." C. M. Wallace, "Tilley, Sir Samuel Leonard," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, vol. 12, [Internet], (Toronto: University of Toronto Press/Library and Archives Canada, 2000), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://biographi.ca

The First World War heightened the grievances of Alberta’s agrarian community, for although the war-time boom had resulted in a rise in agricultural prices, farmers’ production costs generally rose more rapidly and steeply, soon causing most farmers to become burdened by considerable debt.[57] Similarly, farm-operating costs tended to fall more gradually than agricultural prices, the result of which was that “farmers were the most economically depressed group in the country during periods of deflation.”[58] Moreover, fixed transportation, insurance and storage costs for farm products meant that “when world wheat prices were high the farmer was prosperous but when they were low he was forced to carry a crushing burden of fixed costs.”[59] The federal government’s action of raising the tariff contributed to the widespread belief amongst western farmers that the national political parties “were run for the benefit of the privileged few.”[60] Insurmountable debt charges led to increased demands by farmer interest groups for relief and monetary reform.[61]

Soon, the UFA was exerting pressure on the provincial Liberal Government, resulting in the passage of a number of progressive pieces of legislation.[‡][62] Indeed, in 1916, it was reported that

---

[*] The social gospel movement, while initially “an attempt to apply Christianity to the collective ills of an industrialized society,” also became, in the interpretation of one historian, “a secularizing force in its readiness to adopt such contemporary ideas as liberal progressivism, reform Darwinism, biblical criticism and philosophical idealism as vehicles for its message of social salvation.” Social gospel ideals, which called for social reform and social ethics, were embraced to some extent by the farmer and labour movements and, later, by the social credit movement, and are currently embodied in the modern welfare state. A. Richard Allen, “Social Gospel,” *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com; Bradford James Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy: The United Farmers and Farm Women of Alberta, 1909–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 122–123.

[†] In 1915, a ‘Women’s Auxiliary’ to the UFA was formed, which was renamed the United Farm Women of Alberta (UFWA) in 1916. Mrs. M. Irene Parlby, who later became Alberta’s first female Cabinet Minister (1921–1934), was named the organization’s first president (1915–1919). Tom Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta: A Movement, a Government* (Edmonton: Crang Publishing, 1989), [p. 10]; Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, pp. 111–112; Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1924 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1924), p. 531.

[‡] For instance, the UFA was instrumental in encouraging the provincial government to enact both prohibition and equal suffrage legislation in Alberta. Under the provisions of *The Direct Legislation Act* (1913), the UFA circulated a petition that led to the 1915 provincial plebiscite on the issue of prohibition, resulting in the passage of *The Liquor Act* (1916). Similarly, the UFA and UFWA pressed the Liberal Government under Premier Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917) for equal suffrage for several years until it was granted in 1916, with the enactment of *The Equal Suffrage Statutory Law Amendment Act*. Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, pp. 118–119, 114; *The Liquor Act*, S.A. 1916, c. 4; *The Equal Suffrage Statutory Law Amendment Act*, S.A. 1916, c. 5.

"the Alberta Government had put more legislation, originated by the organized farmers, on the statute books than any other Province in Canada."[63] In 1917, Greenfield, who was the president of the Rural Municipalities Association, became a member of the small group* that drafted the Municipal Hospitals Bill, which was passed by the Liberal Government in 1918.[64] Significantly, the Act established a system of municipal hospitals within the province.[65] Meanwhile, the success of the politically mobilized Non-Partisan League (NPL)† in the 1917 provincial general election‡ provided an example of what a farmers' movement could achieve in the political sphere, 'quickening the agitation for direct action' within the UFA.[66]

During the same period, the UFA also sought to influence federal policy. In 1916, the Canadian Council of Agriculture, with the endorsement of the UFA, issued the 'Farmers' Platform,' "the first formal expression of the wheat growers' dissatisfaction with the existing political and economic set-up."[67] The Platform, which declared agriculture to be "the basic industry upon which the success of all other industries primarily depends," called for, amongst other things, tariff reductions, taxation reforms, the nationalization of railways, direct legislation and the abolition of patronage.[68] Up to this point, the UFA had been endeavouring to effect political change without becoming a political force *per se*. However, in 1918, the Dominion Government under Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden announced what has been deemed "the most important single event to stimulate the movement for independent agrarian political action"—the cancellation of military service exemptions for young men involved in agriculture.[69] In doing so, the Borden Government was abandoning a promise made during the campaign prior to the 1917 federal general election, a fact which "strengthened [the farmers'] determination to find a new method of political action outside the party system."[70] In fact, to protest the new measure, a "large delegation of angry farmers … descended on Ottawa."[71] Further intensifying the resolve of farmers was the Dominion Government's opposition to some of the tariff reform proposals articulated in the Farmers' Platform.[72] Thus, in November 1918, largely in response to the exemption cancellation and to the tariff question, a revised version of the Farmers' Platform was issued,* which not only reiterated farmers' demands for economic and political reform, but also recommended that provincial farmers' organizations take measures to select individuals who supported the platform as potential political candidates.[73]

---

* The three other members of the group were UFA president Henry Wise Wood, UFWA president M. Irene Parlby and UFA director Rice Sheppard. The Bill was drafted in response to a resolution, passed at the annual convention of the UFWA in 1917, promoting the establishment of a municipal hospital system. Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [p. 11].

† The NPL was 'an agrarian protest movement' that had achieved political power in North Dakota shortly before being imported into Alberta in 1916. J. T. Morley, "Non-Partisan League," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com. The NPL has generally been associated with 'radical Alberta agrarianism,' but many members of the NPL were also members of the UFA. Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, p. 132. One of the most influential founders and organizers of the NPL in Alberta was William Irvine, a Scottish-born Unitarian Minister. Irvine was very active in organizing the political extensions of the farmer and labour movements in western Canada. A Member of Parliament for the Labour (1921–1925), UFA (1926–1935) and Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) (1945–1949) political organizations, Irvine also edited and contributed to several newspapers devoted to these progressive movements, and authored *The Farmers in Politics* (1920). Canada. Library of Parliament, "Irvine, William," Federal Political Experience, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp; Anthony Mardiros, "Irvine, William," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com; Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [pp. 16–17]; C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 29, 36, 39.

‡ In the June 7, 1917 election, two NPL candidates were elected: Louise C. McKinney, a leader of the temperance movement and proponent of women's rights; and UFA vice-president James Weir. McKinney was one of the first two women elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, p. 132. According to an official election source, McKinney and Weir ran and were elected as Independent candidates. *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 29–30.

At the UFA annual convention of January 1919, the Farmers' Platform 'came up for adoption,' and the resolution supporting political action was passed almost unanimously.[74] The resolution allowed local UFA associations within federal constituencies to nominate candidates to engage in political activity.[75] At this time, UFA membership was larger than it had ever been. At its inception in 1909, the UFA had 2,147 members. By 1919, membership had reached an estimated 29,000, which was attributable in part to the UFA's decision to enter the political arena.[76] By this point, the UFA had embraced the concept of 'occupational representation,' or 'group government,' according to which theory every economic class should represent itself in government.[77] In contemplating political activity, it was believed that if farmers represented the interests of economic classes other than their own, their effectiveness in promoting their own causes would be lessened.[78] Therefore, as a result of this belief, and intending to remain true to its agrarian, non-partisan ideals, it was decided that

> [The UFA] would admit only farmers to its ranks; it would nominate only farmers for election; its representation in the legislature would constitute a separate group, co-operating with other groups but not combining with any to constitute a political party. Guided by this concept, the UFA in 1919 entered politics, both federal and provincial.[79]

In entering the political arena, the UFA rank and file had ultimately overcome the resistance of Henry Wise Wood, who, in his capacity as president of the UFA (1916–1931), had spoken vociferously against the politicization of farmers' movements.[80]

Despite his opposition to the UFA's entry into the political arena, American-born Henry Wise Wood was nevertheless one of the most influential figures in the development of the farmers' movement in Alberta.[81] Wood had emigrated from Missouri in 1905 and settled on a farm near Carstairs, Alberta. As a farmer on the prairies, he shared most of the grievances experienced by his fellow farmers.[82] However, Wood had witnessed the ruination of a farmers' movement in his home state and directly attributed its failure to its evolution into a political movement. Thus, while he strongly believed in "government of the people" and in "creating a real spirit of democracy" amongst farmers, he was "convinced that the worst thing that could happen to a farmers' organization was for it to enter politics."[83] Nevertheless, he was eager to assist the agricultural community in conveying its economic concerns to political leaders, and thereby, in effecting political change. He called for "the true social law of co-operation" over "the false social law of competition,"[84] propounded the merits of organization and, after becoming president of the UFA in 1916, "advocated the closer co-operation among economic classes and that the farmers should get a higher return for their labour."[85] Moreover, in addition to espousing non-partisan ideals, Wood was also the leading proponent in Alberta of the philosophy of occupational representation.[86] Still, Wood shunned direct political action, aspiring chiefly to bring about economic reforms for farmers through co-operation and organization:

---

* This version of the 'Farmer's Platform' was entitled the 'New National Policy' and challenged the long-standing National Policy. William Kirby Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 72; Brown, "National Policy," [Internet].

> While we wish to develop the full strength of our farmers as a class, we hope that organization will develop among all classes until all of society will be thoroughly organized. In organization … alone is there strength. When not properly organized, 95 per cent of the people are easily governed by 5 per cent. We must become thoroughly organized and train our leaders before we are prepared for real democracy.[87]

Only when Wood became convinced that the UFA rank and file could not be dissuaded from entering the political sphere did he put aside his aversion to political involvement and assist in the fulfillment of the UFA's political aspirations.[88]

Wood's influence permeated UFA doctrine, in particular its theory of group organization. Defined as "an organization of people who have common industrial aims," these groups, the UFA maintained, were, in fact, "the natural units of a true democracy, and as such must co-operate for mutual benefit."[89] Furthermore, the UFA believed that "industrial interest is the only means by which it is possible to cut across the social, religious and party differences which keep people apart, and it is the only basis upon which people can be organized intelligently and permanently."[90] The UFA also adhered to Wood's rejection of partisan ideology. Indeed, once the UFA organization had decided to enter the political arena, it was careful to distinguish its aims from those of a political party:

> The farmers' platform is the result of an organization's collective thinking. … [I]t is the expression of the farmers' movement. As such it represents true democratic thought, having been made by all the people in the organization producing it. A party platform is just the very opposite. … It is made by individuals who want power, and the platform is bait put up in a way to attract votes.[91]

In February 1921, several executive members of the UFA organization, including Wood and Greenfield, who was at this time vice-president of the organization, submitted an application for the UFA's incorporation as a political association. On February 12, their application was approved, formally incorporating the United Farmers of Alberta Political Association.[92] The successful contesting of a June 1921 federal by-election by a representative of the agrarian movement in the constituency of Medicine Hat gave the farmers' group considerable encouragement. Greenfield, who had played a leading role in the campaign of candidate Robert Gardiner, who was a member of the Progressive caucus in Ottawa, called the electoral victory "a triumph of organization over confusion; of principles over partyism," and viewed it as evidence of "the unmistakable demand of the people that there shall be a better and cleaner political life."[93] Greenfield also regarded the result as an indication of the strength of the progressive movement and of the effectiveness of good organization "for the furtherance of the best interests of all in Canada."[94]

By 1921, the UFA was politically mobilized. Eschewing what it considered to be the dated and ineffective structures and traditions of the 'old parties,'[95] the UFA advocated instead Wood's system of occupational representation[96] and thereby hoped to achieve representation for farmers in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta in the next provincial election.

Leading up to the 1921 provincial general election, the UFA Political Association prepared what was to be its campaign platform, a so-called "Reconstructive Legislative Program."[97] Prefacing the UFA's legislative platform was the Association's "Declaration of Principles." In addition to reiterating farmers' "dissatisfaction with the party system of Government," which, the UFA believed, had "failed to develop a sufficiently close connection between the representative and the elector," the statement expressed the UFA's belief that "individual citizenship can only be made efficient and effective through the vehicle of systematically organized groups."[98] The Declaration also affirmed "the supremacy of the organization in all things."[99] The Reconstructive Legislative Program consisted of a list of 12 points, several of which advocated legislative reform. The first was a call for proportional representation "of all classes of the community in the Legislature."[100] Other policies advocated by the UFA included: direct legislation and recall, economy in the administration of the government, equal educational opportunities for all children, prohibition,* the immediate transfer of ownership over the province's natural resources from the Dominion to the Alberta Government and the encouragement of cooperative marketing in the field of agriculture.[101]

### As Premier

In the spring of 1921, a writ was issued for a general election to take place on July 18, 1921. According to John E. Brownlee, future Premier of Alberta (1925–1934), Liberal Premier Charles Stewart (1917–1921) had recommended the early election call, hoping to deny the UFA sufficient time to organize an effective campaign.[102] The Stewart administration, however, had underestimated the degree of organization and commitment of the farmers' movement. Within days of the election call, the UFA had selected 45 candidates to contest the election and to campaign for support in every area of the province.[103] Apparently, as the election approached, Wood voiced his hopes in conversation with Brownlee for the outcome of the election and his apprehension about the UFA's potential responsibilities. As Brownlee later recounted:

> [Wood] expressed the opinion that if [the UFA] succeeded in electing some fifteen or twenty members … he thought that would be the extent of their success and, as a matter of fact, rather expressed the hope that it would be no better than that. He did shrink from any thought of the organization having to form a government.[104]

When the polls closed, the agrarian, non-partisan UFA had won 38 out of a total of 61 seats in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta and faced the daunting task of forming the Government.[105]

---

* While prohibition legislation had been in place since 1916 with the enactment of *The Liquor Act* under the Liberal Government of Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917), the UFA called for the more-rigorous enforcement of the legislation and control of prohibition-related abuses. To this end, the UFA also advocated amendments to *The Direct Legislation Act* (1913), which was perceived as being "essentially unworkable" insofar as it "was usable only when there was overwhelming support for an issue." Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, pp. 126, 191; *The Liquor Act*, S.A. 1916, c. 4.

One contemporary journalist wrote that upon being elected with an "overwhelming majority," the UFA Members "entered into office with a crusading spirit."[106]

The most immediate concern was, of course, the need for the new administration to choose a leader. Henry Wise Wood, the respected and articulate president of the UFA, was 'the obvious choice' for Premier.[107] Wood, however, who had been an outspoken critic of the entry into politics of farmers' organizations, declared that he was unqualified to lead a government and instead suggested United Grain Growers' general counsel, John E. Brownlee.[108] Brownlee also demurred, firmly believing that the Premier of a farmers' government should himself be a farmer, although he eventually agreed to serve as Attorney General.[109] Finally, on July 27, 1921, at a conference held in Calgary by elected UFA Members for the purpose of selecting a leader, Herbert Greenfield, successful farmer and vice-president of the UFA, accepted the leadership of the UFA Members of the Legislative Assembly and was appointed Premier on August 13, 1921 by Lieutenant Governor Robert G. Brett.[110] Later, Greenfield would say that he had been "strongly disinclined to enter public life" and that it was only "in response to the unanimous request, verbally expressed by every member," that he consented to assume the leadership.[111] After being chosen to lead the newly elected UFA Government, Greenfield made the following statement:

> I appreciate quite fully the responsibility which you have seen fit to place upon me, and I respectfully bow to your collective judgment. ... I have always had abounding faith in the common-sense of the farmers of this Province. In times of crisis in the history of our organization it has never failed us. It has not failed us now, and I go forward with the confidence that your judgment is right and with an abiding faith in the common-sense of the common people.[112]

Greenfield, however, had not been a candidate in the election, thus it was necessary to secure the new Premier a seat. Accordingly, Donald M. Kennedy, UFA Member for the constituency of Peace River, resigned, and in a by-election on December 9, 1921, Herbert Greenfield was elected by acclamation.[113] Greenfield also assumed the Cabinet portfolios of Provincial Secretary and Provincial Treasurer.*[114] Graciously, outgoing Premier Charles Stewart was reported to have said that he thought that "the Farmer members had made a wise selection in the person of Mr. Greenfield, who, he thought, would give good service as Leader of the new Government."[115]

Those first 'awkward'[116] months of the UFA administration were a time of profound adjustment and compromise, not only for Government Members, but also for the Premier personally. On January 14, 1922, Herbert Greenfield suffered the unexpected loss of his wife Elizabeth.[117] Although Mrs. Greenfield had been ill for about a year, it was expected that she would recover; her death therefore came with 'startling suddenness.'[118] In fact, so unexpected was the news of her passing that on the day of her death, "little was attempted in the various offices at the [Legislature] building," and it was announced that there would be a "half-holiday … to allow the civil servants to attend the funeral."[119] Pallbearers for Mrs. Greenfield, who had recently become active in the UFWA, included UFA president Henry Wise Wood, Minister of Public Works Alexander Ross and Minister of Railways and Telephones Vernor W. Smith.[120]

---

* As well as serving as President of the Executive Council (Premier), Provincial Secretary (1921–1923), Provincial Treasurer (1921–1923) and Minister of Municipal Affairs (1923–1925), Greenfield served on the following Select Special Committees of the Legislative Assembly: *Agriculture and Colonization* (1922–1925); *Legal Bills* (1925); and *Railways* (1924–1925). From 1923 to 1925, he acted as Chair of the Scientific and Industrial Research Council of Alberta.

Meanwhile, the farmers, now wielding executive and legislative control, were charged with great and, for them, novel responsibilities, which extended beyond their initial goal of effecting political change. The UFA's predicament was succinctly elucidated in an article published in the *Manitoba Free Press* shortly after the farmers' electoral victory: "It is an open secret in Alberta that the Farmers did not really wish to secure enough seats to have to take upon themselves the responsibility of forming a government. They wanted a strong group only."[121] According to the article, there were two primary reasons for this reluctance to form the Government. The first was the fact that the UFA would necessarily be inheriting the problems of past administrations and would therefore be compelled to assume those burdens. The second reason, rooted in their belief in group government, was that they felt that they would be acting as the "custodians of the interests of others, whom they [wished] were there themselves to look after their own interests."[122]

Moreover, it soon became plain to the inexperienced Greenfield administration that the expectations of the UFA membership would have to be managed. One source of difficulty was that "many U.F.A. followers believed that the relationship of the U.F.A. to the government would be that of director to administrator: the government would be responsible for carrying out the instructions of its UFA supporters."[123] Shortly after taking office, Greenfield's Government was 'besieged' with requests, letters and resolutions from individual UFA members and local UFA branches,[124] many of which reflected the expectation that UFA Members of the Legislative Assembly were "their special representatives" and as such would grant them "some direct special benefits."[125] A large number of pleas came from southern Alberta, where farm residents were struggling to contend with severe drought conditions.* Amongst the correspondence were complaints about creditors and requests for relief and supplies of seed grain.[126] Certainly, the drought in the south necessitated some form of government action. However, according to one historian, "[s]ome U.F.A. adherents were persuaded that U.F.A. representatives ought to secure the best possible conditions for the farmers of their constituencies, without regard for any other section of the population."[127]

The Government was also pressured to adopt the resolutions passed at UFA annual conventions. A case in point was the proposal to establish a bank under provincial government ownership, which would issue its own currency and provide low-interest loans to farmers. The Government created a Commission on Banking and Credit to explore the matter, but found the proposition to be "legally insuperable" and "economically unsound."[128] Ultimately, in refusing "to yield to convention pressure," the Greenfield administration "thwarted a persistent belief among the rank and file U.F.A. members and convention delegates that the convention was the body which really expressed their will."[129] Thus, under Greenfield, the Cabinet was beginning to control the governing process much as it did under other administrations.[130]

---

* Hot, dry spells had been burning crops for years in southern Alberta. In 1916, approximately 45 per cent of the farms in Alberta were in the dry belt; "[i]n the years that followed 1916, rainfall was scant, and the area became a dustbowl." Deborah F. Gregorash, *Just Add Water: The History of the Lethbridge Northern Irrigation District*, ed. Lethbridge Northern Irrigation District Board (Lethbridge, AB: Lethbridge Northern Irrigation District, 1996), p. 14. Yields plummeted from 35 bushels of wheat per acre in 1915 to 1.4 bushels per acre in 1919. David C. Jones, "Introduction," in *We'll All Be Buried Down Here: The Prairie Dryland Disaster 1917–1926*, ed. R. C. Mcleod and David C. Jones (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1986), pp. xxxiv, xxxvi.

On February 2, 1922, at the opening of the First Session of the Fifth Legislature, Lieutenant Governor Brett delivered the first Speech from the Throne under a UFA administration. Acknowledging that the province was suffering the effects of a "general economic and industrial depression following the war," the Speech outlined the Government's plans to address labour concerns, reduce freight rates and consider "the creation of increased facilities" for the marketing of agricultural products.[131] The Speech also expressed the Government's intention to provide relief to areas in southern Alberta, made necessary by the "failures of crops … and the financial conditions created by a series of poor crop seasons,"[132] and that the report of the Southern Alberta Survey Board, which had been appointed to investigate the areas in need, would determine what action would be required to effect a 'permanent solution' to the problem.[133]

Legislation was enacted that Session that delivered some of the promised measures. For example, *The Bureau of Labour Act* provided for a commissioner of labour to oversee the "collection, assortment, systemization and publication of information and statistics affecting labour."[134] More significantly, under the Greenfield Government, *The Drought Area Relief Act* was passed, which, it was hoped, would begin to lessen the effects of the disastrous weather in southern Alberta.[135] The Act, it has been said, was "nothing short of revolutionary," as it "introduced for the first time in the province's history the principle of debt adjustment."[136] Amongst other things, the Act provided for "matters between [farmer] residents … and their creditors" to be resolved without recourse to legal action.[137] However, despite the Government's attempts to address its primary effects, the drought in the south and the unprecedented devastation it caused ultimately resulted in the relocation of many farmers and proved to be a huge financial burden on the province.[138]

Premier H. Greenfield, fourth from left, with members of Blood Indian Nation, at Macleod celebration (n.d.).

The Budget Speech of 1922, presented by Premier Greenfield as Provincial Treasurer, articulated the UFA's general policy of fiscal conservatism. The Budget called for "a ruthless cutting down of all unnecessary expenditures, elimination of waste and the rejection of demand for new services" and emphasized the need to be "economical, not only because we believe in thrift, but because it is absolutely essential to the financial health of this Province."[139] Greenfield attributed the province's debt in part to the "optimism" and "over-expansion" of former Governments, sombrely admitting that "it falls to the lot of this Government to undertake the almost impossible task of finding a way to reduce the total annual expenditure of the Province."[140]

Despite the enactment of needed social legislation and the presentation of an austere budget, the 1922 Spring Session witnessed the near collapse of the inexperienced UFA Government. The source of the problem lay in the UFA's philosophy about the parliamentary convention of caucus solidarity: UFA Members

> … looked upon the caucus as conveying by the very name all of the evils of the party system and they thought it was their duty to introduce something new into parliamentary life that is the complete freedom of the individual member. He was to be free to state his views on any subject on the floor of the house regardless of the attitude of the ministers.[141]

When the Legislative Assembly was presented with a Bill to amend *The Dairymen's Act* (1907),[142] the determination of Private Members on the Government benches to vote their consciences resulted in the Government's relying on the support of four Labour Members to narrowly avoid defeat at the hands of its own Members.[143]

In order to avoid such missteps in the future, Greenfield sought Attorney General Brownlee's aid in outlining the realities of parliamentary procedure to disillusioned UFA Members.[144] Brownlee made it clear that the Government "had no wish to be embarrassed in introducing a bill which did not have the general support of the U.F.A. membership,"[145] the most drastic result of which could be that, if the Lieutenant Governor considered the Government unworthy of the Legislative Assembly's confidence, he was within his rights to demand the Government's resignation.[146] Greenfield and Brownlee engineered a compromise under which UFA caucus members would discuss legislative initiatives in advance of a debate or vote and voice any constituency concerns at the caucus table rather than in the Chamber. If the caucus opposed legislation, then it would not be introduced in the Legislative Assembly.[147] The UFA Members were gradually beginning to operate like a traditional caucus.[148]

Following his first Legislative Session as Premier, Greenfield was keen to voice the causes of the western farmer nationally and to make known to the rest of Canada what he perceived to be the triumphs of the UFA in the political sphere. Addressing the Empire Club of Canada in Toronto* in May 1922, Greenfield made the following remarks:

> The whole object of the political movement of the farmers of Alberta, put in a few words, is this: We are using every effort to build up in the province an intelligent, responsible Canadian citizenship, and that, in my judgment, is the first step towards intelligent responsible government.[149]

---

* Established in 1903, the Empire Club of Canada is one of the country's 'oldest and largest speakers' forums,' having been addressed over the course of its history by more than 2,500 distinguished men and women of national and international prominence. Members of the Club include government, business and labour leaders, amongst others. Herbert Greenfield was the first Premier of Alberta to address the Club, but he was not the last. Premier Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) addressed the Club in November 1966; Premier E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985), in May 1973 and June 1982; and Ralph P. Klein (1992– ), in February 1993. Lougheed had also addressed the Club in March 1966, when he was leader of the Alberta Progressive Conservatives. *The Empire Club of Canada*, [Internet], accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.empireclubfoundation.com

Continuing, Greenfield then expressed a desire that these trends would prevail throughout Canada and "make the public life of this country a thing that men shall count it an honour and privilege to step into."[150] The Premier finished his speech with an impassioned plea for understanding and cooperation amongst all Canadians:

> [L]et all of us—it does not make any difference whether you are manufacturer, financial man, farmer or what you are, if we are going to build up Canada—let us try to understand each other as fully as we possibly can, and with broad-mindedness and broad vision and all sorts of tolerance, let us go ahead and work out the destiny of this great Dominion.[151]

Greenfield returned to Alberta to face more challenges as the leader of a farmers' Government in the west.

In 1923 and 1924, under the UFA Government, additional legislation was passed aimed at improving conditions within the province. Replacing *The Drought Area Relief Act* of 1922 and granting a partial moratorium on the debts of farmers was *The Debt Adjustment Act* (1923), which, it was hoped, would effect the "salvation of the demoralized southern farmer."[152] However, "the government began to realize that as far as the campaign to save the south was concerned," no wholly positive solution could be expected.[153] In February 1923, Greenfield announced the end of seed grain advances and relief for Alberta's needy farmers, stating at the time his belief that the provincial policy of advancing seed grain was not working as advances were not being repaid.[154] Also in 1923, *The Coal Sales Act* was enacted, which provided for, amongst other things, the regulation of the sale of coal within Alberta's burgeoning coal industry.[155] *The Government Liquor Control Act of Alberta* was yet another noteworthy piece of legislation passed during this period.[156] Although prohibition had been one of the planks of the farmer movement's original platform, and despite the fact that it had been in operation in Alberta since 1916, the populace had grown ambivalent and even contemptuous about it. Moreover, the trafficking of liquor was rampant in the province.[157] This new legislation introduced the government-controlled sale and licensing of liquor through the Alberta Liquor Control Board.[158] In 1924, the Greenfield administration facilitated the development of co-operative marketing programs with the passing of *The Alberta Co-operative Wheat Producers, Limited, Act* and *The Co-operative Marketing Associations Act*.[159] Although the Greenfield Government had failed in its efforts to re-establish the Canadian Wheat Board,* this

---

* In 1920, to the dismay of many Prairie farmers, the federal government disbanded the Canadian Wheat Board, the national grain-marketing agency. Under pressure from farmers, the Dominion Government then tried to re-establish the Board and enacted the necessary legislation to set it up as a mandatory wheat pool, with the provision that at least two Provinces pass corresponding legislation to allow it to operate. Greenfield supported the action, and the Legislative Assembly of Alberta accordingly enacted the enabling legislation. However, Greenfield was unable to find anyone willing to serve on the Board, for many agrarian leaders believed that a successful Board would be dependent on the support of all the Prairie Provinces. Although the Saskatchewan Government supported the initiative, it was likewise unable to find willing participants to serve on the Board. The Manitoba Government did not support the effort, and thus the federal Wheat Board failed once again. It would not be successfully re-established until 1935. Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta*, pp. 132–139; M. M. Veeman and T. S. Veeman, "Canadian Wheat Board," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available at: http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

legislation supported the initiation by farmers of voluntary co-operative marketing pools for wheat and other agricultural products.[160]

In addition to maintaining a strong focus on agricultural issues, the Greenfield Government attempted to find solutions to two other significant issues of provincial concern, the first of which involved railway guarantees, an issue inherited from the Stewart administration. Unfortunately for Greenfield, he was unable to resolve this problem, causing his caucus to question his administrative ability.[161] The second issue was related to labour strife within the coal industry. Although coal was proving to be a valuable provincial asset, the operation of the industry was fraught with difficulties. As one historian explains:

> From 1886 to 1924 almost 82 million tons of coal were mined, worth $270 million. By 1918 workers and capitalists alike concurred that the industry was a centrepiece of provincial endeavor. It was the operation of the industry they could not agree on.[162]

The province had suffered heavy losses as a result of the "overexpansion and overproduction" of the coal industry, in terms of both human life and provincial finances.[163] The difficulties were further exacerbated by persistent and violent miners' strikes.[164]

It was also under the Greenfield administration that significant amendments to *The Alberta Election Act* were made. Most notably, the legislation, which was passed in April 1924, introduced a new provincial electoral system—the single transferable vote or preferential ballot system.*[165] It was hoped that the new system would result in fewer spoiled ballots[166] and, in decreasing the potential that a candidate could be elected having been chosen by less than a majority of the voters, "would ensure that the proper candidate got elected."[167] However, as it turned out, Greenfield would not face an election under the provisions of the new system.

---

* According to this electoral system, voters ranked the candidates listed on their ballots in order of their preference, marking '1' for their first choice, '2' for their second choice, and so on. In single-Member constituencies, the vote was tallied according to the first preference indicated on the ballot. If no candidate received an absolute majority, then the candidate with the fewest votes would be eliminated and all ballots for the eliminated candidate were redistributed according to the voter's second preference. This process was repeated until one candidate emerged with more than 50 per cent of the vote. Brian O'Neal, *Electoral Systems*, Background Paper BP-334E (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, Research Branch, 1993), p. 4. In multi-Member constituencies, such as Edmonton and Calgary, the votes were tallied according to the first choice indicated on each ballot. The proportion of votes necessary to win a seat varied depending on the number of seats available. After the results were tallied based on the first preference vote, any candidate who had received the required proportion of votes was deemed to have won a seat in the Legislative Assembly. At this point, an elected candidate's surplus votes (i.e. those in excess of the number needed to win a seat) were distributed to the other candidates in the same proportion as each candidate had been selected as the second choice on all of the elected candidate's ballots. Once the votes had been recounted, any remaining candidates who had now received the required proportion of the vote also won a seat in the Legislative Assembly. This process continued until all the seats available in the constituency were filled. John D. Hunt, "A Key to P.R.: Being an Explanation of the Transferable Ballot, and of Proportional Representation as Adopted by The Alberta Election Act, with Full Directions for the Counting of the Ballots," in *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 193, 195.

Although personally popular,[168] Premier Greenfield's lack of political experience eroded his support amongst UFA Members.*[169] Generally, criticisms of Greenfield's leadership suggested that the Premier had failed to sufficiently support the fundamental 'group action theories' of the UFA and that his views on the best resolution to the ongoing drain on public finances, represented by outstanding government railway guarantees,[170] had differed from those of the 'rank and file … Farmer members.'[171] Greenfield had favoured the transfer of the Edmonton, Dunvegan and British Columbia (ED&BC) railway to the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR), whereas many caucus members wanted the Government to retain ownership of those lines, into which 'it had sunk so much money.'[172] Summing up the UFA caucus members' discontent with Greenfield's leadership, the *Calgary Daily Herald* editorialized:

> In short, the Farmer members soon woke up to the fact that the premier, whatever his political and economic views had been prior to elevation to office, had become extremely cautious in putting into effect anything that savored of a radical nature. He was accused of being too cautious by members who thought the government was failing to carry out pre-election promises of reforms, and in endeavouring to preserve his position between two fires was accused of vacillation.[173]

Attempts to elevate the Member for Ponoka and Attorney General John E. Brownlee to the premiership were renewed in 1925.[174] Amongst the Members who were dissatisfied with the leadership of Premier Greenfield and who were seeking Greenfield's resignation was Speaker of the Legislative Assembly Oran L. McPherson (1922–1926),[175] who "had a reputation for bold (some said head-strong) action."[176] Brownlee, refusing to be disloyal to the Premier, conveyed to the dissenters that any requests for the Premier's resignation would be accompanied by his own resignation, and he continued to support Greenfield.[177] Finally, under pressure from the Cabinet, and personally absolved of disloyalty by Greenfield, Brownlee relented and agreed to serve as Premier upon Greenfield's resignation.[178] In a prepared statement to the press, Greenfield remarked: "Latterly it has become increasingly evident that there is not the full accord between the supporters of the government in the legislature and myself which is essential to the successful continuation of any administration."[179] Thus, wishing to allow his successor ample time to prepare for the upcoming election, Herbert Greenfield tendered his resignation to Lieutenant Governor William Egbert on November 23, 1925 and recommended that John E. Brownlee be asked to form the Government.[180] At the time of his resignation, Greenfield expressed a desire to return to his life as a farmer: "Back to the farm for me. I'm through with politics for good and all."[181] However, notwithstanding his assertions to the contrary, Greenfield stayed on as the Member for Peace River throughout the Sixth Session of the Fifth Legislature, which was prorogued on May 22, 1926. He was not a candidate in the provincial general election of June 28, 1926.[182]

---

* UFA Members' confidence in their leader may also have been affected by the fact that Premier Greenfield relied heavily on the knowledge and expertise of his Attorney General, John E. Brownlee, and that Brownlee frequently assumed a more prominent role than Greenfield during the debates in the Legislative Assembly. Greenfield sought Brownlee's advice on most government-related matters and, according to one historian of the period, "gradually slipped into [Brownlee's] shadow." Carl Frederick Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship between the Agricultural Organization and the Government of Alberta" (MA Thesis, University of Alberta, Fall 1971), p. 79; Franklin L. Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography* (Lloydminster, AB: Foster Learning, 1996), p. 64; "Brownlee Succeeds Greenfield as Premier," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 23 November 1925, p. 1.

## Later Career

In August 1926, Premier John E. Brownlee appointed Greenfield as "agent-general for Alberta in London, England," with the purpose of promoting Alberta within the United Kingdom.[183] At the time of the appointment, Brownlee indicated that "[Greenfield's] early life in England and his intimate knowledge of Alberta life and conditions will make his work … highly effective and that he will be able to stimulate a movement of desirable land settlers to this part of the empire."[184] Relocating his family to London, Greenfield, as Agent General, was charged with pursuing new industries and new capital[185] and encouraging immigration to the Canadian west.[186] During a visit to Alberta in September 1929, Greenfield applauded what he regarded as the progress and development that had taken place in the province since his departure and, addressing the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce, announced that he was "going back to England with renewed faith in the possibilities of this splendid country of ours."[187] Greenfield retired from his position as Agent General on January 1, 1931*[188] and returned with his family to Calgary, where he would embark upon a new career, this time in Alberta's burgeoning petroleum industry.[189]

Herbert Greenfield served as president and managing director of Calmont Oils Ltd.; director of Home Oil Company; and managing director of the British Dominions Land Settlement Corporation. He also served as president of the Oil and Gas Association, which amalgamated with the Petroleum Producers' Association in 1936; president of the Alberta Petroleum Association; and president of the Calgary Board of Trade; and was influential in securing a listing for Alberta oil royalties on the Toronto Stock Exchange in 1940.[190]

## Community Activities and Personal Interests

Greenfield was an avid gardener, devoting much time and attention to the grounds of his Calgary home.[191] He was also a member of the Kiwanis Club of Edmonton,[192] and of the Renfrew and Glencoe Clubs in Calgary.[193]

## Honours and Awards

The Greenfield School District, No. 2683, which was located in Wheatland County, Alberta, was named in honour of the former Premier.[194] In 1962, an Edmonton neighbourhood was named after Greenfield, and in 1983, a park within that neighbourhood was named Greenfield Park. It is fitting that the neighbourhood is located in a subdivision of the city for which the naming theme is related to the petroleum industry.[195] On February 14, 1969, Greenfield Elementary School, named in honour of the former Premier, officially opened in Edmonton.[196] Greenfield Street is located in the Village of Heisler, Alberta, which is known as the 'Premier Village' because its streets are named in honour of former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[197]

---

* This position was subsequently abolished.

## Death

Following a brief illness, Herbert Greenfield died at the Holy Cross Hospital in Calgary, Alberta, on August 23, 1949, at 80 years of age.[198] A funeral was held at Calgary's Grace Presbyterian Church.[199] His wife Marjorie Parker Greenfield passed away fewer than four months later, on December 11.[200] Herbert and Marjorie Greenfield are buried in Calgary's Union Cemetery.[201]

## Fonds

Papers relating to Herbert Greenfield's tenure as Premier are housed at the Provincial Archives of Alberta. The United Farmers of Alberta fonds are located at the Glenbow Archives of Alberta, in Calgary.

## Tributes

Upon Greenfield's death, the *Calgary Herald* commented:

> [Greenfield] did a fine job for Alberta during the five years he was the province's representative in London. He was able to attract a considerable number of immigrants and to interest English capital in Alberta before the office of agent-general was abolished in 1931.[202]

E. W. Kolb, secretary-treasurer of the Western Canada Petroleum Association, offered the following comments upon Greenfield's passing:

> The death of Mr. Greenfield comes as a great loss to those of us who have been associated with the oil industry during the past 25 years. … I knew him well during his Alberta government career and through the years he served as Alberta representative in London, England. He was a man ever ready to lend a help [*sic*] hand. I consider his passing a very great personal loss.[203]

Greenfield's successor as Premier, John E. Brownlee, made the following remarks about Greenfield more than 10 years after Greenfield's death:

> [O]f all of the men I have met in my career, I do not know of anyone for whom I had a higher regard than Herbert Greenfield. He was a big man with a fine personality. A habit of friendship easily expressed. He made friends wherever he went. He had a good mind.[204]

Of Greenfield, it has also been said: "His methods [were] always fair and aboveboard, while his character as a man [was] impeccable, a consideration not to be overlooked when selecting public leaders."[205]

## Notes

[1] United Kingdom. General Register Office, “Herbert Greenfield,” Winchester, County of Southampton, 30 December 1868, no. 417, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 12 August 2005; Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1925 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1925), p. 533.

[2] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, John Greenfield Household, 1881 British Census, London, district no. 18, West Hackney, St. John Hackney, folio 59, p. 51, household 219, Public Records Office Reference RG11, piece 0301, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 4 January 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, John Greenfield Household, 1871 British Census, Hampshire, district no. 4, Winchester, St. Thomas, folio 85, p. 8, household 22, Public Records Office Reference RG10, piece 1209, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 7 September 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com; United Kingdom. General Register Office, “Herbert Greenfield,” [Certified Copy of Birth Registration].

[3] United Kingdom. General Register Office, “John Greenfield - Mary Leake,” Nottingham, 5 June 1860, no. 127, [Certified Copy of Marriage Registration], reproduced 28 July 2005; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, John Greenfield Household, 1881 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; United Kingdom. General Register Office, “John Greenfield,” Sheffield, Attercliffe, County of Sheffield, 13 September 1909, no. 338, [Certified Copy of Death Registration], reproduced 11 January; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Thomas Greenfield Household, 1841 British Census, Surrey, Ripley, Send, folio 31, p. 16, Public Records Office Reference HO 107/1080/15, *The Origins Network,* [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 25 January 2006, available from www.originsnetwork.com

[4] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, John Greenfield Record, 1851 British Census, Middlesex, district no. 4, Strand, St. Anne Soho, folio 109, p. 26, household 168, Public Records Office Reference HO 107/1510, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 30 December 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, John Greenfield Record, 1861 British Census, Surrey, district no. 2, Guildford, Ripley and Send, folio 145, p. 1, household 1, Public Records Office Reference RG 9/425, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 7 July 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, John Greenfield Household, 1871 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, John Greenfield Household, 1881 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, John Greenfield Household, 1891 British Census, London, district no. 23, Hackney, Clapton St. James, folio 121, p. 29, household 217, Public Records Office Reference RG12/196, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 5 January 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com

[5] United Kingdom. General Register Office, “John Greenfield - Mary Leake,” [Certified Copy of Marriage Registration]; United Kingdom. General Register Office, “Mary Greenfield,” Hackney, North Hackney, County of London, 5 May 1904, no. 492, [Certified Copy of Death Registration], reproduced 12 August 2005; “Mary Leake Individual Record,” International Genealogical Index v5.0, British Isles, *Family Search*, [Internet], (Salt Lake City, UT: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), accessed 2 January 2006, available from http://www.familysearch.org; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Samuel Lake Household, 1851 British Census, Northamptonshire, district no. 1a, Northampton, All Saints, folio 5, p. 3, household 9, Public Records Office Reference HO 107/1740, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 6 January 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com

[6] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Samuel Lake Household, 1851 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service].

[7] United Kingdom. General Register Office, “John Greenfield - Mary Leake,” [Certified Copy of Marriage Registration].

[8] United Kingdom. General Register Office, "Helena Greenfield," Winchester, County of Southampton, 22 October 1873, no. 249, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 6 January 2006; United Kingdom. General Register Office, "Walter Leake Greenfield," Hackney, County of Middlesex, 4 December 1876, no. 458, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 28 July 2005.

[9] Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1922 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1922), p. 508; "Former Premier Dies Here: Herbert Greenfield," *Calgary Herald*, 23 August 1949, p. 1.

[10] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, John Greenfield Household, 1881 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, John Greenfield Household, 1891 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; "Former Premier Dies Here," p. 1.

[11] John Blue, *Alberta Past and Present: Historical and Biographical*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924), p. 7; "Former Premier Dies Here," p. 1.

[12] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Herbert Greenfield Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Alberta, district no. 2, Edmonton, sub-district 27, Township 59, Range 26, W4, Edison, schedule 1, p. 4, household 58, microfilm T-20327, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 24 January 2006, available from http://data4.collectionscanada.ca; Daphne Garrison, *Edison, the Way It Was: The History of Edison, 1902–1914* (Edmonton: Co-op Press, 1980), p. 156. The year 1896, which appears in the 1911 Census of Canada, is corroborated by the local history, *Edison the Way it Was*. The *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* for 1925 identifies the year that Greenfield immigrated as 1892, while the 1901 Census of Canada lists the year as 1893. Chambers, ed., *CPG 1925*, p. 533; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Herbert Greenfield Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 78, Lambton East, sub-district i-2, Warwick, schedule 1, p. 11, household 112, microfilm T-6476, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 2 August 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html

[13] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Ruben Grenfeld - Elizabeth H. Harris," Middlesex County, Adelaide Township, 15 March 1900, no. 010448, [Marriage Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Elizabeth Ann Harris," Middlesex County, Adelaide Township, 3 February 1872, no. 005630, [Birth Registration]; "Adelaide [Community News]," *Strathroy Age*, 8 March 1900, p. 8; Chambers, ed., *CPG 1925*, p. 533.

[14] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Elizabeth Ann Harris," [Birth Registration]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Samuel Harris Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 169, County of Middlesex North, sub-district a-1, Adelaide Township, schedule 1, p. 7, household 34, microfilm C-13269, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Samuel Harris Household, 1891 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 93, Middlesex County, sub-district a-1, Adelaide Township, schedule 1, p. 20, household 94, microfilm T-6353, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; "Death of Samuel P. Harris," *Strathroy Age*, 20 September 1906, p. 8.

[15] *Adelaide Township... A History* (Strathroy, ON: Adelaide Township Heritage Group, 2001), p. 188; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Samuel Harris Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 90, County of Middlesex West, sub-district a-4, Adelaide Township, schedule 1, p. 4, household 31, microfilm T-6482, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 10 January 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Samuel Harris," Middlesex County, Adelaide Township, 1 September 1906, no. 017670, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 1 January 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com

[16] *Adelaide Township... A History*, p. 188; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Samuel Harris - Mary Jane Crews," Middlesex County, Adelaide Township, 1871, p. 382, [Marriage Registration].

[17] "Death of Samuel P. Harris," p. 8.

[18] *Adelaide Township... A History*, p. 190; *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Middlesex Ont.* (Toronto: H. R. Page & Co., 1878), p. 80; Ontario Vital Statistics, “Mary Jane Harris,” Middlesex County, Adelaide Township, 28 April 1908, no. 017874, [Death Registration].

[19] *Adelaide Township... A History*, p. 190; Ontario Vital Statistics, “Samuel Harris - Mary Jane Crews,” [Marriage Registration]; “Napperton,” *Strathroy Age*, 30 April 1908, p. 8. One variation found in the spelling of this surname is ‘Crues,’ as recorded in the 1871 Census of Canada. Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Joseph Crues Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 8, Middlesex North, sub-district a-2, Adelaide, schedule 1, p. 56, household 224, microfilm C-9902, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada.

[20] *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Middlesex Ont.*, p. 80; *Adelaide Township... A History*, p. 190; “Joseph Cruse Family Group Record,” International Genealogical Index v5.0, British Isles, *FamilySearch*, [Internet], (Salt Lake City, UT: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), accessed 9 August 2005, available from http://www.familysearch.org

[21] Ontario Vital Statistics, “Franklin Harris Greenfield,” County of Lambton, Warwick Township, 31 December 1902, no. 022517, [Birth Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, “Arnold Leake Greenfield,” County of Lambton, Brooke Township, 5 November 1904, no. 022126, [Birth Registration].

[22] “UFA Premier, Noted Oil Man Dead at 80,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 23 August 1949, p. 3; Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Herbert Greenfield, no. 1354804, for SW 20 59 26 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2772, 1970.313.

[23] “UFA Premier, Noted Oil Man Dead at 80,” p. 3.

[24] “Mrs. Herbert Greenfield, Wife of Premier of Alberta, Passes Away Following an Operation,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 16 January 1922, p. 4; “Mrs. Herbert Greenfield, Wife of the Premier, Dies in Edmonton this Morning,” *Calgary Daily Herald*, 14 January 1922, p. 1.

[25] [Elizabeth Ann Harris Headstone], 1 July 2005, [Photograph], Edmonton Cemetery, 107th Avenue, plot no. E/36/0006.

[26] “Greenfield - Cormack,” [Wedding Announcement], *Edmonton Bulletin*, 7 July 1926, p. 6; “Ex-Premier’s Bride,” *Edmonton Bulletin*, 7 July 1926, p. 1; “Former U.F.A. Premier Weds in Edmonton,” *Calgary Herald*, 7 July 1926, p. 1.

[27] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Howard Greenwood Household, 1891 Census of Canada, North-West Territories, district no. 197, Alberta, sub-district c-1, McLeod/Lethbridge, schedule 1, pp. 71–72, household 357, microfilm T-6425, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Howard Greenwood Household, 1901 Census of Canada, North-West Territories, district no. 202, Alberta, sub-district n-1, Edmonton West, schedule 1, p. 14, household 142, microfilm T-6550, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 10 August 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; *Alberta, Formerly a Part of the North-West Territories: An Index to Birth, Marriage and Death Registrations Prior to 1900* (Edmonton: Documentary Heritage Society of Alberta, Provincial Archives of Alberta, 1999), p. 159; “Greenfield - Cormack,” [Wedding Announcement], p. 6; “Former U.F.A. Premier Weds in Edmonton,” p. 1.

[28] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Howard Greenwood Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; *Alberta: An Index to Birth, Marriage and Death Registrations*, p. 159.

[29] “Greenwood, H. F.,” Pioneer Profiles, *Southern Alberta Pioneers and Their Descendants*, [Internet], (Calgary: Southern Alberta Pioneers and Their Descendants, 2002–2005), accessed 26 July 2006, available from http://www.pioneersalberta.org/profiles/g.html

[30] B. M. Greene, ed., *Who’s Who in Canada, 1945–46* (Toronto: International Press, 1946), s.v. “Greenfield, Herbert”; “Appointments,” *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 7, no. 15, 15 August 1911, pp. 473–474.

[31] "Former Premier Dies Here," p. 3.

[32] "Alberta's New Premier," *Sedgewick Sentinel*, 28 July 1921, p. 8.

[33] Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 7.

[34] "Century Settlers of the Edison - Westlock Area: The Growth of Edison, 1904–1910," Community Memories, *Virtual Museum Canada*, [Internet], (Canadian Heritage Information Network, 2002–2003), accessed 26 July 2006, available from http://www.virtualmuseum.ca; Garrison, *Edison, the Way It Was*, p. 173.

[35] Garrison, *Edison, the Way It Was*, pp. 195–196.

[36] Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, pp. 7–8; "Former Premier Dies Here," p. 1; Tom Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta: A Movement, a Government* (Edmonton: Crang Publishing, 1989), [p. 11].

[37] Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 7.

[38] Ibid., p. 8.

[39] Ibid., p. 7.

[40] William Kirby Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 31.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Greene, ed., *Who's Who in Canada, 1945–46*, s.v. "Greenfield, Herbert"; "Former Premier Dies Here," p. 1.

[43] W. L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, Social Credit in Alberta: Its Background and Development (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 37.

[44] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, p. 22.

[45] Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [pp. 2–3]; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 31–32.

[46] "Amalgamation Completed: The Two Great Farmers' Societies of the Province of Alberta Now One Great Society!" *The Great West: The Farmers' Paper, Official Organ of the Canadian Society of Equity* (Edmonton), 20 January 1909, p. 1.

[47] J. H. Thamer, "The Farmers of Alberta United," *The Great West: The Farmers' Paper, Official Organ of the Canadian Society of Equity* (Edmonton), 20 January 1909, p. 1.

[48] Carl Frederick Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship between the Agricultural Organization and the Government of Alberta" (MA Thesis, University of Alberta, Fall 1971), p. iii; C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 28.

[49] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," Appendix I, pp. 180–181.

[50] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 28.

[51] W. L. Morton, "The Western Progressive Movement, 1919–1921," in *Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Canada*, ed. Samuel D. Clark, J. Paul Grayson, and Linda M. Grayson (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing, 1975), p. 115; George Woodcock, *A Social History of Canada* (Markham: Penguin Books Canada, 1988), pp. 279–280, 302, 308.

[52] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, p. 22.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Bradford James Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy: The United Farmers and Farm Women of Alberta, 1909–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 171, 171–176.

[55] Ibid., pp. 9, 110, 122–123.

[56] Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [pp. 10–11].

[57] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 23–25, 36, 42–43.

[58] Ibid., p. 23.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., p. 36.

[61] Ibid., pp. 23–25, 36, 43.

[62] Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [p. 9].

[63] J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 1916 ed. (Toronto: Annual Review Publishing Co., 1917), p. 745; L. G. Thomas, *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), pp. 166, 156.

[64] Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [p. 11]; Bill no. 36, *The Municipal Hospitals Act, 1918*, 4th Legislature, 1st Session, Alberta, 1918; *The Municipal Hospitals Act*, S.A. 1918, c. 15.

[65] *The Municipal Hospitals Act*, S.A. 1918, c. 15, ss 3, 7.

[66] Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, pp. 133, 132–133.

[67] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 50–51.

[68] Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, pp. 300–301.

[69] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, p. 69.

[70] Ibid., pp. 70, 69–70.

[71] Ibid., p. 69.

[72] Ibid., pp. 70–71.

[73] Ibid., pp. 72, 70–72.

[74] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 24, 24–25; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 73, 72–74; Rice Sheppard, *The U.F.A. in Politics* (n.p.: [1940]), pp. 1–2.

[75] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 73–74.

[76] "What Happened at U.F.A. Convention," *Western Independent* (Calgary), 28 January 1920, p. 10.

[77] Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, pp. 210, 218; "Group Organization," [Editorial], *Western Independent* (Calgary), 4 February 1920, p. 5.

[78] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 21–22; Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, pp. 86, 89–90.

[79] Morton, "The Western Progressive Movement, 1919–1921," p. 126.

[80] Sheppard, *The U.F.A. in Politics*, pp. 1–2; Ian Macpherson, "Wood, Henry Wise," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

[81] Sheppard, *The U.F.A. in Politics*, pp. 1–2; Macpherson, "Wood, Henry Wise," [Internet].

[82] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 12–14.

[83] Ibid., pp. 12, 7, 11–12.

[84] H. W. Wood, “Organization for Democracy,” *Grain Growers' Guide*, 4 December 1918, pp. 23, 74–76; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 66, 65–66.

[85] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 16, 14–16.

[86] Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, pp. 86, 89–90.

[87] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, p. 17; Wood, “Organization for Democracy,” p. 75.

[88] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, p. 12.

[89] “Group Organization,” p. 5.

[90] “The Farmers' Platform,” [Editorial], *Western Independent* (Calgary), 4 February 1920, p. 5.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Application for Incorporation of the United Farmers of Alberta Political Association, 1921, United Farmers of Alberta Fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M 1749/16; “Certificates of Incorporation,” *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 17, no. 4, 28 February 1921, p. 111.

[93] “New Democracy is Expressed by Election Result,” *Calgary Daily Herald*, 28 June 1921, p. 9; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 96–98.

[94] “New Democracy is Expressed,” p. 9.

[95] Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, p. 107.

[96] Ibid.

[97] United Farmers of Alberta Provincial Platform, [1921], United Farmers of Alberta, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M1749/18.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

[102] John E. Brownlee, Interview by Una MacLean, 28 March–12 May 1961, [Transcript], p. 7, United Farmers of Alberta Oral History Project Collection, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M-4079.

[103] Ibid.; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 11.

[104] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 8.

[105] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 11.

[106] “Brownlee Succeeds Greenfield as Premier,” *Calgary Daily Herald*, 23 November 1925, p. 1.

[107] “Alberta's New Premier,” p. 8; Barbara Villy Cormack, *Perennials and Politics: The Life Story of Irene Parlby, LLD* (Sherwood Park, AB: Professional Print, [1968]), p. 80.

[108] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 8–9; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 101–102.

[109] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 9, 11.

[110] “Ministerial Appointments,” *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 17, no. 16, 31 August 1921, p. 553; “U.F.A. Unlikely to Take Office for Two Weeks,” *Globe* (Toronto), 29 July 1921, p. 2.

[111] “Brownlee Succeeds Greenfield as Premier,” p. 1.

[112] “U.F.A. Unlikely to Take Office for Two Weeks,” p. 2.

[113] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 177.

[114] Chambers, ed., *CPG 1925*, p. 533.

[115] "U.F.A. Unlikely to Take Office for Two Weeks," p. 2.

[116] Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [p. 27].

[117] "Mrs. Herbert Greenfield, Wife of Premier of Alberta, Passes Away Following an Operation," p. 4; "Wife of Alberta Premier Dies Following Operation," *Globe* (Toronto), 16 January 1922, p. 5.

[118] "Mrs. Herbert Greenfield, Wife of Premier of Alberta, Passes Away Following an Operation," p. 4.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid.; "Funeral of the Late Mrs. Herbert Greenfield," *Westlock Witness*, 20 January 1922, p. 1.

[121] Lillie Young Mckinney, "Alberta's New Farmer Government," *Manitoba Free Press* (Winnipeg), 6 August 1921, p. 25.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 56.

[124] Ibid., pp. 50, 56.

[125] Ibid., pp. 51, 50–51.

[126] Ibid., p. 50; T. W. Harris, "T. W. Harris to Premier Greenfield, September 10, 1921, 69.289 f5a, PAA," in *We'll All Be Buried Down Here: The Prairie Dryland Disaster, 1917–1926*, ed. R. C. Macleod and David C. Jones (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1986), p. 41; Mrs. F. A. Moir, "Mrs. F. A. Moir, Milk River, to H. Greenfield, January 2, 1922, 69.289 f5a, PAA," in *We'll All Be Buried Down Here: The Prairie Dryland Disaster, 1917–1926*, ed. R. C. Macleod and David C. Jones (Calgary: Alberta Records Publication Board, Historical Society of Alberta, 1986), p. 55; David Christie, Secretary, Haig Local, U.F.A. 282, to Herbert Greenfield, 30 July 1921, [Letter], Premiers' Papers, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, GR 1969.289, 1-600-9.

[127] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 51.

[128] Ibid., pp. 69, 65–69.

[129] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 143, 142–143.

[130] Ibid.

[131] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 5th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XVIII, 2 February 1922, pp. 11–12.

[132] Ibid., p. 12.

[133] Ibid.

[134] *The Bureau of Labour Act*, S.A. 1922, c. 80, ss. 5(a), 2.

[135] *The Drought Area Relief Act*, S.A. 1922, c. 43, Preamble, ss. 4, 6–8.

[136] David C. Jones, *Empire of Dust: Settling and Abandoning the Prairie Dry Belt* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1987), p. 167.

[137] *The Drought Area Relief Act*, S.A. 1922, c. 43, s. 4.

[138] Jones, *Empire of Dust*, pp. 211–213, 169, 173.

[139] *Budget Speech Delivered by Hon. H. Greenfield, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, 13 March, 1922, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: J. W. Jeffrey, King's Printer, 1922), p. 3.

[140] Ibid., p. 8.

[141] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 13.

[142] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 5th Legislature, 1st Session*, 10 March 1922, pp. 97–99; *The Dairymen's Act*, S.A. 1907, c. 16; *An Act to amend The Dairymen's Act*, S.A. 1922, c. 75; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 13–16.

[143] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 13–16.

[144] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 54.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 29–30.

[147] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 54; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 16–17.

[148] Franklin L. Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography* (Lloydminster, AB: Foster Learning, 1996), p. 78.

[149] "The Farmer Movement in Alberta Politics: An Address by Hon. Herbert Greenfield, M.P.P., Premier of Alberta. Before the Empire Club of Canada, Toronto, May 4, 1922," Index and Full Text of Speeches, *The Empire Club of Canada*, [Transcription], [Internet], (Toronto: The Empire Club of Canada, 1923), pp. 164–171, accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.empireclubfoundation.com/details.asp?SpeechID=1516

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Jones, *Empire of Dust*, pp. 174, 169; *The Debt Adjustment Act*, S.A. 1923, c. 43.

[153] Jones, *Empire of Dust*, p. 174.

[154] "Over Five Million Dollars Outstanding for Seed Grain Premier Tells Legislature," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 17 February 1923, pp. 3, 1.

[155] *The Coal Sales Act*, S.A. 1923, c. 31, s. 2.

[156] *Government Liquor Control Act of Alberta*, S.A. 1924, c. 14.

[157] United Farmers of Alberta Provincial Platform, [1921]; *The Liquor Act*, S.A. 1916, c. 4; David C. Jones, *Feasting on Misfortune: Journeys of the Human Spirit in Alberta's Past* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1997), pp. 194–199.

[158] *Government Liquor Control Act of Alberta*, S.A. 1924, c. 14, ss. 4, 9–10.

[159] *The Alberta Co-operative Wheat Producers, Limited, Act*, S.A. 1924, c. 7, Preamble, s. 2; *The Co-operative Marketing Associations Act*, S.A. 1924, c. 5, s. 3.

[160] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 132-139; *The Alberta Co-operative Wheat Producers, Limited, Act*, S.A. 1924, c. 7, Preamble, s. 2; *The Co-operative Marketing Associations Act*, S.A. 1924, c. 5, ss. 2–3.

[161] Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), p. 214.

[162] Jones, *Feasting on Misfortune*, p. 154.

[163] Ibid., pp. 3, 141–150, 175–177.

[164] Ibid., p. 154; "Hundred Striking Miners in Edmonton Are Arrested," *Lethbridge Herald*, 2 January 1923, p. 1.

[165] *The Alberta Election Act*, S.A. 1924, c. 34.

[166] "Elections Act Alberta Model for All Time," *Edmonton Journal*, 23 February 1924, [p. ?].

[167] "Alberta Elections Act Will Be Revised at Next Session of Legislature," *Edmonton Journal*, 23 February 1923, p. 17.

[168] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 81.

[169] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 214; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 110–111.

[170] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, p. 179.

[171] "Brownlee Succeeds Greenfield as Premier," p. 1.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 25–27.

[175] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 111.

[176] Ibid., p. 132.

[177] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 25–27.

[178] Ibid., pp. 26–27.

[179] "Brownlee Succeeds Greenfield as Premier," p. 1.

[180] Ibid.

[181] Ibid.

[182] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 27; "Will Not Be Candidate," *Amisk Advocate*, 9 June 1926, p. 3.

[183] "Former Provincial Premier Heads Company to Develop Petroleum Resources Here," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 September 1930, p. 1; Kathleen Redman Strange, "Alberta's London Office," *Edmonton Journal*, 7 March 1928, p. 4; "Ex-Premier to Make Immigration Survey," *Globe* (Toronto), 4 August 1926, p. 1.

[184] "Land Survey Followed by English Trip," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 August 1926, p. 1.

[185] "Greenfield Tells of Fine Progress Made in Alberta," *Edmonton Journal*, 27 September 1929, p. 24.

[186] "Alberta Wants Settlers," [Editorial], *Globe* (Toronto), 20 September 1926, p. 4.

[187] "Greenfield Tells of Fine Progress," p. 13.

[188] "Former Provincial Premier Heads Company to Develop Petroleum Resources Here," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 September 1930, p. 1.

[189] "Former Premier Dies Here," p. 3.

[190] Ibid.

[191] Ibid.

[192] "Express Sorrow to Premier in His Bereavement," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 17 January 1922, p. 2.

[193] "Former Premier Dies Here," p. 3.

[194] E-mail from Darlene Pruden, Education Manager, Governance and Program Delivery, Alberta Learning, Edmonton, 6 October 2003.

[195] Edmonton Historical Board. Heritage Sites Committee, *Naming Edmonton: From Ada to Zoie* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004), p. 124.

[196] New Greenfield School Has Links With History, 7 February 1969, [News Release], Edmonton Public School Board, Edmonton Public Schools Archives and Museum, no. 93-46-49xiii.

[197] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; *Welcome to The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

[198] "Former Premier Dies Here," p. 1.

[199] "Many Attend Greenfield Rites," *Calgary Herald*, 27 August 1949, p. 14.

[200] "Mrs. Greenfield, 56, Dies in Calgary," *Calgary Herald*, 13 December 1949, p. 3.

[201] Nancy Millar, *Remember Me as You Pass By: Stories from Prairie Graveyards* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum and Archives, 1994), p. 61.

[202] "Herbert Greenfield," [Editorial], *Calgary Herald*, 25 August 1949, p. 15.

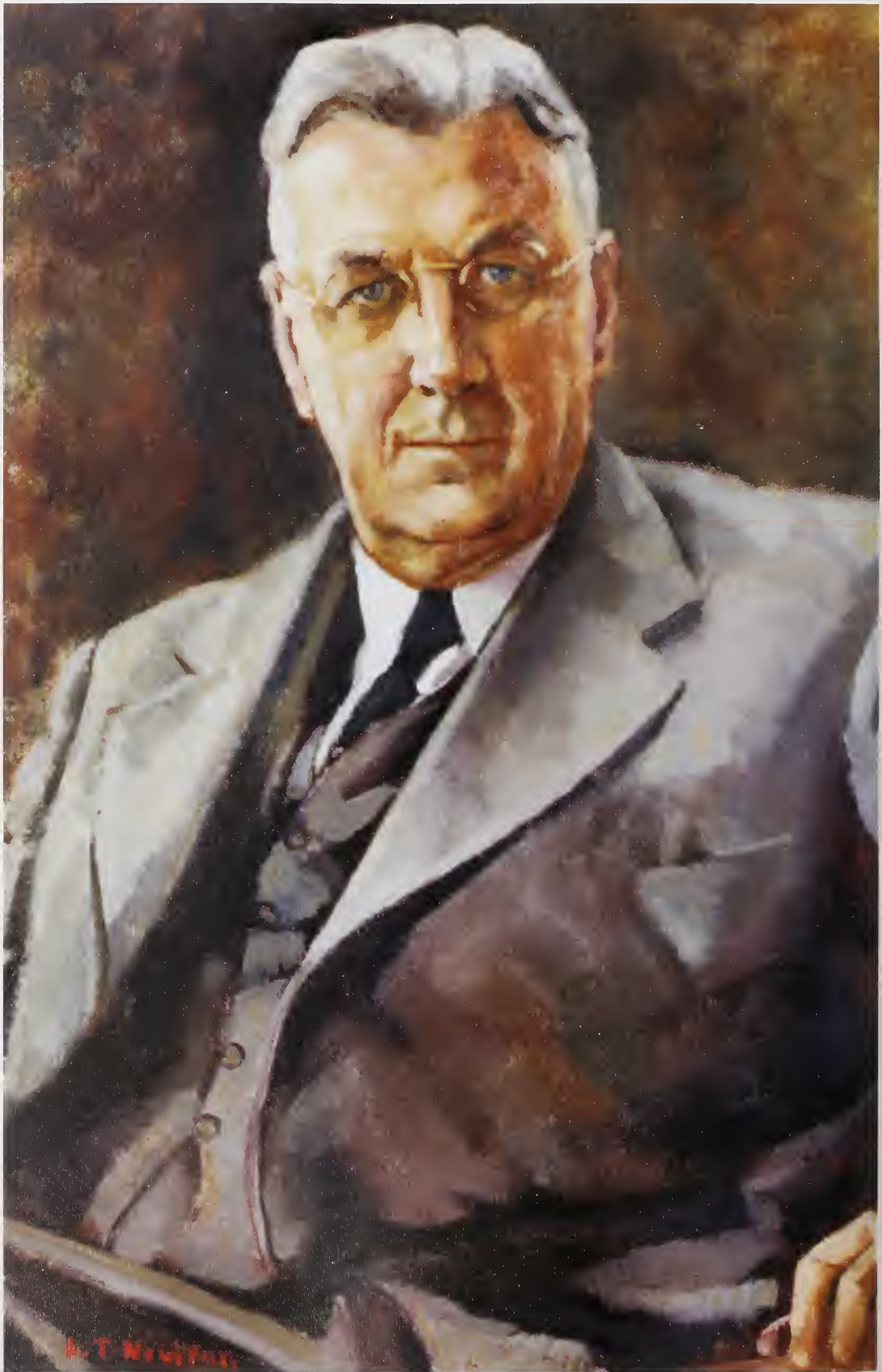
[203] "Former Premier Dies Here," p. 3.

[204] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 10.

[205] Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 8.

*He was a man of the highest moral principle: a great and kind man who devoted his life to the betterment of the people of this province and to the welfare of the western farmer.*

# Brownlee 1925–1934


L. T. Newton

# JOHN EDWARD BROWNLEE

In November 1925, John Edward Brownlee was appointed Alberta's fifth Premier and led the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) Government until 1934. An accomplished and hard-working corporate lawyer, Brownlee had played a significant role in the growth and development of both the UFA and the United Grain Growers organizations and came to be regarded as a champion of the farmers' movement in Alberta. Amongst Premier Brownlee's many administrative accomplishments were his contributions to the establishment of the Alberta Wheat Pool, the sale of the provincial railways and, most significantly, the successful conclusion of negotiations for the final transfer of control over the province's natural resources from the Dominion Government to the Alberta Government. Brownlee's efforts on behalf of the province contributed to the ongoing development of the West and increased Alberta's status as a partner in Confederation. Premier Brownlee's tenure coincided in part with the terms of two Lieutenant Governors: William Egbert (1925–1931) and William L. Walsh (1931–1936). At the time of his appointment to office, Brownlee was 42 years of age.

## Family History

John E. Brownlee was born on August 27, 1883, at Port Ryerse, in Woodhouse Township, Norfolk County, Ontario.[1] He was the eldest of the three children* of William 'Bill' James Brownlee and Christina Shaw.[2] Bill (1856–1934[3]) was born in Charlotteville Township, Norfolk County, Canada West (Ontario), but by 1871, was living with his family in Woodhouse Township.[4] Bill was the son of Edward James Brownlee (1825–1895[5]) and Rachel Oakes (1834–1911[6]).[7] Edward had emigrated with his family from Belfast, Ireland, to Upper Canada (Ontario) as a young boy.[8] He subsequently travelled from Canada West to New York City; however, by 1850, he and his brother, John, had moved further south to New Orleans, Louisiana, where Edward was employed as a carpenter.[9] Edward returned to Canada West, settling in Charlotteville Township, where he married Rachel Oakes in about 1855.[10] By 1871, Edward had moved his family to the nearby village of Port Ryerse, where he became a well-known carpenter engaged in building and furnishing many of the houses of the village.[11] Rachel was the daughter of Hammond Oakes (1804–1879), a farmer, and Isabella Ward Phillips (1811–1875), both of whom were long-time residents of Charlotteville Township.[12] Hammond Oakes was the son of James Oakes (b. ca. 1766, d. 1856), whose family had left Massachusetts before the American Revolution (1775–1783) and settled in New Brunswick when James was about seven years of age.[13] In 1803, James Oakes moved his family to the Long Point Settlement in Norfolk County, Upper Canada, purchasing land in southeast Charlotteville Township, just west of Port Ryerse.[14] During the War of 1812, James Oakes and his brothers served in the 6th Company of the 1st Regiment of Norfolk Militia.[15]

---

* John Edward (1883–1961), infant daughter (b. and d. 1886) and Maude Evelyn (1888–1980) [Carl A. Smith]. Franklin L. Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography* (Lloydminster, AB: Foster Learning, 1996), pp. 2–4, 279; Henry French Brownlee, "The Brownlee Saga," [Unpublished Manuscript], 20 January 2006, pp. 8–9; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Maud Brownlee," County of Norfolk, Woodhouse, 17 September 1888, no. 023520, p. 268, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS 929_89, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 30 January 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com; "Ex-Premier Dies at 76," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 July 1961, p. 1.

In 1882, Bill Brownlee married the village school teacher, Christina Shaw (b. ca. 1860, d. 1941[16]), daughter of John Shaw and Maria Bezzo of Normandale, Charlotteville Township.[17] John Shaw (ca. 1825, d. 1896[18]) was born in the village of Alrewas, Staffordshire, England.[19] He immigrated to Charlotteville Township in 1851, where he soon became established as a respected and prosperous miller and grain dealer, both in Normandale and Port Ryerse.[20] Maria Bezzo (1832–1877) was the daughter of Jean 'John' Baptiste Bezzo (b. ca. 1791), a cooper, who had moved from Quebec to Charlotteville Township in the early 1800s.[21] Bill operated the old Port Ryerse general store, located near the grist mill, with the help of his wife and young son, John.[22]

Becoming increasingly aware of declining business opportunities in the area, Bill Brownlee decided to leave Port Ryerse with his wife and two children in August 1890, hoping to take advantage of better economic conditions elsewhere.[23] Moving his family to the village of Bradshaw, Lambton County, Ontario, Bill managed the Bradshaw General Store.[24] In the summer of 1904, Bill and Christina moved to nearby Brigden, in Moore Township.[25] By 1912, Bill had changed careers, becoming the editor and publisher of a weekly community paper, the *Brigden Progress*, until 1919, when the newspaper building burned down.[26] Bill also served in municipal affairs as a member of the Moore Township Council from 1916 until his death in 1934, first as treasurer (1916–1920) and then as clerk (1921–1934).[27]

The Brownlees were members of the Methodist Church.*[28] In Bradshaw and Brigden, the family participated in the activities at the local church: John's mother, Christina, contributed her talents to the work of the women's groups; the children attended Sunday school; and John gained public-speaking experience through the Young People's Club.[29]

## Education

John Brownlee attended public school in Bradshaw,† but at the age of 14, he moved to Sarnia, where he boarded away from his family while attending high school, graduating in 1900 from Sarnia Collegiate Institute.[30] After successfully completing 15 weeks of teacher training courses in December 1901 at the Sarnia Model School, Brownlee taught public school for two and a half years in Bradshaw.[31] In 1904, he registered at Victoria University,[*] a Methodist institution which was affiliated with the University of Toronto, but he also attended classes at Varsity College.[32] While a student, Brownlee was active in extracurricular activities. He was the assistant business manager and later business manager of the Victoria College Glee Club; he participated in the debates of the 'prestigious and academic' Union Literary Society; and he was a manager and editor of *Acta Victoriana*, the college journal.[33] In 1908, Brownlee graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science.[34]

---

* Previous generations of the family had been Baptist.

† Later reflecting on his early education, Brownlee indicated that his years spent at school in the "purely rural district" of Bradshaw were "quite significant" in exposing him to and interesting him in the "problems affecting rural life." John E. Brownlee, Interview by Una MacLean, 28 March–12 May 1961, [Transcript], p. 2, United Farmers of Alberta Oral History Project Collection, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M-4079.

## Marriage and Family

On December 23, 1912, John Edward Brownlee married Florence Agnes Edy at the home of her sister and brother-in-law in Toronto, Ontario.[35] John had first met Florence at the Varsity skating rink in Toronto, probably in the winter of 1908.[36] At the time, Florence was in her fourth year of studies at McMaster University in Toronto,[†] graduating with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1909.[37] Florence was born on July 15, 1887 in London, Middlesex County, Ontario,[38] the second of the three children[‡] of James Newbury Edy (1843–1890[39]) and his second wife, Mary Bassett Barker (1860–1912[40]).[41] James, a professional photographer, was born in Brantford Township, Brantford County, Canada West, and, like his future son-in-law John E. Brownlee, was a descendant of a Long Point settler family.[42] He had married Ellen 'Nannie' Perry (1848–1883) in 1868, but she died of tuberculosis at the age of 35 in London, Ontario.[43] Left a widower with four daughters,[§][44] James remarried in 1884. His second wife, Mary Barker of Dereham Township, Oxford County,[45] bore him three more daughters.

---

[*] Victoria College had its roots in Upper Canada Academy, which was established by the Methodist Church and officially opened on June 18, 1836. The Academy was elevated to the status of a college in 1841 under the name of Victoria College. "Victoria College Fonds, 20 Oct. 1856–23 Jan. 1857," *Trent University Archives*, [Fonds Level Description], [Internet], (Peterborough, ON: Trent University Archives, 1994–2005), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.trentu.ca/library/archives/89-1066.htm. Victoria College became known as Victoria University in 1884, when it federated with Albert College. "The Cobourg Years," About Vic: History of Victoria University, *Victoria University in the University of Toronto*, [Internet], (2004), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.vicu.utoronto.ca/English/The-Cobourg-Years.html. In 1890, the *University Act* was proclaimed, providing for the federation of Victoria University with the University of Toronto. *An Act respecting the Federation of the University of Toronto and University College with other Universities and Colleges*, S.O. 1887, c. 43. Victoria University conferred its last degrees in 1892. C. B. Sissons, *A History of Victoria University* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), pp. 190, 203–204.

[†] McMaster University was located in Toronto until 1930, at which point it was relocated to Hamilton, Ontario.

[‡] Mildred Blanche (1886–1960) [Robert John Marshall]; Florence Agnes (1887–1975) [John Edward Brownlee]; and Josephine Bryant (1889–1964) [Thomas R. C. Flint; Silas Lamb]. Mary Crandall, "Ancestors of James Newbury Edy," *Marriages in Ontario from 1800 to 1924*, [Internet], (RootsWeb.com), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~maryc/edy.htm

[§] Emma Alberta 'Bertie' (1869–1923); Lottie May (b. 1872); Airey Evelin (ca. 1877) [Darman Porter]; and Olive Edna (1881) [James Brownlee McCracken]. "Darman Porter," Ancestry World Tree Project: MacKays of Ontario, *Ancestry.ca*, [GEDCOM file], [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 26 July 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; Crandall, "Ancestors of James Newbury Edy," [Internet].

John and Florence Brownlee had two children: John Edy (1915–1996), who owned a photography studio in Edmonton; and Alan Marshall, LLB, QC (b. 1917),[46] who joined his father's law practice in Edmonton.[47]

## Early Career

In 1909, John Brownlee moved west and secured a position with the Calgary law firm of Lougheed, Bennett, Allison and McLaws.[48] The firm was headed by two exceptional lawyers, James A. Lougheed* and Richard B. Bennett. Bennett, who would later serve as Canada's 11th Prime Minister (1930–1935), tutored Brownlee during his time as an articling student and became in some ways a mentor to the young man.[49] In order to pursue his growing interest in commercial law, Brownlee later transferred his articles to another Calgary firm, that of Muir, Jephson and Adams.[50] During this period, students at law in Alberta articled for three years and wrote annual examinations set by the provincial law society in order to complete their education.[51] Thus, by 1912, Brownlee had completed his studies, and on September 16 of that year, he was admitted to the Bar of Alberta.[52] The following year, Brownlee became a junior partner in the firm, which then became known as Muir, Jephson, Adams and Brownlee.[53] In 1922, John E. Brownlee was appointed King's Counsel (KC).[54]

Brownlee's law practice brought him into close contact with prominent agriculturalists and community leaders. For instance, Brownlee was instrumental in drafting the documents that brought into being the Alberta Farmers' Cooperative Elevator Company Ltd. (AFCEC) in 1913 and in establishing the corporate governance structure of the AFCEC.[55] The following year, he became the AFCEC's solicitor and played a prominent role in the Company's amalgamation with the Grain Growers' Grain Company in 1917, to become the United Grain Growers (UGG).[56] By 1917, Brownlee had left the law firm to serve as the UGG's general counsel.[57] In fact, in agreeing to serve as the UGG's "western legal advisor," Brownlee made perhaps the most significant choice of his career, for it was in this capacity that he "was introduced to the leading officials" of the UFA, and, in his own words, "became quite interested in the work of that farm organization."[58] As a result, Brownlee entered into 'very close association' with the organization and its president, American-born political thinker and agrarian leader Henry Wise Wood.[59] Brownlee soon "became recognized as [the UFA's] counsel," and he even accompanied Wood on speaking trips.[60]

In the early 20th century, in the frontier province of Alberta, agriculture, and particularly wheat farming, was by far the most important industry. Therefore, it is not unusual that the needs and concerns of the agrarian community ultimately exercised a profound influence on provincial politics.[61] However, the UFA, which was established in 1909, was not initially a political force, nor did it support any particular political party.[62] Rather, the UFA aimed to bring about economic, social and political reform for the benefit of farmers and the agricultural industry.[63] Naturally, farmers wished to "secure full profits from their labour," the opportunity for which was affected by a number of factors beyond their control: production and operating costs; debt charges; railway systems; freight rates; and, perhaps most significantly, fluctuating wheat prices.[64]

---

* James Lougheed became well-known as a Senator and federal Cabinet Minister and received a knighthood in 1916. He was the grandfather of E. Peter Lougheed, Alberta's 10th Premier (1971–1985).

Consequently, farmers advocated "tariff reductions, farm co-operatives, reduced freight rates, government-established wheat standards, federal regulation of the grain trade" and government-supported railway construction.[65] In a general sense, the UFA was influenced to some extent by the social gospel movement*[66] and, with the creation of a 'Women's Auxiliary' to the UFA in 1915,† by rural health and educational concerns.[67] In terms of legislative reform, it favoured democratic measures such as recall, equal suffrage and an end to 'cabinet domination' in the Legislative Assembly.[68]

By 1919, farmers' grievances had come to a head, and in January of that year, at the UFA convention, a resolution supporting political involvement was passed almost unanimously.[69] The resolution allowed local UFA associations to "decide whether or not to adopt independent political action" and nominate candidates to engage in political activity.[70] Now poised to enter the political arena, by 1921, the UFA was in a position to contest the provincial general election. It is noteworthy that in deciding to become politically active, the UFA rank and file had had to overcome the opposition of UFA president (1916–1931) Henry Wise Wood, whose "antipathy towards the formation of an agrarian political party" was well known.[71]

Despite his strong preference that the UFA avoid entering the political arena, Henry Wise Wood was nevertheless one of the most influential figures in the development of the farmers' movement in Alberta.[72] An American emigrant from Missouri, Wood settled on a farm near Carstairs, Alberta, and soon came to share many of the grievances experienced by his fellow farmers.[73] However, having witnessed the disintegration of a farmers' movement in his home state, the cause of which he directly attributed to its evolution into a political movement, Wood was "convinced that the worst thing that could happen to a farmers' organization was for it to enter politics."[74] Nonetheless, he was eager to assist the agricultural community in voicing its concerns for the purpose of effecting economic and political change.[75] As president of the UFA, Wood called for "the true social law of co-operation" over "the false social law of competition"[76] and strongly promoted organization as essential to the attainment of 'real democracy.'[77] Moreover, Wood was also a strong proponent of the concept of 'occupational representation,' according to which every economic class should represent itself in parliament.[78] Wood cautioned UFA executives against forming a political arm of the UFA organization after they had met in early 1919 to contemplate such action.[79] However, Wood finally put aside his aversion to political involvement and assisted in the fulfillment of the UFA's political aspirations.[80] In fact, both he and Brownlee, the UFA's solicitor at the time, drew up the resolution to be presented at the UFA annual convention in January 1919.[81]

---

* According to one historian, the social gospel movement, while initially "an attempt to apply Christianity to the collective ills of an industrialized society," also became "a secularizing force in its readiness to adopt such contemporary ideas as liberal progressivism, reform Darwinism, biblical criticism and philosophical idealism as vehicles for its message of social salvation." Social gospel ideals, which called for social reform and social ethics, were embraced to some extent by the farmer and labour movements and, later, by the social credit movement, and are currently embodied in the modern welfare state. A. Richard Allen, "Social Gospel," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com; Bradford James Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy: The United Farmers and Farm Women of Alberta, 1909–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 122–123.

† The Women's Auxiliary was renamed the United Farm Women of Alberta (UFWA) in 1916. Mrs. M. Irene Parlby, who later became Alberta's first female Cabinet member—Minister without Portfolio (1921–1934)—was named the organization's first president (1915–1919). Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, pp. 111–112; Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1924 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1924), p. 531.

### Political Career

Working closely with the UGG and the UFA, Brownlee earned 'the respect and confidence' of many farm leaders,[82] yet his 'most significant and closest association' was with Wood.[83] The two men came to trust and admire each other despite holding occasionally divergent views on the ideal relationship between the UFA and the Alberta Government.[84] Of Wood, Brownlee later remarked:

> He was a very wise leader ... . [H]e had a tremendous personality behind what he did say, and he had the amazing ability to get to the heart of the farmer. ... I would say that it was his personality, his obvious sincerity, his ability to talk the farmer's language [that allowed him] to reach the farmer's mind.[85]

In 1919, when the UFA organization developed a formal political component, Brownlee began his own 'personal study'[86] of the group's new aspirations, becoming "one of the best informed people in Canada on the political aspects of the farmers' movement."[87] Brownlee would later remark that at this point "the UFA and its policies became almost a religion with many of its supporters."[88] He attributed the UFA's political success in the provincial general election of 1921 in part to the strength and degree of organization it had achieved by this time.[89] Another contributing factor, he believed, was that the country was experiencing a period of recession, which, in causing a significant drop in the prices of farm products, had led to considerable 'discontent and dissatisfaction' amongst much of the rural populace.[90] Brownlee, however, indicated that he took 'no part in the provincial election' and, like Wood, he did not run as a candidate.[91]

On July 18, 1921, the UFA won 38 out of a total of 61 seats in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.[92] The 'novice farmer legislators' now faced the difficulty of forming a Government without a traditional party structure or a political leader.[93] The natural choice for the position of Premier, UFA president Henry Wise Wood, declined the office on the basis that he was unqualified.[94] Wood instead proposed Brownlee as the most qualified and most experienced individual to lead a new government. Brownlee, however, also refused, convinced that "a farm movement which had just returned a strong group of farmers to office would not be satisfied to see a lawyer, or one who had not actually farmed, take the position of leadership."[95] He stated that he would not even allow his name to stand for nomination at the UFA convention to select a leader.[96] Consequently, in 1921, Herbert Greenfield, who in Brownlee's view was "the only one real candidate" for the premiership, became the first UFA Premier of Alberta (1921–1925).[97] With the premiership settled, Brownlee was appointed to the portfolio of Attorney General, although he was not a Member of the Legislative Assembly.*[98] On December 9, 1921, in a by-election in the constituency of Ponoka, made necessary by the death of UFA Member Percival Baker† on July 19, Brownlee was elected by acclamation.[99]

Although victorious, the UFA had entered the political arena primarily to effect change, not necessarily to assume executive power and legislative control. UFA Members were apprehensive of governing because of their having railed against partisan politics and, in particular, against the entrenched practices of the traditional political parties, and because of their belief that every economic group should be represented in the Legislative Assembly and in Cabinet.[100] Unalterably dedicated to the farmer's cause, the UFA Government was incapable of fulfilling this vision of occupational representation; instead, its members found themselves unavoidably acting as 'custodians of the interests of others,'[101] namely other economic groups that the UFA believed should ideally represent themselves.[102] However, as Brownlee later explained, the theory of occupational representation posed 'practical problems'[103] to a traditional parliamentary system of governance, and as a result, the matter 'was tacitly dropped,' at least by the newly formed Cabinet.[104] Indeed, given the majority secured in the election, occupational representation was beyond the UFA Government's—or perhaps any government's—power to implement.[105] Nonetheless, despite being unworkable, this philosophy continued to be endorsed by some members of the UFA at their convention in 1923.[106]

The UFA's 'complete lack of experience' in government administration led to some difficulties for the newly elected farmers.[107] In accordance with the principles of the farmers' cause, many UFA Members rejected the concept of the traditional caucus, valuing instead "the complete freedom of the individual member."[108] These Members were soon introduced to parliamentary procedure and to the need to present a united front and support the Government's initiatives ahead of concerns of a local nature and the priorities of their constituents.[109] In arriving at these realizations they were assisted by Attorney General Brownlee. When the Government nearly fell, owing to its own backbenchers' determination to vote their consciences on proposed amendments to *The Dairymen's Act* (1907),[110] it was left to Brownlee to explain legislative realities to disillusioned UFA Members.[111] According to Brownlee, as a result of this incident, UFA Members were encouraged to voice their individual concerns at caucus meetings so that the Government could know its members' views on legislative proposals before they were introduced in the House and thereby act accordingly.[112] Brownlee also warned that should the Lieutenant Governor perceive the Government to be unworthy of the Assembly's confidence, His Honour was within his rights to compel the Government's resignation.[113] Therefore, the UFA Members of the Legislative Assembly agreed to adhere to parliamentary procedure and to operate as a traditional caucus.[114]

---

* In addition to serving as Attorney General, Brownlee served as Provincial Secretary from 1923 to 1925. He also served on the *Special Committee to Draft Resolutions on Western Freight Rates* (1923) and on a number of Select Standing Committees of the Legislative Assembly, from 1922 until the subsequent general election in 1926, namely: *Agriculture and Colonization*; *Legal Bills*; *Municipal Law*; *Privileges and Elections*; *Standing Orders*; *Printing*; and *Public Accounts*. He was also a member of the *Select Standing Committee on Railways* from 1924 to 1926.

† Reverend Percival Baker died on July 19, 1921, the day following the provincial general election, as a result of head injuries that he had received about three weeks earlier from a falling tree. "U. F. A. Leader P. Baker Dead from Accident," *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 20 July 1921, p. 1; "U. F. A. Member-Elect Dies in Edmonton," *Globe* (Toronto), 20 July 1921, p. 1. Rev. Baker had been unable to participate at all in the campaign, but had still prevailed as the UFA Member for Ponoka. "Alberta Election Fight Warms Up," *Globe* (Toronto), 14 July 1921, p. 2.

In the early years of the new administration, Brownlee and his Cabinet colleagues were compelled to contend with the ubiquitous belief amongst members of the UFA organization that the Government would immediately respond to and address local and even individual concerns.[115] During that period, the Government "was deluged with resolutions … and letters" from individual UFA members and local UFA associations, whose expectations were that the recently elected farmers' government would "respond to their desires."[116] Debates also arose in the UFA membership regarding the nature of the relationship between the organization and the Government. For instance, while Brownlee insisted that banking matters fell solely within the purview of the Dominion Parliament, the farmers persistently demanded, primarily through the passing of resolutions at the UFA conventions of 1922 and 1923, the institution of a provincial bank.[117] According to one historian, the unsuccessful "fate" of the UFA organization's petitions for monetary reform epitomized the "replacement of the agrarian wisdom of the U.F.A. by the expertise of the government."[118] In general, as the 1920s advanced, the UFA administration came to rely less upon the resolutions of the UFA conventions and more upon the policies and priorities of its own Cabinet.[119] In early 1924, for example, the Government flatly rejected several resolutions presented to Cabinet by the UFA organization as a result of its January convention, including a recommendation for the revision of mortgage legislation, which Greenfield and Brownlee rejected on the grounds that it would prove to be *ultra vires*.[*][120] Thus, the Government was gradually adapting to the practices of a traditional legislative body, despite the theories and intentions that had prevailed amongst members of the farmers' movement prior to the UFA's election to political office.[121]

During his tenure as Attorney General for the Greenfield administration, Brownlee's services as 'legal counsel to the Cabinet' were constantly required.[122] As the Government's most experienced lawyer, he assumed most of the administrative work and quickly became the Cabinet's source for detailed information and advice.[123] According to one historian:

> Virtually every issue seemed to require his expertise, from drafting legislation to advising on a certain policy's legal and constitutional implications. It soon became apparent that all his Cabinet colleagues would rely on him heavily, not only for advice on "matters of law" but also for such routine guidance as how to frame a letter or what position to take when being interviewed by a certain group.[124]

Premier Greenfield himself was no exception, and he repeatedly sought Brownlee's assistance in addressing his administrative responsibilities, assistance which Brownlee readily provided.[125] In fact, during the Fifth Legislature, the first during which the UFA was in power, Brownlee became an increasingly "prominent and crucial part of the Government's forces,"[126] and, as a public speaker of "power and ability," he often served as Government spokesman in the

---

[*] The legal term *ultra vires* means 'beyond the powers.' For more information, see the Glossary.

Legislative Assembly, "conducting most of the important debates in the [House]."[127] A testament to his vital role in the Legislative Assembly was an incident involving Liberal Opposition Member and lawyer John R. Boyle. Hearing that Brownlee was ill and confined to his home, Boyle contacted Brownlee and offered him the following assurance: "… I now give you my word of honor that as long as you are out of the [House] I will not do or say a word that will inconvenience or embarrass Greenfield. I recognize that you are the lone lawyer on that side of the [House]."[128]

Brownlee drafted a number of legal documents, including legislation and agreements, during the UFA's early years in power. For example, he played an instrumental role in the Government's attempt to contend with the reality that farmers' incomes were inadequate to sustain farming operations.[129] Brownlee implemented a number of measures to redress deficiencies in farm income, including the establishment of the Alberta Wheat Pool.[130] The idea of co-operative marketing of agricultural products was widely endorsed amongst prairie farmers,[131] largely because of its potential "to overcome the farmer's complete lack of bargaining power in setting the price of his commodities" and thereby to lessen his precarious economic situation.[132] After successive failures to re-establish a federal wheat board,* the UFA focused its efforts on creating a voluntary provincial wheat pool.[133] Brownlee's involvement in the establishment of the pool included preparing the documents for the incorporation of the Alberta Co-operative Wheat Producers, Limited; researching methods for its successful operation; and presenting the necessary enabling legislation to the Legislative Assembly.[134] On April 12, 1924, *The Alberta Co-operative Wheat Producers, Limited, Act* received Royal Assent.[135] In addition to his contributions to the pool, Brownlee also submitted legislation intended to relieve farmers of agricultural debts.[136] Furthermore, he played a significant role in the implementation of a government-operated liquor enterprise and in the establishment of the Alberta Liquor Control Board (ALCB).[137]

Under the first UFA administration, strides were made towards implementing Wood's true law of co-operation. By 1924, co-operative livestock, dairy, egg and poultry pools were in operation throughout the province.[138] Membership in the UFA, however, was declining,[139] as was the confidence of the UFA caucus in its nonetheless popular Premier, Herbert Greenfield.[140]

---

* In 1920, to the dissatisfaction of many Prairie farmers, the Dominion Government disbanded the Canadian Wheat Board, the national grain marketing agency. Under pressure from farmers, the federal government then tried to re-establish the Board and enacted the necessary legislation to set it up as a mandatory wheat pool, with the provision that at least two provinces pass corresponding legislation for it to operate. Premier Greenfield supported the action, and the Legislative Assembly of Alberta accordingly enacted the enabling legislation. However, Greenfield was unable to find anyone willing to serve on the Board, for many agrarian leaders believed a successful Board would be dependent on the support of all the Prairie Provinces. Although the Saskatchewan Government supported the initiative, it was likewise unable to find willing participants to serve on the Board. The Manitoba Government did not support the effort, and thus the federal Wheat Board failed once again. It would not be re-established until 1935. William Kirby Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), pp. 132–139; M. M. Veeman and T. S. Veeman, "Canadian Wheat Board," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available at http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

Division within the UFA caucus resulted in attempts to unseat Greenfield and replace him with Brownlee.*[141] Although Brownlee later claimed that he did not fully "understand the causes of that" and "felt that it was unfair to Mr. Greenfield," he believed that some Members thought that the Premier was "not giving the time he should be … to problems of administration" and "not giving the leadership which should be given to the movement."[142] Some caucus members believed that Greenfield had shown a "lack of attention to public affairs which brought the government under considerable criticism."[143] Brownlee, however, continued to support Greenfield as Premier, until the latter resigned with assurances of goodwill towards Brownlee.[144]

On November 23, 1925, Premier Herbert Greenfield tendered his resignation to Lieutenant Governor William Egbert, recommending that John E. Brownlee be asked to form a Government.[145] According to Brownlee, it was "with deep regret and extreme reluctance" that he accepted the premiership.[146] Of this transition in leadership, one historian remarked: "Alberta farmers were now to experience an era of competent government administration under Brownlee's leadership at the same time that U.F.A. activities stagnated."[147] Brownlee attributed this stagnation to the fact that many of the most prominent and capable individuals within the UFA membership had become engaged either in the political side of the farmers' movement or in its commercial side—that is, with the Wheat Board, leaving the UFA constituency organizations relatively 'weak.'[148]

## As Premier

On the same day that Greenfield resigned, John E. Brownlee was sworn in by Lieutenant Governor William Egbert as President of the Executive Council.†[149] Reporting on the occasion, *The U.F.A.*, the official organ of the UFA organization, remarked that "Premier Brownlee, whose loyalty to the retiring Premier has always been unquestioned, has undertaken the responsibility of carrying on the Government in response to the general desire of the members of the Assembly."[150] Upon accepting the position of Premier, Brownlee paid tribute to his predecessor, acknowledging "his very fine personal qualities and … his devotion to the farmers' movement."‡[151] Brownlee also announced that he had chosen not to instigate any immediate changes in Government policy, but would carry on with current UFA initiatives, and, at a later date, "outline more particularly the policy [he believed was] necessary for the full development of the Province."[152] During the first six months of his tenure as Premier, Brownlee retained the portfolio of Attorney General and at the end of that period, on June 5, 1926, assumed the portfolio of Provincial Secretary, which he held until 1934.[153]

---

* Amongst the Members who were dissatisfied with the leadership of Premier Greenfield and who felt that he should be replaced "for the sake of their movement's future" was Speaker Oran L. McPherson (1922–1926). McPherson had strongly favoured the UFA's taking political action in 1919, and in 1925, he played a "leading role in the removal of Greenfield." Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 111, 110–111, 132.

† Brownlee was a member of the following Select Standing Committees of the Legislative Assembly: *Agriculture and Colonization* (1926–1928); *Agriculture, Colonization, Immigration, and Education* (1929–1935); *Railways* (1926–1928); and *Railways, Telephones and Irrigation* (1929–1935). Additionally, he was a member of the *Public Accounts Committee* in 1935. From 1926 to 1930, he served as Chair of the Scientific and Industrial Research Council of Alberta.

‡ Upon resigning as Premier, Greenfield retained his seat in the constituency of Peace River throughout the Sixth Session of the Fifth Legislature, which was prorogued on May 22, 1926. He did not stand for re-election in the provincial general election of June 1926. UFA candidate Hugh W. Allen was elected as Member for Peace River in that election. In August 1926, Greenfield was appointed by Premier Brownlee as "agent-general for Alberta in London, England." "Former Provincial Premier Heads Company to Develop Petroleum Resources Here," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 September 1930, p. 1.

Brownlee's chief concerns upon taking office included the reduction of the provincial debt and the general amelioration of Alberta's financial situation; the mitigation of the Government's losses on railway guarantees, which had been initiated under the previous Liberal administrations; and the conclusion of negotiations with the Dominion Government on the issue of Alberta's natural resources.[154] Because the first of these concerns would necessarily be facilitated by the successful accomplishment of the latter two, Brownlee embarked for Ottawa and Montreal to begin consultations with members of the Dominion Government and with financiers which he hoped would ultimately result in the sale of the provincial railways and the transfer of ownership over Alberta's natural resources to the province.[155]

In 1920, the Edmonton, Dunvegan and British Columbia (ED&BC) Railway, the Central Canada (CC) Railway and the Alberta and Great Waterways (A&GW) Railway had all come under the ownership of the provincial government, and since that time, their expansion and upkeep had created considerable operating and capital expenses.[156] For example, in the spring of 1926, the Government was once again compelled to provide substantial loans to the ED&BC, the CC and the A&GW railway companies. Legislation was enacted in April of that year, advancing a combined total of $618,500 to all the companies, an indication that the provincial railways continued to be a significant financial burden on Alberta.[157] Brownlee acknowledged the financial liabilities posed by the provincial railways, and in January 1926, initiated negotiations with Charles A. Dunning, federal Minister of Railways, and other railway officials, hoping, ultimately, to effect the sale of the railways to the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) and the Dominion-owned Canadian National Railway (CNR).[158] In Montreal, Brownlee purchased, on behalf of the Government, $1,300,000 worth of shares of the ED&BC Railway, which gave the Alberta Government controlling interest in this company, meaning that it "could now sell, lease, or even operate the railroads and act in negotiations as a principal rather than as a highly interested third party."[159]

The transfer of ownership of Alberta's natural resources had preoccupied the provincial and territorial leaders since before Alberta joined Confederation in 1905. Under the terms of the *Alberta Act*, unlike those under which the four original provinces had joined Confederation, Alberta was not granted control of its natural resources.[160] By the 1920s, however, negotiations had furthered Alberta's cause, and a settlement between the federal and provincial government seemed close at hand.[*][161] While in Ottawa, Brownlee met with Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King (1921–1926, 1926–1930, 1935–1948) on this issue, and on January 9, 1926, both leaders signed an agreement providing for the control of Alberta's resources to be granted to the Province.[162] Before the transfer became official, however, both Parliament and the Legislative Assembly of Alberta would have to ratify the agreement.[163]

---

[*] In part, Alberta's eagerness throughout the 1920s to gain control of its natural resources was due to an increase in oil-drilling activity. After the Turner Valley oil field discovery in 1914, Alberta's petroleum industry developed rapidly and the province's resource potential became more apparent. Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), pp. 205–207.

Having made significant progress on the issues of the provincial railways and natural resources, Brownlee turned his attention to preparing for the Sixth Session of the Fifth Legislature. Brownlee's first Session as Premier was a promising one. The Speech from the Throne of February 11, 1926 highlighted positive developments in the province's agricultural and oil industries and outlined the UFA Government's approach to several prevailing provincial concerns.[164] It was reported that, for the preceding year, the "total value of all agricultural products [exceeded] that of any other year in the history of the Province" and that, in light of the successful exploitation of the Turner Valley and Wainwright oil fields, there was "in the development of [the oil] industry a spirit of confident energy and optimism."[165] The Speech also emphasized the Government's commitment to developing more diversified farming in areas suffering from drought, to relieving unemployment, to lowering freight rates and to continuing the expansion and improvement of provincial highways.[166] Furthermore, it was stressed that an austere policy of strict economy, following an examination of expenditures and taxation, would continue to govern the Province's approach to its finances so that they "may be permanently established on a satisfactory basis."[167]

The Budget Speech delivered by Provincial Treasurer Richard G. Reid* reiterated the sentiments of success, optimism and caution conveyed in the Speech from the Throne a month earlier. On presenting the annual budget to the Legislative Assembly on March 18, 1926, Reid remarked that "at no time in the past has the occasion been a more auspicious one."[168] This he attributed in part to the fact that, for the first time since before the First World War, the Alberta Government was able to report a budgetary surplus.[169] Reid credited the UFA administration's fiscal restraint with effecting the $188,019 surplus for the previous year.[170]

The legislative program for this Session contained much amending legislation but also introduced certain important new measures.[171] Acknowledging the resource potential of the budding oil and gas industry, the Brownlee Government initiated the regulation of drilling operations with *The Oil and Gas Wells Act.* In authorizing the Lieutenant Governor in Council to make regulations respecting 24 aspects of drilling wells, the Act was designed to decrease "wastage in drilling and producing operations."[172] Legislation aimed at improving labour standards was also enacted, including *An Act for the Protection of Persons Employed in Factories, Shops and Office Buildings* and *The Labour Disputes Act.*[173] During the same Session, *The Mothers' Allowance Act Amendment Act, 1926* was passed, broadening the eligibility requirements for mothers to qualify for government assistance,[*][174] as was the exhaustive 437-clause *Municipal District Act* (1926), which established municipal districts for the betterment of civic administration in rural areas.[175]

---

* Reid would later succeed Brownlee as Premier of Alberta (1934–1935).

In May 1926, an amendment to the natural resources agreement, submitted by federal Minister of the Interior (1921–1926, 1926–1930), Minister of Mines (1921–1926, 1926–1930) and former Liberal Premier of Alberta (1917–1921) Charles Stewart, raised concern in Alberta.[176] The modification proposed adding a condition to the agreement, which pertained to the use of school lands. In 1879, an educational endowment had been created, through an Act of the federal Parliament, to aid in the development of schooling in Manitoba and the North-West Territories. In *An Act to amend and consolidate the several Acts respecting the Public Lands of the Dominion*, 'school lands' were set aside in each township in the North-West Territories.[177] The proceeds of the sale of such lands were to be invested in Dominion securities, and the accrued interest was to be paid out to the "Government of the Province or Territory within which such lands [were] situated towards the support of public schools therein …"[178] The resulting School Fund, as it came to be known, along with school lands themselves, remained under the control of the Dominion Government even after Alberta became a province, owing to the fact that the federal government retained control over public lands after 1905.[179] The new clause being added to the natural resources agreement as proposed by the Dominion Government stipulated that the school lands should be held by the province "in accordance with section 17 of the Alberta Act," which protected the province's separate schools.[180] Indeed, this new provision was interpreted as "an affirmation of the obligation of Alberta to appropriate from the funds derived from school lands a proportionate sum for the maintenance of the separate schools."[†][181] The new clause, so interpreted, met with general disapproval in the Legislative Assembly, and consequently, the Brownlee Government refused to accept the amendment, Brownlee himself later stating that he "could not see that the question of education or of the administration of our schools including separate schools should be tied in any way with the transfer of the resources."[182] Although the long-awaited transfer was perforce postponed,[183] Brownlee parlayed the delay occasioned by the federal amendment into criticism of "federal government … interference in provincial affairs."[184]

---

[*] Mothers' allowances were a social service, or 'public assistance' program, that allocated public monies to mothers who were also wives of mental patients or widows. Representing "a significant departure from traditional poor relief practices which had existed [in Canada] from colonial times," the idea was first adopted in Alberta in 1919. Qualifying for monetary assistance were mothers who had custody of children under a certain age but who were unable to provide proper care for them. Successful applicants received a weekly allowance, the value of which was determined by an inspector considering the woman's case. The aid program was primarily financed by the provincial government, although municipalities were sometimes called upon to contribute. *The Mothers Allowance Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 6, ss. 3–5; Dennis Guest, *The Emergence of Social Security in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), p. 63.

[†] Brownlee opposed the new provision, arguing that using this funding for separate schools was unnecessary, as "under the existing arrangement there has never been any trouble in caring for the needs of the separate schools" in Alberta. In addition, other critics were concerned that the clause was inserted "on the insistence of Henri Bourassa" and other French-Canadian nationalists, who had pressured the King Government to foster legislative initiatives supportive of French-Canadian interests, especially "the rights of the Catholic minority to separate schools." "AB Protests Against New Clause," *Globe* (Toronto), 12 May 1926, p. 1; Foster, *John E. Brownlee*, pp. 125–126.

While the *Edmonton Bulletin* labelled Brownlee as the Government 'Steamroller' for the alacrity with which he pushed the Government's business through the House,[185] Brownlee's 'highly competent leadership' was welcome amongst the UFA membership.[186] Regardless, his competence would soon be assessed, for less than a year after assuming the premiership, Brownlee faced a provincial general election. The election writ was issued on May 27, 1926, initiating a month of fierce campaigning.[187]

For the UFA, the campaign represented the farmers' government's first attempt at re-election. Significantly, the upcoming election would be the first to be contested in Alberta under the provisions of the new electoral system—the single transferable vote or preferential ballot system.* Introduced under Premier Greenfield's administration in 1924 as one of the amendments to *The Alberta Election Act*,[188] the new system, it was hoped, would reduce the number of spoiled ballots[189] and, in decreasing the potential that a candidate could be elected having been chosen by less than a majority of the voters, "would ensure that the proper candidate got elected."[190] Brownlee supported the new system, which, in allowing the electorate to rank candidates in order of preference, afforded each voter the possibility of having his alternate choices expressed in the election results and therefore fulfilled its purpose, which, Brownlee maintained, "was to encourage full use of the ballot."[191]

Contributors to the *The U.F.A.* supported the Government's campaign by renewing their opposition to the party system and praising the UFA record. Mrs. R. B. Gunn, president of the United Farm Women of Alberta (UFWA), authored a column celebrating the UFA's success in balancing the budget, calling this achievement "the precursor of a happier mental attitude, of increasing confidence, of optimism, expansion and initiative."[192] Later in the article, Mrs. Gunn contrasted the UFA's unremitting commitment to participatory, non-partisan democracy with the feverish pre-election campaigning embodied by the orthodox party system:

---

* According to this electoral system, voters ranked the candidates listed on their ballots in order of their preference, marking '1' for their first choice, '2' for their second choice, and so on. In single-Member constituencies, the vote was tallied according to the first preference indicated on the ballot. If no candidate received an absolute majority, then the candidate with the fewest votes would be eliminated and all ballots for the eliminated candidate were redistributed according to the voter's second preference. This process was repeated until one candidate emerged with more than 50 per cent of the vote. Brian O'Neal, *Electoral Systems*, Background Paper BP-334E (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, Research Branch, 1993), p. 4. In multi-Member constituencies, such as Edmonton and Calgary, the votes were tallied according to the first choice indicated on each ballot. The proportion of votes necessary to win a seat varied depending on the number of seats available. After the results were tallied based on the first preference vote, any candidate who had received the required proportion of votes was deemed to have won a seat in the Legislative Assembly. At this point, an elected candidate's surplus votes (i.e. those in excess of the number needed to win a seat) were distributed to the other candidates in the same proportion as each candidate had been selected as the second choice on all of the elected candidate's ballots. Once the votes had been recounted, any remaining candidates who had now received the required proportion of the vote also won a seat in the Legislative Assembly. This process continued until all the seats available in the constituency were filled. John D. Hunt, "A Key to P.R.: Being an Explanation of the Transferable Ballot, and of Proportional Representation as Adopted by The Alberta Election Act, with Full Directions for the Counting of the Ballots," in *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 193, 195.

> This quiet, continuous participation in the duties of citizenship is incompatible with the din and clamor of accepted party pre-election campaigns, and is an eminently satisfactory form of immunization from the infection of virulent denunciatory and inflammatory election charges and irresponsible promises.[193]

Another contributor to *The U.F.A.*, William Irvine,* in acknowledging the "many services rendered" by the UFA administration, asserted that "the decidedly higher standard of public morality initiated and established at Edmonton" was the Government's greatest achievement.[194]

Meanwhile, the *Edmonton Bulletin* reported, at some length, on the criticisms of the UFA administrative record made during the campaign. Liberal candidate for the multi-Member constituency of Edmonton† William Rea was quoted as saying:

> Any man … who joins the Brownlee government … must take his share of the blame for the brazen unconstitutional acts carried out by the Henry Wise Wood followers, and for the trail of broken and discarded pledges they have left in their wake during their five years in office in Alberta.[195]

In addition, candidates from other parties questioned, amongst other things, the administration of the Department of Education, the public debt and the "bungling of the transfer of the natural resources to Alberta."[196] Moreover, referring to a "faked" and "purely imaginary surplus" for the preceding year, they charged the Provincial Treasurer with having "questionable book-keeping methods" and with "trying to hoodwink the people of the province as to the true state of affairs financially."[197]

As the election approached, the UFA circulated a campaign pamphlet, which was reproduced in *The U.F.A.* as a provincial election supplement.[198] "Five Years of Progress," as it was called, featured a picture of the Premier on the front page and aimed "to place before the electors in a concise way some of the grounds on which the present government of the province feels it is entitled to a continuance of the confidence of the people."[199] The UFA substantiated its request for a renewed mandate with the following statement:

---

* Irvine, a Scottish-born Unitarian minister, was very active in organizing the political arms of the farmer and labour movements in western Canada. A Member of Parliament for the Labour (1921–1926), UFA (1926–1935) and Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) (1945–1949) political organizations, Irvine also edited and contributed to several newspapers devoted to these progressive movements, and authored *The Farmers in Politics* (1920). Canada. Library of Parliament, "Irvine, William," House of Commons – Historical Information, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp; Anthony Mardiros, "Irvine, William," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com; C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953), pp. 29, 36, 39.

† Edmonton was one of three multi-Member constituencies in Alberta. The other two like constituencies were Calgary and Medicine Hat. Medicine Hat was a multi-Member constituency for the 1921 election only. Multi-Member constituencies continued until the 1959 provincial general election, the amending legislation being proclaimed in force on May 9, 1959. *An Act to amend The Legislative Assembly Act (2)*, S.A. 1957, c. 41; "A Proclamation," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 55, no. 9, 15 May 1959, p. 784.

> [T]he government is appealing directly on the basis of its five years of administration, which has been admitted frankly by its opponents to have been honest, sincere and conscientious, a record of achievement in grappling with and bringing to a solution the very difficult problems which it inherited from the previous administration and which have been dealt with during a period in which at least three years were years of economic depression in the province …[200]

Listed amongst the Government's achievements were the establishment of the Alberta Liquor Control Board, the provincial operation of railways, the provincial telephone system and the administration of government agencies. The pamphlet also summarized how the UFA had successfully dealt, and was continuing to deal, with issues of provincial concern, such as finances and taxation, freight rates, drought areas and irrigation, railways and industrial development.[201] Notably, the pamphlet featured a comparison between the actual cost of the 1921 election—under the Liberal regime—and the estimated cost of the UFA's 1926 election, the latter cited as being a more modest amount by almost $125,000.[202] The figures supported the claims of other UFA organization members who likewise contrasted the austerity of UFA campaigns with the purported extravagance of those of the rival parties.[203] In general, the UFA's campaign highlighted the Government's achievements rather than propounding UFA ideals or principles.[204]

Potentially harmful to the UFA's campaign was the fact that the two key provincial issues that Brownlee had hoped to have settled by the election—the provincial railways and the control of Alberta's natural resources—remained unresolved. However, in having refused either to agree to unacceptable terms for divesting itself of Government holdings in railways[205] or to accept the school lands amendment to the resource agreement, Brownlee's administration purported to have protected the interests of the province.[206]

On June 28, 1926, the UFA Government was returned for another term, securing 43 out of a total of 60 seats in the Legislative Assembly, and more than 39 per cent of the popular vote.[207] Due to the newly introduced preferential ballot system and to the need for recounts, the results took almost a month to verify.[208] The victory represented "the first time that a Farmers' government had won re-election."[209] Brownlee's own constituency of Ponoka voted overwhelmingly in his favour.[210]

The years between the elections of 1926 and 1930 were productive ones for the Brownlee Government. With the enactment of legislation related to Alberta's companies,[211] insurance,[212] domestic relations[213] and old-age pensions,[214] this period yielded laws of great import to the province's industrial, social and financial development. Brownlee's second term in office coincided with a period of marked progress and prosperity for Alberta's agricultural sector, as crop prices improved and farm income began to rise.[215] This state of affairs allowed the Government to focus its attention on the coordination of co-operative marketing programs and agencies operating within the province.[216] During his career, Brownlee promoted the merits of the co-operative movement, which, he believed, had the potential "to raise the standard of living."[217] *The U.F.A.* reported that at a Wheat Pool banquet held on June 26, 1929, Brownlee made the following comments regarding the co-operative principle:

> In proportion as the co-operative idea [develops,] the sense of responsibility should also grow. Men should will to know and to do. *The co-operative state [is] not for the lazy, the careless, the indifferent or the cowardly. It [is] a state challenging the highest endeavors of a heroic people.*[218]

By 1929, Brownlee's Government had passed important legislation guaranteeing loans to co-operative agencies with *The Co-operative Marketing Associations Guarantee Act.*[219]

During the late 1920s, social concerns also preoccupied the UFA Government. From within the ranks of the UFA organization, and in keeping with the farmers' movement's ideal of government action in the service of the greater good, there were calls for the implementation of measures falling under the broad scientific category of 'eugenics.'* As early as 1922, in the first months of the UFA Government, the UFA Annual Convention had called for the social "segregation for life of the feeble-minded and [the] study [of] the feasibility of implementing a sterilization program."[220] Regarded as a compassionate act that employed sophisticated science and which was necessary to protect society from the propagation of newly identified genetic disorders, sterilization earned the attention and support of reform-minded women, including Alberta's own Emily Murphy and Nellie L. McClung.[†221] In due course, the Government enacted *The Sexual Sterilization Act* (1928),[‡222] providing for the surgical sterilization, on the recommendation of a board of physicians and authorized by the consent of the patient or his or her legal guardian, of any mental health patients about to be discharged.[§223]

---

* The eugenics movement was founded in 1904 by Englishman Sir Francis Galton. Proponents of the movement considered eugenics as a means by which to propagate "desirable characteristics and genes." To this end, they sometimes promoted what would be considered, by modern standards, the more pernicious elements of the "science," including "limiting the capacity and opportunity for procreation," which involved "sexual sterilization, marriage prohibition, segregation and institutionalization." Gerald Robertson, "Eugenics," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

[†] Emily Murphy and Nellie McClung were both members of Canada's 'Famous Five' who successfully appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (JCPC) of the United Kingdom to declare women 'persons' under the law on October 18, 1929. As a result of the so-called Persons Case, women were eligible for appointed offices, including those of magistrate and senator. Emily Murphy served as Canada's first female magistrate, and Nellie McClung was later appointed as Canada's delegate to the League of Nations.

[‡] *The Sexual Sterilization Act* would remain in effect in Alberta until it was repealed by the Progressive Conservative Government of E. Peter Lougheed in 1972. In 1999, the provincial government settled class-action litigation and provided compensation of $80 million to Albertans sterilized under the eugenics program. *The Sexual Sterilization Repeal Act, 1972*, S.A. 1972, c. 87; Karen Unland, "Sterilization Victim Finally Gets Her Money from Government," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 December 1999, p. A7.

[§] In 1937, the Social Credit Government under William Aberhart amended *The Sexual Sterilization Act*, removing the necessity of obtaining a 'mentally defective' patient's or guardian's consent and empowering a board of physicians mandated under the original Act to carry out sterilizations upon their unanimous decision. *The Sexual Sterilization Act Amendment Act, 1937*, S.A. 1937, c. 47, s. 6.

By 1929, the Brownlee administration had completed the sale of the provincial railways, a formidable and timely accomplishment considering that the UFA Government would soon be seeking the renewal of its mandate. *The Alberta Government Railways Act, 1929* provided for the sale of the Edmonton, Dunvegan and British Columbia Railway Company, the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company, the Central Canada Railway Company, the Central Canada Express Company and the Pembina Valley Railway to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the federally owned Canadian National Railway Company.[224] The arrangement concluded a series of prolonged negotiations between the provincial and federal governments, finally relieving the Province of its considerable financial obligation with respect to the railways. Brownlee's "skill as a negotiator" was viewed as a major factor in resolving the issue, "although [the deal] also revealed the conservatism of a cost-conscious government that did not see railways as a public utility."[225]

The year 1929 also saw the end of Alberta's protracted effort to secure the control of its provincial resources. In December 1929, Premier Brownlee and Prime Minister King signed the transfer documents, finalizing the settlement upon which the two leaders had agreed. The additional provision regarding the funding and administration of separate schools, which federal officials had asked to be included in the land transfer agreement during negotiations in 1926, was dropped in the final settlement. In the words of Premier Brownlee, the new agreement, "which was submitted to [and subsequently passed by] the Alberta Legislature in 1930," contained the "wording of the act which we had passed in '26 … and there was no reference to the Alberta Act [section 17]."[226] It was reported that approximately 3,000 people turned out in Edmonton to greet and cheer the returning Premier as he stepped down from the train.[227] Brownlee was eager to acknowledge the efforts of his predecessors in contributing to the favourable outcome, but the *Edmonton Journal* editorialized that despite the Premier's "modesty,"

> Alberta owes much to him for the ability, tact and patience that he has brought to the handling of this vital and difficult problem and it was most fitting that the province's capital should honor him in so striking a way.[228]

Meanwhile, lauding the agreement as "the most important single achievement of the U.F.A. administration," *The U.F.A.* published the following remarks:

> [The transfer] will provide a supreme opportunity for the development of a policy of conservation and development under public ownership and control, for the benefit of this and future generations. … Alberta is in a position to avoid the disastrous errors of policy which have resulted in the premature depletion of resources of untold value in many parts of this continent, and at the same time to assure to citizens of today and tomorrow all of the advantages which should accrue from their inheritance.[229]

In the spring of 1930, in the Fourth Session of the Sixth Legislature, a Bill was placed before the Legislative Assembly to ratify the agreement, which Brownlee called "probably the most important piece of legislation that would ever come within the experience of members now sitting in the house."[230] Duly, on April 3, 1930, *The Alberta Natural Resources Act* received Royal Assent, the corresponding federal statute being enacted on May 30 of the same year.[231] The text of the federal Act reads in part:

> In order that the Province may be in the same position as the original Provinces of Confederation ..., the interest of the Crown in all Crown lands, mines, minerals ... and royalties derived therefrom within the Province, and all sums due or payable for such lands, mines, minerals or royalties, shall ... belong to the Province.[232]

For many Albertans, the settlement also constituted a moral victory insofar as "the inferior constitutional status" of Alberta "had been an important factor in a continuing feeling of alienation" amongst the populace.[233] In practical terms, the agreement provided for the transfer of about 40.5 million hectares of land, 1.21 million hectares of tar sands, 202,300 hectares of petroleum rights and several million hectares of coal leases.*[234] Financially, the arrangement stipulated that the Dominion Government pay to the Province an annual sum of $562,500 until its population reached 800,000, after which it was to pay an annual sum of $750,000 until its population reached 1.2 million. Finally, it was to remit an annual sum of $1.125 million in perpetuity.[235] In addition, legislation† was passed in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta that Session to provide for the administration of the natural resources that were now under provincial auspices.[236]

Two other significant pieces of legislation were introduced in the spring of 1930. The first of these, *The Research Council Act*, established the "Scientific and Industrial Research Council of Alberta" to advise the Government "on questions of scientific and technological methods affecting the expansion of the industries, or the utilization of the natural resources of Alberta."[237] The Council was to consist of no more than 10 members, two of whom were to be members of the Executive Council of Alberta and all of whom were to be designated by the Lieutenant Governor in Council.[238] The second noteworthy enactment was *The Provincial Parks and Protected Areas Act*, which established provincial parks and stipulated that they were to be used for "the recreation and general benefit" of Albertans; for "the propagation, protection and preservation" of park wildlife; and for the protection of "objects of geological, ethnological, historical or other scientific interest."[239]

The Budget Speech of 1930 conveyed still more positive tidings for Albertans. In addition to reporting a budgetary surplus of more than $1.57 million, Provincial Treasurer Reid highlighted the Province's "pre-eminence in the production of oil" and the "potential wealth" contained in its agricultural districts.[240] He concluded his speech with the following sentiments of optimism:

> It is not hard to visualize agricultural expansion and what it will mean to Northern Alberta. It is more difficult for us to realize what changes mineral development will bring to that territory. Twenty years of this dual development will undoubtedly surpass anything that the Province has yet seen.[241]

However, the effects of the Great Depression, which had begun with the stock market crash of October 1929 and which included the rapid decline of agricultural product prices, would soon be profoundly felt in Alberta. With the onset of the Great Depression, Alberta farmers were forced to contend with a "sudden disastrous decline in fortunes … with little or no chance to redeem themselves in the immediately subsequent years."[242] Between the harvests of 1929 and 1930, the market value of grain decreased from $1.14 a bushel to $0.39 a bushel, the result of which was that Alberta's field crop returns were drastically reduced.[243] Recognizing the increasing gravity of the province's financial situation, the Government sought to redress the economic difficulties of the agricultural community through a variety of measures, including financial assistance for the Alberta Wheat Pool.[244]

---

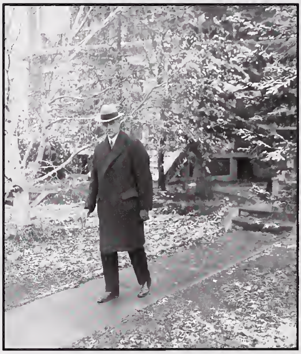
* In imperial measurement terms, these values are equivalent to, respectively: 100 million acres of land, three million acres of tar sands, 500,000 acres of petroleum rights and several million acres of coal leases. "Natural Resources Transfer Most Important Legislation Ever before Alberta House," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 February 1930, p. 1.

† *The Administration of Natural Resources (Temporary) Act* received Royal Assent on April 3, 1930.

Brownlee seemed to recognize the consequences that economic hardship could have on an electorate's faith in its leadership, and indeed, his eagerness to seek the renewal of the Government's mandate sooner rather than later reflected this awareness.[245] On April 24, 1930, the election writs were issued, and Brownlee later asserted that "if [the Government] had waited another six months [it] would have been beaten."[246]

Nevertheless, with the issues of provincial railways and natural resources successfully settled, the UFA administration, "at a crest of popularity," was well-poised to face the upcoming election and thus began a confident campaign.[247] Following its practice in the 1926 election campaign, the UFA Party published a pamphlet entitled "Nine Years of Achievement: The Best Promise of Good Government," wherein it argued that "the Government's achievement in solving [the province's] outstanding problems is the best guarantee of its ability to meet the problems of the next few years."[248] Several local newspapers, including the *Edmonton Journal*, recognized the UFA's laudable administrative record, indicating that the Government had "much good work to its credit, as is freely acknowledged by every fair-minded person and especial recognition must be given to the ability and the devotion that the premier has brought to his onerous duties."[249] Meanwhile, the *Calgary Albertan* declared: "The virtues of the Brownlee Government during its office, its business acumen and its sincerity of purpose are all generally recognized."[250] It is notable that by this time, the UFA administration was predominantly associated with the Premier himself, and its recent successes had served to reaffirm Brownlee's "political supremacy" within what his opponents deemed a "one man government."[251]

On June 19, 1930, the Government was returned for a third term, securing 39 out of a total of 63 seats and 39 per cent of the popular vote.[252] In his own constituency, Brownlee was elected by acclamation.[*][253] The electoral victory marked a high point for the farmers' government. Within weeks of



Premier J.E. Brownlee outside his home, Edmonton (1930).

---

[*] Other UFA candidates returned by acclamation in 1930 were: Oran L. McPherson (Little Bow), Minister of Public Works and former Speaker of Alberta (1922–1926); Charles M. McKeen (Lac Ste. Anne); and Hugh W. Allen (Grande Prairie). Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 44–47.

the election, Brownlee embarked on an extensive tour of Alberta's north, the first such undertaking by any Premier in the history of the Province, and one providing Brownlee with a unique perspective on Alberta's resources and potential.[254]

Despite optimistic hopes to the contrary, the economic situation in Alberta did not improve after the election. Therefore, in 1931, in an effort to offer relief, the newly returned Brownlee administration established the Alberta Rural Credit Corporation, which served to co-ordinate and consolidate the debt of member agencies.[255] In addition, Brownlee petitioned the Dominion Government for increased cost sharing, and although Prime Minister Richard B. Bennett offered some federal support, this financial assistance was accompanied with a requirement for "more stringent provincial budget cuts."[256] Accordingly, the UFA Government implemented a number of efficiencies, including the disbanding of the Alberta Provincial Police in favour of services contracted from the federally supported Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).[257] Moreover, the salaries of provincial civil servants were reduced by a total of $320,000, while the compensation of Members of the Legislative Assembly was cut by 10 per cent.[258] Brownlee's Government remained committed to the fundamental principle of financial solvency.[259]

In 1933, Brownlee served as "the only western member" of the five-man Royal Commission on Banking and Currency, recommending public ownership of a central national bank, which, ideally, would control "a nationalized system of currency" and oversee "extensive centralized economic planning."[260] Eventually, in 1935, the Dominion Government established, through federal legislation, the Bank of Canada.[261] Initially privately owned, in 1938 it became a fully nationalized central bank in accordance with Brownlee's original recommendations, although Brownlee received little credit for the establishment of the institution.[262]

As the Great Depression wore on, the severity of the economic crisis led many Albertans to consider and press for the implementation of novel economic theories to bring about much-needed change. Beginning in the early 1930s, the UFA Government had received proposals from its annual convention for monetary reform, including some that were based on the social credit theories of Major Clifford H. Douglas, as advocated by popular radio evangelist and future Premier of Alberta William Aberhart (1935–1943).[263] On March 1, 1934, a motion was passed in the Legislative Assembly, which called upon "Aberhart and others … to explain and give evidence" on the "Douglas System."[264] In agreeing to appear at an inquiry and provide details about social credit, Aberhart became, on March 19, 1934, the first stranger* to address the Assembly.[265] Brownlee, for his part, believed that the implementation of social credit theory was "beyond the constitutional capability of a province."[266] Consequently, in his questioning of Aberhart, Brownlee subjected the latter's proposals "to the most rigorous rational examination."[267]

In 1933, the Government faced two highly publicized personal scandals related to high-profile Ministers. The first involved the divorce and subsequent remarriage of Public Works Minister and former Speaker Oran L. McPherson. The second scandal involved the Premier himself. On September 22, Vivian MacMillan, a stenographer employed by the Government of Alberta, and her father, Allan D. MacMillan, brought a civil suit against Brownlee under *The Seduction Act* (1903),[*][268] seeking damages in compensation for Brownlee's 'alleged seduction' of Vivian MacMillan from the time she was 18 and over the course of three years.[269] Premier Brownlee categorically denied the allegations, asserting in his defence that there was "not a word of truth" in the MacMillans' suit and that he intended to "defend the action to the limit."[270] Brownlee issued a counterclaim in November 1933, alleging that Vivian MacMillan, together with her medical student suitor John Caldwell, had conspired to level false allegations against him.[271] After a sensational trial, on June 30, 1934, jurors awarded $10,000 in damages to Vivian MacMillan and $5,000 to her father.[272] The trial judge, William C. Ives, admonished the jury for reaching a verdict inconsistent with the evidence, overturned the decision and imposed court costs upon the MacMillans.[273] Despite Justice Ives' actions, Brownlee recognized that the jury's initial verdict signalled an end to his political career. On the morning of July 5, 1934, Brownlee delivered his resignation and that of the entire Cabinet to Lieutenant Governor William L. Walsh. The resignations were effective July 10, 1934.[274] On the same day, Richard G. Reid, Provincial Treasurer and UFA Member for the constituency of Vermilion, was sworn in as Premier.[275]

---

* A stranger is an individual on the floor of the Chamber who is neither a Member of the Legislative Assembly nor an officer of the House. During the history of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, the opportunity for a stranger to address the Assembly has been afforded on only five occasions.

In 1937, the MacMillans successfully appealed Justice Ives' decision to the Supreme Court of Canada.[276] On June 4, 1940, Brownlee's appeal of the Supreme Court's decision to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council[†] of the United Kingdom was dismissed.[277]

### Later Career

After his resignation as Premier, Brownlee continued to serve in the Legislative Assembly as a Private Member and to work on behalf of both the UFA Government and the province. In particular, Brownlee reacted to what he perceived to be the Social Credit threat to Alberta. As a lawyer, Brownlee found social credit theory to be 'non-applicable' to the province as banking remained under federal, not provincial, jurisdiction.[278] The social credit movement, while initially aiming only to convince the existing Government to implement its reforms, soon developed into a political force of its own and challenged the UFA administration in the 1935 provincial general election.

As the election approached, members of the UFA Government chose to communicate with the electorate on several occasions through radio, a medium being very effectively utilized by William Aberhart. While Premier Reid strongly criticized social credit in the months leading up to the August 1935 election, Brownlee also delivered a series of broadcasts aimed at debunking the theories propounded by Aberhart and the social credit movement. As Brownlee remarked in one of his radio speeches, the UFA's broadcasts

---

[*] *The Seduction Act* was repealed in 1985 under section 46(1) of the *Charter Omnibus Act*, which amended or repealed existing Alberta Statutes as necessary to comply with the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, Part I of the *Constitution Act, 1982, being Schedule B to the Canada Act 1982* (U.K.), 1982, c. 11.

[†] The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, located in the United Kingdom, was last resort for litigants in Canada until 1933 for criminal cases and 1949 for civil cases.

> served a very excellent purpose in pointing out the many serious defects and deficiencies in the picture painted by the proponents of the Alberta system of Social Credit, notwithstanding the vividly rosy colours splashed so lavishly over the canvas.[279]

In the same broadcast, after outlining the main tenets of the Social Credit platform, Brownlee asked pointedly: "Can you remain indifferent to the threat it offers to the well-being of this Province? Dare you risk the chaos and confusion that will result from any attempt to put it into effect?"[280] In another speech, Brownlee warned that the "scheme must fail because the Province has no constitutional power to enforce it," a point that he defended with direct reference to the *British North America Act*.[281]

Nevertheless, Depression-era Albertans remained, to a large extent, unmoved by Brownlee's warnings, choosing instead to cast their votes in favour of change and of the seeming panacea embodied by Social Credit. In the general election of August 22, 1935, Richard G. Reid and the UFA were defeated in a landslide victory by Social Credit, which won 56 out of a total of 63 seats in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta and more than 54 per cent of the popular vote.[282] The UFA, by contrast, did not win a single seat,[*] and captured only 11 per cent of the popular vote.[283]

Upon leaving politics, Brownlee re-established his law practice[†] and returned to the position of general counsel for the UGG organization.[284] In 1937, the Alberta Government appointed Brownlee as Counsel to the Legislative Committee to assist in preparing a brief for submission to the Royal Commission on Taxation. Brownlee refused any remuneration for his work in this capacity.[285] In 1942, Brownlee joined the UGG board of directors as first vice-president, and in 1948, he was chosen unanimously by the UGG as successor to the outgoing Richard S. Law as president and general manager of the organization, a position he held until 1961.[286] In 1946, he joined the Canadian delegation to the United Kingdom, where he assisted in the creation of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers.[287] Brownlee continued as an advisor to subsequent Canadian delegations negotiating international wheat agreements.[288] His last appointment in 1961, by Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker (1957–1963), was as a member of the National Productivity Council.[289]

## Community Activities and Personal Interests

John Brownlee was a member of the Edmonton Board of Trade, the Kiwanis Club, the Edmonton Golf and Country Club, the St. Andrew's Golf and Country Club (Calgary), the Bowness Golf Club, the Alberta Chapter of the Victoria College Alumni and the Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon of the Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons.[290]

---

[*] Brownlee was defeated in the constituency of Ponoka by Social Credit candidate Mrs. Edith Rogers.

[†] Brownlee's law practice remains in existence today. Bearing the name 'Brownlee LLP,' the firm continues to offer legal services in Edmonton and Calgary. *Brownlee LLP*, [Internet], (Calgary and Edmonton, Brownlee LLP, 2002), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.brownleelaw.com/home.html

## Honours and Awards

John E. Brownlee was made an honourary life member of the UFA.[291] In 1928, Brownlee was granted an Honourary Doctor of Laws degree by the University of Alberta.[292] On May 4, 1935, he was one of 7,500 Canadian recipients of King George V's Silver Jubilee Medal.*[293]

In November 1960, Brownlee was inducted into the Order of the Buffalo Hunt by Premier Dufferin 'Duff' Roblin of Manitoba (1958–1967) in recognition of his outstanding service to the grain-marketing industry in the West.[294] The John E. Brownlee provincial government building in Edmonton, which was dedicated on January 24, 1986, is named in his memory.[295] In addition, the John E. Brownlee Memorial Prize in Local Government Law is awarded annually by the University of Alberta's Faculty of Law in recognition of superior academic achievement.[296] Brownlee Street is located in the Village of Heisler, Alberta, which is known as the 'Premier Village' because its streets are named in honour of former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[297]

## Death

John Edward Brownlee died in Calgary, Alberta, on July 15, 1961, after several months of failing health and after undergoing several operations.[298] He was 77 years of age. Funeral services were held at Calgary's Knox United Church.[299] Honourary pallbearers included Premier Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968), federal Minister of National Defence Douglas S. Harkness, Manitoba Senator Thomas A. Crerar and former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Alberta Clinton J. Ford.†[300] At the conclusion of the funeral service, Brownlee's casket was transported to Edmonton,[301] where he was buried in Evergreen Memorial Gardens.[302] His wife, Florence Agnes Brownlee, who died on June 13, 1975, is also interred there.[303]

## Fonds

Papers relating to John E. Brownlee are located at the Glenbow Archives, in the United Farmers of Alberta Fonds and in the United Grain Growers Fonds. Records related to Premier Brownlee's tenure in office are housed at the Provincial Archives of Alberta, in Edmonton.

## Tributes

At the time of Brownlee's death, the *Edmonton Journal* remarked: "With the passing of Mr. Brownlee, Alberta has lost a truly outstanding citizen."[304] The *Red Deer Advocate* commented:

---

* This medal was issued to over 85,000 individuals throughout the Commonwealth.

† Ontario-born Ford was admitted to the Bar of Alberta in 1910, and in 1913, he became the city solicitor for Calgary. He unsuccessfully contested the July 1921 provincial general election and a by-election in 1923. While campaigning for the latter, Ford delivered a speech over the *Calgary Herald*'s radio station. The broadcast is reported to have been one of the earliest examples of the medium of radio being used for political purposes in Alberta. In 1957, Ford became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Alberta. David Mittelstadt, "A Biographical and Social History of Mount Royal," History, *Mount Royal - Calgary*, [Internet], (Mount Royal Community Association, July 2002), pp. 84–85, accessed 28 July 2006, available from http://www.mountroyalstation.ca/MRdraft2.1.pdf

> John Brownlee served the people of this province with unusual ability and efficiency … . When the history of Western Canada is written there will be few names that will stand so high for hard and intelligent work in advancing the cause of farming and farmers than that of John Brownlee.[305]

A long-time acquaintance of Brownlee's made the following statement: "J. E. Brownlee was a man of the highest moral principle; a great and kind man who devoted his life to the betterment of the people of this province and to the welfare of the western farmer."[306] The *Lethbridge Herald* wrote of Brownlee's contributions to Alberta:

> There have been others who have achieved a continuous and intimate involvement in Canadian agriculture over 49 years, but Mr. Brownlee is probably the only lawyer ever to earn that distinction, and it is as counsel to agriculture that his place in Canadian history was earned. Even governments have no higher honor within their gift than the confidence of Prairie farmers, and John Edward Brownlee was their man.[307]

Finally, almost 20 years after his death and over 45 years after his resignation as Premier, the *Edmonton Journal* wrote: "The lasting political estate left by former premier John Brownlee has made Alberta what it is today, one of Canada's wealthiest provinces fuelled by billions of dollars in oil and gas royalties."[308]

## Notes

[1] Franklin L. Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography* (Lloydminster, AB: Foster Learning, 1996), pp. 3, 3n1; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Wm. J. Brownlee Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 45, Bothwell, sub-district f-5, Township of Sombra, schedule 1, p. 10, household 103, microfilm T-6459, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 22 January 2006; John E. Brownlee, Interview by Una MacLean, 28 March-12 May 1961, [Transcript], p. 1, United Farmers of Alberta Oral History Project Collection, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M-4079; *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Haldimand and Norfolk* (Toronto: H. R. Page & Co., 1877–1879; reprint, Peterborough, ON: Wilson's Publishing Co., 1997), pp. 60, 74, 82, 85.

[2] Henry French Brownlee, "The Brownlee Saga," [Unpublished Manuscript], 20 January 2006, pp. 7–8; A. L. Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1935 ed. (Hull: Labour Exchange, 1935), p. 365. Brownlee's mother's name is shown as 'Christine' in some sources. Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 1; Brownlee, "The Brownlee Saga," pp. 7–8; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Wm. J. Brownlee Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]. In other sources her name is indicated as 'Christina.' Ontario Vital Statistics, "W. J. Brownlee - Christina Shaw," Norfolk County, Division of Charlottesville, 15 July 1882, no. 007826, [Marriage Registration]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Wm. J. Brownlee Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 88, West Lambton, sub-district 16, Moore, Brigden Village, schedule 1, p. 15, household 183, microfilm T20380, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 24 January 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html

[3] "William J. Brownlee, Father of Alberta Premier, Dies at Brigden," *Sarnia Canadian Observer*, 22 January 1934, p. 3; "Weekend Deaths," *Sarnia Canadian Observer*, 22 January 1934, p. 9; Ontario Genealogical Society, Lambton County Branch, *Lambton County Cemeteries: Bear Creek, Moore Township* (Sarnia, ON: Lambton County Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society, 1987), p. 58.

[4] Ontario Vital Statistics, "W. J. Brownlee - Christina Shaw," [Marriage Registration]; "William J. Brownlee, Father of Alberta Premier, Dies at Brigden," p. 3; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Edward Brownley Household, 1861 Census of Canada, Canada West, Norfolk County, Charlotteville Township, schedule 1, p. 10, microfilm C-1052, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Edward Brownlee Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 11, Norfolk South, sub-district d-1, Woodhouse, schedule 1, p. 43, household 165, microfilm C-9908, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William J. Brownlee Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 157, Norfolk South, sub-district d-1, Woodhouse, schedule 1, p. 15, household 73, microfilm C-13262, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Wm. J. Brownlee Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Wm. J. Brownlee Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[5] Henry French Brownlee, "Descendents of an Unknown Brownlee from Ireland," [Unpublished Manuscript], 21 January 2006, p. 26; Ontario Genealogical Society, Norfolk County Branch, *Woodhouse United Old Methodist Cemetery, Con. 1, Lot 1, Woodhouse Township, Norfolk County* (Delhi, ON: Norfolk Branch Ontario Genealogical Society, 1998), p. 62. A variation in the spelling of Brownlee is 'Brownley.' Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Edward Brownley Household, 1861 Census of Canada.

[6] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Brownlee, Rachael," Norfolk County, Woodhouse, 27 July 1911, no. 022122, p. 532, [Death Registration]; "Mrs. Rachel Brownlee [Obituary]," in *Simcoe Reformer*, 6 July 1911, p. 8, Births Marriages Deaths Etc, *Norfolk Genealogy*, [Transcription], [Internet], (John Cardiff), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.nornet.on.ca/~jcardiff/b-m-d; Ontario Genealogical Society, Norfolk County Branch, *Woodhouse United Old Methodist Cemetery*, p. 62. Rachel's name is spelled 'Rachael Oaks' on her death registration.

[7] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 2; Brownlee, "The Brownlee Saga," p. 7; Ontario Vital Statistics, "W. J. Brownlee - Christina Shaw," [Marriage Registration].

[8] Brownlee, "The Brownlee Saga," pp. 1, 7; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Edward Brownlee Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 157, Norfolk South, sub-district d-1, Woodhouse, schedule 1, p. 15, household 72, microfilm C-13262, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada.

[9] Brownlee, "The Brownlee Saga," p. 1; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 2; United States. Census Office, Edward Brownlee Record, 1850 United States Federal Census, Louisiana, Third Representative District, Parish of Orleans, p. 343, microfilm M432-234, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 26 January 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com

[10] Brownlee, "The Brownlee Saga," p. 7; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Edward Brownley Household, 1861 Census of Canada.

[11] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 2; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Edward Brownlee Household, 1871 Census of Canada.

[12] William R. Yeager, ed., *Norfolk County Marriage Records*, 1795–1870: An Abstract-Index, vol. 1 (Simcoe, ON: Norfolk Historical Society, 1979), p. 147; R. Robert Mutrie, comp., "Oakes of Charlotteville Twp., Norfolk County, Upper Canada: A Long Point Settlers Genealogy," [Unpublished Manuscript], February 2006, [p. 6]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Brownlee, Rachael," [Death Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Oakes, Hammond," Norfolk County, Charlotteville, 20 September 1879, no. 009520, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS935, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 30 January 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Philips, Isabella," Norfolk County, Charlotteville, 25 July 1875, no. 005368, [Death Registration]; "Hammond Oakes Household, Charlotteville Township, Canada West, 1852 Census, p. 41," Norfolk Census Records, *Norfolk Genealogy*, [Transcription], [Internet], (John Cardiff and Robert Mutrie), accessed 5 March 2006, available from http://www.nornet.on.ca/~jcardiff/index1.html. Isabella's given name is also found as 'Isabel' or 'Isabell,' and her surname as 'Philips.' E. A. Owen, *Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898; reprint, Belleville, ON: Mika Silk Screening, 1972), p. 213; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Brownlee, Rachael," [Death Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Philips, Isabella," [Death Registration].

[13] Mutrie, "Oakes of Charlotteville Twp.," [pp. 1–2]; "Hammond Oakes Household, Charlotteville Township, Canada West, 1852 Census, p. 41," [Internet].

[14] Mutrie, "Oakes of Charlotteville Twp.," [p. 2]; Owen, *Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement*, p. 212.

[15] Owen, *Pioneer Sketches of Long Point Settlement*, pp. 212, 254.

[16] "Mother of Ex-Premier of Alberta is Dead," *Sarnia Canadian Observer*, 15 April 1941, p. 3; Ontario Genealogical Society, Lambton County Branch, *Lambton County Cemeteries: Bear Creek, Moore Township*, p. 58.

[17] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Christina Shaw Record, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 157, Norfolk South, sub-district d-1, Woodhouse Township, schedule 1, p. 2, household 8, microfilm C-13262, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Ontario Vital Statistics, "W. J. Brownlee - Christina Shaw," [Marriage Registration]; R. Robert Mutrie, comp., "Bezzo of Charlotteville Twp., Norfolk County, Upper Canada: A Long Point Settlers Genealogy," [Unpublished Manuscript], February 2006, [pp. 2, 4, 6].

[18] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Shaw, John," Norfolk County, Division of Port Dover, 20 July 1896, no. 013227, [Death Registration].

[19] Mutrie, "Bezzo of Charlotteville Twp.," [pp. 2, 4, 6]; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, William Shaw Household, 1841 British Census, Staffordshire, Parish of Alrewas, p. 11, HO 107/975/1, *Origins Network: British Origins*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed February 19 2006, available from www.originsnetwork.com

[20] *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Haldimand and Norfolk*, pp. 72, 60; George J. Ryerse, *Early Days at Port Ryerse* (Simcoe, ON: n.p., 1900), p. 15; Mutrie, "Bezzo of Charlotteville Twp.," [p. 5]; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 2.

[21] Mutrie, "Bezzo of Charlotteville Twp.," [pp. 1–2].

[22] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 1–5; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William J. Brownlee Household, 1881 Census of Canada.

[23] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 4–5; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 1.

[24] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 1; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 5; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Wm. J. Brownlee Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[25] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 12.

[26] Ibid., pp. 27, 44.

[27] "William J. Brownlee, Father of Alberta Premier, Dies at Brigden," p. 3; [Moore Township Council Members: Service Terms, 1850–1978], pp. 4–6, County of Lambton, Libraries, Museums and Cultural Services Dept., Sarnia, ON, 19GA-BA.

[28] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 2, 13–14.

[29] Ibid., pp. 6, 7; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 2.

[30] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 1–2; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 6–8.

[31] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 8–9; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 2.

[32] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 3; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 13.

[33] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 14, 14–19.

[34] Normandin, ed., *CPG 1935*, p. 365; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 19; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 3.

[35] Ontario Vital Statistics, "John Edward Brownlee - Florence Agnes Edy," County of York, City of Toronto, 23 December 1912, no. 029884, [Marriage Registration]; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 27.

[36] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 21.

[37] Ibid., pp. 21, 25.

[38] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Florence Agnes Edy," County of Middlesex, City of London, 25 August 1887, no. 020997, [Birth Registration].

[39] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Edy, James Newbury," County of York, Toronto, 15 February 1890, no. 020417, [Death Registration].

[40] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Edy, Mary B.," County of York, Toronto, 9 August 1912, no. 04930, p. 217, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS935, Ancestry.ca, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 25 February 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca

[41] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Mildred Blanche Edy," County of Middlesex, 17 March 1886, no. 022882, p. 268, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS939_77, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 1 March 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, "Josephine Bryant Edy," County of Middlesex, City of London, 10 April 1889, no. 021978, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS929_94, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 1 March 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; Mary Crandall, "Ancestors of James Newbury Edy," *Marriages in Ontario from 1800 to 1924*, [Internet], (RootsWeb.com), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~maryc/edy.htm

[42] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Edy, James Newbury," [Death Registration]; R. Robert Mutrie, comp., "Edy of Oakland Twp., Brant County, Upper Canada: A Long Point Settlers Genealogy," [Unpublished Manuscript], February 2006, [p. 6]; Crandall, "Ancestors of James Newbury Edy," [Internet].

[43] Mutrie, "Edy of Oakland Twp.," [p. 6]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Edy, Ellen," County of Middlesex, City of London, 24 March 1883, no. 009791, p. 321, [Death Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS935, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 27 February 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca. Ellen is also found as 'Nannie.' Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James Edy Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 15, Brant County, sub-district d-2, Brantford Town, schedule 1, pp. 85–86, household 300, microfilm C-9915, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada.

[44] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Emma Alberta Edy," Brant, 15 January 1870, no. 019434, p. 272, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS 929_1, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 1 March 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Edy, Emma Alberta," Oxford, 14 February 1923, no. 026635, p. 775, [Death Registration]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James Edy Household, 1871 Census of Canada; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Lottie May Edy," Brant, 18 December 1842, no. 001184, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS 929_6, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 1 March 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Airey Eveline Eddy," County of Oxford, Ingersoll, 22 December 1877, no. 021435, p. 50, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 25 July 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Olive Edna Edy," Middlesex, 2 November 1881, no. 019373, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS929_49, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 1 March 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca. Variations of Evelin include 'Emeline,' 'Evelyn' and 'Eveline.' Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James N. Edy Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 170, Middlesex County, sub-district e-2, London, Ward 5, schedule 1, p. 1, household 2, microfilm C-13270, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Mary B. Edy Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 131, West York, sub-district g-15, City of Toronto, Ward 6, schedule 1, p. 9, household 90, microfilm T-6508, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 1 March 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012203_e.html; Crandall, "Ancestors of James Newbury Edy," [Internet].

[45] Ontario Vital Statistics, "James N. Edy - Mary B. Barker," County of Oxford, Division of Tilsonburg, 19 December 1884, no. 08821, [Marriage Registration]; Mary Crandall, "Descendants of Charlotte Matilda Bodwell and Wright Barker," *Marriages in Ontario from 1800 to 1924*, [Internet], (RootsWeb.com), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~maryc/bodwell.htm

[46] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 36; "Brownlee, John Edy," [Obituary], *Edmonton Journal*, 5 January 1996, p. B4.

[47] "About Us: Firm History," *Brownlee LLP*, [Internet], (Calgary and Edmonton: Brownlee LLP, 2002), accessed 7 March 2006, available from http://www.brownleelaw.com/about/history.html

[48] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 21–22; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 4.

[49] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 22.

[50] Ibid.; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 4.

[51] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 4.

[52] Ibid.; Law Society of Alberta, John Edward Brownlee, 16 September 1912, [Admission Record], Bar of Alberta, Law Society of Alberta Archives, Calgary, 05-00-01, vol. 10, file 195.

[53] R. D. Colquette, *The First Fifty Years: A History of the United Grain Growers Limited* (Winnipeg: Public Press, 1957), p. 254; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 4.

[54] Normandin, ed., *CPG 1935*, p. 365.

[55] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 28–29; *An Act to Incorporate the Alberta Farmers Co-operative Elevator Company, Limited*, S.A. 1913, c. 13.

[56] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 35, 30–37.

[57] John Blue, *Alberta Past and Present: Historical and Biographical*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924), p. 377; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 4–5.

[58] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 5, 4–5.

[59] Ibid., p. 5.

[60] Ibid.

[61] William Kirby Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood of Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), p. 22.

[62] Tom Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta: A Movement, A Government* (Edmonton: Crang Publishing, 1989), [p. 2]; Carl Frederick Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship between the Agricultural Organization and the Government of Alberta," (MA Thesis, University of Alberta, Fall 1971), p. 180.

[63] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 180–181.

[64] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 22, 22–24, 27–29.

[65] Ibid., p. 22.

[66] Bradford James Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy: The United Farmers and Farm Women of Alberta, 1909–1921* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 9, 110, 122–123.

[67] Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [pp. 10–11].

[68] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, p. 22.

[69] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 24, 24–25; Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 73, 72–74; Rice Sheppard, *The U.F.A. in Politics* (n.p.: [1940]), pp. 1–2.

[70] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 74, 73–74.

[71] Sheppard, *The U.F.A. in Politics*, pp. 1–2; Ian Macpherson, "Wood, Henry Wise," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

[72] Sheppard, *The U.F.A. in Politics*, pp. 1–2; Macpherson, "Wood, Henry Wise," [Internet].

[73] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, pp. 12–14.

[74] Ibid., pp. 12, 11–12.

[75] Ibid., p. 14.

[76] Ibid., pp. 66, 65–66.

[77] Ibid., p. 17; H. W. Wood, "Organization for Democracy," *Grain Growers' Guide*, 4 December 1918, pp. 23, 75; H. W. Wood, "Organization for Democracy," *Grain Growers' Guide*, 11 December 1918, pp. 39–40.

[78] W. L. Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, Social Credit in Alberta: Its Background and Development (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), pp. 210, 218.

[79] Sheppard, *The U.F.A. in Politics*, pp. 1–2.

[80] Rolph, *Henry Wise Wood*, p. 12.

[81] Sheppard, *The U.F.A. in Politics*, p. 2.

[82] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 34.

[83] Ibid., p. 47.

[84] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 83; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 47–48.

[85] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 140.

[86] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 49.

[87] Ibid., p. 50.

[88] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 5, 5–6.

[89] Ibid., p. 7.

[90] Ibid., pp. 8, 7–8.

[91] Ibid., p. 8.

[92] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 11.

[93] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 45, 45–48.

[94] "The Anti-Caucusers Go into Caucus," [Editorial], *Morning Bulletin* (Edmonton), 24 July 1921, p. 7.

[95] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 9.

[96] Ibid., pp. 9–10.

[97] Ibid., p. 9.

[98] Ibid., p. 11; John E. Brownlee, Attorney General, 13 August 1921, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[99] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 177.

[100] Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, p. 218.

[101] Lillie Young Mckinney, "Alberta's New Farmer Government," *Manitoba Free Press* (Winnipeg), 6 August 1921, p. 25.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 17.

[104] Ibid., pp. 18, 17–18.

[105] Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, pp. 217–218.

[106] Ibid., pp. 220–221.

[107] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 12.

[108] Ibid., p. 13.

[109] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. iii–iv.

[110] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 15–16; *An Act to amend The Dairymen's Act*, S.A. 1922, c. 75.

[111] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 54.

[112] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 16–17; Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 54.

[113] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 29–30, 15–16; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 76–77.

[114] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 16–17.

[115] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 56, 50–51.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Ibid., pp. 67–68.

[118] Ibid., pp. 65, 65–71.

[119] C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 142–143.

[120] Ibid., pp. 86, 85–86.

[121] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 78; Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 90, 142–143.

[122] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 64.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid., p. 107.

[127] "Brownlee Succeeds Greenfield as Premier," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 23 November 1925, p. 1.

[128] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 24, 23–24.

[129] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 89.

[130] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 77.

[131] Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, pp. 155, 153–157.

[132] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 96; Rennie, *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy*, p. 155.

[133] H. W. Wood, "Co-operative Wheat Marketing System Can and Will be Established," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 3 July 1923, p. 1.

[134] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 100; W. Norman Smith, "Editorial," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 16 July 1923, p. 3; Bill no. 37, *The Alberta Co-operative Wheat Producers', Limited, Act*, 5th Legislature, 4th Session, Alberta, 1924.

[135] *The Alberta Co-operative Wheat Producers, Limited, Act*, S.A. 1924, c. 7.

[136] Bill no. 49, *The Debt Adjustment Act*, 5th Legislature, 3rd Session, Alberta, 1923.

[137] *Government Liquor Control Act of Alberta*, S.A. 1924, c. 14, s. 4; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 107.

[138] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 78.

[139] Ibid., pp. 78–79.

[140] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 25; Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 81.

[141] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 25–27.

[142] Ibid., p. 25.

[143] Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [p. 28].

[144] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 27.

[145] "Brownlee Becomes Premier of Alberta Upon Resignation of Hon. Herbert Greenfield," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 1 December 1925, p. 1; "Brownlee Succeeds Greenfield as Premier," p. 1.

[146] "Brownlee Becomes Premier of Alberta," p. 1.

[147] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 82.

[148] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 19.

[149] John E. Brownlee, President of the Council, 23 November 1925, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[150] W. Norman Smith, "The Changes at Edmonton," [Editorial], *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 16 November 1925, p. 3.

[151] "A Message from Premier Brownlee to the Membership of the U.G.A. throughout the Province," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 1 December 1925, p. 1.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Richard G. Reid, Provincial Secretary, 5 June 1926, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; Normandin, ed., *CPG 1935*, p. 354.

[154] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 119.

[155] Ibid., pp. 119–121; F. C. Mears, "Premiers Pleased with Conference upon Resources," *Globe* (Toronto), 6 January 1926, p. 2.

[156] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 96–99.

[157] *An Act respecting The Edmonton, Dunvegan and British Columbia Railway and The Central Canada Railway*, S.A. 1926, c. 61, s. 1; *An Act respecting The Alberta and Great Waterways Railway Company*, S.A. 1926, c. 60, s. 1; Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 96; "Five Years of Progress," [Provincial Election Supplement], *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 10 June 1926, pp. 6–7.

[158] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 120; Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 83–84.

[159] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 120.

[160] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3; *British North America Act, 1867* (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3. Note that the name of the *British North America Act, 1867* was changed in 1982 to the *Constitution Act, 1867*. For more information, see the Glossary.

[161] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 5th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XVIII, 2 February 1922, p. 12; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 5th Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. XX, 23 January 1923, p. 7; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 5th Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. XXI, 28 January 1924, p. 7; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 5th Legislature, 5th Session*, vol. XXII, 19 February 1925, p. 8.

[162] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 120; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 43.

[163] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 43–44; *The Transfer of Public Lands Act*, S.A. 1926, c. 69.

[164] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 5th Legislature, 6th Session*, vol. XXIII, 11 February 1926, pp. 7–9.

[165] Ibid., p. 7.

[166] Ibid., pp. 7–9.

[167] Ibid., p. 9.

[168] *Budget Speech of The Hon. R. G. Reid, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered on March 18, 1926, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: W. D. McLean, Acting King's Printer, 1926), p. 3.

[169] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 83.

[170] *Budget Speech, 1926*, pp. 9, 13.

[171] *Statutes of the Province of Alberta Passed in the Sixth Session of the Fifth Legislative Assembly* (Edmonton: W. D. McLean, Acting King's Printer, 1926), pp. 3–4.

[172] *The Oil and Gas Wells Act*, S.A. 1926, c. 6, Preamble, s. 3.

[173] *The Factories Act, 1926*, S.A. 1926, c. 52; *The Labour Disputes Act*, S.A. 1926, c. 53.

[174] *The Mothers' Allowance Act Amendment Act*, 1926, S.A. 1926, c. 17, s. 2.

[175] *The Municipal District Act*, S.A. 1926, c. 41.

[176] Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, p. 225; F. C. Mears, "Alberta Protests Against New Clause," *Globe* (Toronto), 12 May 1926, p. 1.

[177] *An Act to amend and consolidate the several Acts respecting the Public Lands of the Dominion*, S.C. 1879, c. 31, ss. 22–23.

[178] *An Act to amend and consolidate the several Acts respecting the Public Lands of the Dominion*, S.C. 1879, c. 31, ss. 22–23.

[179] *The Transfer of Public Lands Act*, S.A. 1926, c. 69, ss. 2, 5.

[180] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 43.

[181] Mears, "Alberta Protests Against New Clause," p. 1; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 43–44.

[182] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 44, 42–45; Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, p. 225.

[183] "Brownlee Postpones Resources Statement; Disappoints Throng," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 May 1926, p. 2; Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 44.

[184] Morton, *The Progressive Party in Canada*, p. 225.

[185] W. A. de Graves, "Around the Corridors," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 5 March 1926, p. 1; "Opposition is Flattened by Steam-Roller," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 March 1926, p. 9; "Change in Bill Authorized on Gov't Request," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 25 May 1926, p. 1.

[186] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 81.

[187] "Election Writs Call for Vote on June 28: Ballot Battle Begins," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 27 May 1926, p. 1.

[188] *The Alberta Election Act*, S.A. 1924, c. 34.

[189] "Elections Act Alberta Model for All Time," *Edmonton Journal*, 11 March 1924, [p. ?].

[190] "Alberta Elections Act Will Be Revised at Next Session of Legislature," *Edmonton Journal*, 23 February 1923, p. 17.

[191] "'1, 2, 3' Voting System Likely to Remain in Provincial Elections," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 March 1926, p. 20.

[192] Mrs. R. B. Gunn, "How the Women of Alberta Will Face the Issues in the General Election," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 10 June 1926, p. 4.

[193] Ibid., p. 5.

[194] William Irvine, "Party System No Better Today than When the People Revolted Against It in Election of 1921," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 3 June 1926, p. 4.

[195] "Liberals Rap Farmers' Gov't Drift Policy," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 June 1926, p. 11.

[196] "Farmers Close 400 Alberta Schools: No Inspector Went Near 128 Others," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 16 June 1926, p. 1.

[197] Ibid.; "Conservatives Slam Farmers' Administration," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 17 June 1926, p. 5.

[198] "Five Years of Progress," pp. 1–12.

[199] Ibid., pp. 1–2.

[200] Ibid., p. 2.

[201] Ibid., pp. 2–8.

[202] Ibid., p. 3.

[203] William Irvine, "Not in Interests of Farmers That the Daily Press Uses Every Wile of Partyism Against the Farmers' Government," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 10 June 1926, p. 6; Gunn, "How the Women of Alberta Will Face the Issues in the General Election," pp. 4–5.

[204] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 85.

[205] Ibid., pp. 83–84; "Five Years of Progress," pp. 6–7.

[206] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 127; "Brownlee Postpones Resources Statement; Disappoints Throng," p. 2; "Five Years of Progress," p. 8.

[207] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 12, 38–42. This source erroneously indicates that there was a total 61 seats in the Legislative Assembly in 1926. In fact, there were only 60 seats, as Medicine Hat ceased to be a multi-Member constitutency after the 1921 general election.

[208] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 127.

[209] Ibid.

[210] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 40.

[211] *The Companies Act, 1929*, S.A. 1929, c. 14.

[212] *The Alberta Insurance Act, 1926*, S.A. 1926, c. 31.

[213] *The Domestic Relations Act, 1927,* S.A. 1927, c. 5.

[214] *The Old Age Pensions Act, Alberta*, S.A. 1929, c. 24.

[215] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 6th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XXIV, 10 February 1927, p. 9; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 6th Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. XXV, 2 February 1928, p. 7; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 6th Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. XXVI, 31 January 1929, p. 7; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 6th Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. XXVII, 30 January 1930, pp. 6–7.

[216] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 92.

[217] Norman F. Priestly, "Task of Creating Co-operative State Challenge to Heroic Endeavour," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 15 July 1929, p. 5.

[218] Ibid., p. 6. Italics are in the original.

[219] *The Co-operative Marketing Associations Guarantee Act*, S.A. 1929, c. 59, s. 2.

[220] Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885–1945*, The Canadian Social History Series (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990), pp. 99–100.

[221] Ibid., p. 100.

[222] *The Sexual Sterilization Act*, S.A. 1928, c. 37.

[223] *The Sexual Sterilization Act*, S.A. 1928, c. 37, ss. 3–6.

[224] *The Alberta Government Railways Act, 1929*, S.A. 1928, c. 55.

[225] Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), p. 216.

[226] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, pp. 47–48.

[227] "3000 on Hand When Premier Returns Home," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 19 December 1929, p. 1.

[228] "Premier's Welcome Home," [Editorial], *Edmonton Journal*, 19 December 1929, p. 4.

[229] W. Norman Smith, "U.F.A. Government Obtains Resources," [Editorial], *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 2 January 1930, p. 3.

[230] "Natural Resources Transfer Most Important Legislation Ever before Alberta House," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 February 1930, p. 1; *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21.

[231] *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21; *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.C. 1930, c. 3.

[232] *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.C. 1930, c. 3, Schedule; *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21.

[233] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 169, 168–169.

[234] "Natural Resources Transfer Most Important Legislation Ever before Alberta House," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 February 1930, p. 1.

[235] *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21, s. 20.

[236] *The Administration of Natural Resources (Temporary) Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 22.

[237] *The Research Council Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 37, ss. 1–2, 5, 12.

[238] *The Research Council Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 37, s. 3.

[239] *The Provincial Parks and Protected Areas Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 60, ss. 1–2, 5.

[240] *Budget Speech of The Hon. R. G. Reid, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered on February 11, 1930 in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: W. D. McLean, King's Printer, 1930), pp. 9, 11, 12.

[241] Ibid., p. 12.

[242] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 106.

[243] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The Canada Year Book, 1930* (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, King's Printer, 1930), p. 215; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The Canada Year Book, 1931* (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, King's Printer, 1931), p. 224.

[244] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 93–94.

[245] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 175–176.

[246] Brownlee, Interview by MacLean, p. 112.

[247] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 175–176.

[248] "Nine Years of Achievement: The Best Promise of Good Government: The Record of the U.F.A. Administration," [Provincial Election Supplement], *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 2 June 1930, p. 3.

[249] "Union Government for Alberta," [Editorial], *Edmonton Journal*, 8 March 1930, p. 4; "Nine Years of Achievement," p. 2.

[250] "The Basis of Appeal," *Albertan* (Calgary), 15 May 1930, p. 4; "Nine Years of Achievement," p. 2.

[251] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 173, 176.

[252] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 12.

[253] Ibid., p. 46; "Four U.F.A. Members Given Acclamations for Alberta House," *Globe* (Toronto), 10 June 1930, p. 20.

[254] "Premier Brownlee and Alberta University Head Go North," *Edmonton Journal*, 29 July 1929, p. 1.

[255] *The Alberta Co-operative Rural Credit Act*, S.A. 1931, c. 66; Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 120, 119–120.

[256] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 195.

[257] Monto, *The United Farmers of Alberta*, [p. 41].

[258] Ted Byfield, "1930: The Year when Everything Went to Pieces throughout Alberta," in *Fury and Futility: The Onset of the Great Depression, 1930–1935*, Alberta in the 20th Century: A Journalistic History of the Province, vol. 6, ed. Ted Byfield (Edmonton: United Western Communications, 1998), p. 26.

[259] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 142.

[260] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 152.

[261] *Bank of Canada Act*, S.C. 1934, c. 43; Ian Drummond, "Bank of Canada Act," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

[262] T. C. Byrne, *Alberta's Revolutionary Leaders* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1991), p. 56; Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 152–153.

[263] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 144–146; Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," pp. 155–159.

[264] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 7th Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. XXXI, 1 March 1934, p. 85.

[265] "Members Get Insight into Douglas Plan," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 March 1934, p. 3.

[266] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 205.

[267] Ibid., p. 230.

[268] "Premier Brownlee Given 25 Days to Reply to Charges: Statement of Claim Filed at Edmonton Makes Grave Allegations," *Calgary Herald*, 23 September 1933, p. 17; *The Seduction Act*, S.A. 1922, c. 102.

[269] "Brownlee's Denial," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 September 1933, p. 1; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 215, 222.

[270] "Brownlee's Denial," p. 1.

[271] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 225.

[272] "Jurors Award Miss Macmillan $10,000 and Her Father $5,000: Mr. Justice Ives Says He Disagrees," *Edmonton Journal*, 30 June 1934, p. 1.

[273] "No Damage to Girl or Parent Proven, Is Decision of Mr. Justice Ives; Action Will Cost Plaintiffs $1,200," *Edmonton Journal*, 4 July 1934, p. 1.

[274] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 261–262; "Brownlee Cabinet Out, Reid Premier: Bitter Fight for Cabinet Selection," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 5 July 1934, p. 1; "New Alberta Premier Takes Charge Today," *Globe* (Toronto), 10 July 1934, p. 3.

[275] Richard G. Reid, President of the Council, 10 July 1934, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[276] *MacMillan v. Brownlee*, [1937] S.C.R. 318.

[277] *Brownlee v. MacMillan*, [1940] 2 W.W.R. 455, 3 D.L.R. 353 (J.C.P.C.).

[278] Byrne, *Alberta's Revolutionary Leaders*, pp. 55–56.

[279] John E. Brownlee, Radio Address by Hon. J. E. Brownlee Over C.J.C.A., 3 April 1935, [Transcript], p. 1, Walter Norman Smith and Amelia Turner Smith Fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M 1157/70.

[280] Ibid., p. 2.

[281] John E. Brownlee, Address by Hon. J. E. Brownlee over CJCA, Edmonton, 10 April 1935, [Transcript], pp. 4, 2–5, Walter Norman Smith and Amelia Turner Smith Fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M 1157/70.

[282] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 13.

[283] Ibid.

[284] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 271; Colquette, *The First Fifty Years*, p. 256.

[285] "J. E. Brownlee Appointed Head of House Committee Preparing Taxation Brief: Ex-Premier Refuses Any Remuneration," *Calgary Herald*, 26 August 1937, p. 3.

[286] Colquette, *The First Fifty Years*, pp. 253–256; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 312.

[287] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 285–286.

[288] Ibid., pp. 300–303.

[289] "Funeral is Held for Former Premier," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 July 1961, p. 42; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 311–312.

[290] Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 377; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 50; "A Few Famous Freemasons," Biography: Freemasons, *Grand Lodge Of British Columbia and Yukon*, [Internet], (Vancouver: Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.freemasonry.bcy.ca/textfiles/famous.html

[291] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 311.

[292] University of Alberta. Office of the Registrar and Students Awards, "Honorary Degree Recipients," *2006–2007 University of Alberta Calendar*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2006), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.registrar.ualberta.ca/calendar/University-Staff/Honorary-Degree-Recipients/243.html

[293] *Supplement to The Canada Gazette*, 4 May 1935, p. 8; "King George V Silver Jubilee Medal - 1935," Commemorative Medals, *V.A.C. Canada Remembers*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Veterans Affairs Canada, 2001), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.vac-acc.gc.ca/remembers/sub.cfm?source=collections/cmdp/mainmenu/group10/kgvjm

[294] Fax from Monica Bell, Reference Services, Legislative Library, Winnipeg, MB, 24 February 2006; E-mail from Dwight MacAulay, Chief of Protocol and Director of Protocol of Manitoba Executive Council Office, Winnipeg, MB, 23 February 2006.

[295] E-mail from Ron Muir, Area Management, Property Management - Edmonton Law Centre and Area, Edmonton, 27 February 2006.

[296] University of Alberta. Office of the Registrar and Students Awards, *List of Law Nomination Scholarships*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2006), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.registrar.ualberta.ca/ro.cfm?id=536

[297] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; *Welcome to The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

[298] "Ex-Premier Dies at 76," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 July 1961, p. 1; Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, pp. 305, 312.

[299] "Funeral Held for Brownlee," *Calgary Herald*, 18 July 1961, p. 15.

[300] Ibid.

[301] "Ex-Premier J. Brownlee Dies at 76," *Ponoka Herald*, 18 July 1961, p. 1; "Funeral Held for Brownlee," p. 15.

[302] Fax from Nandi Charles, Family Representative, Evergreen Memorial Gardens, Edmonton, 29 December 2004; "Special Train Will Bring Mourners Here," *Edmonton Journal*, 17 July 1961, p. 20.

[303] "Brownlee, Mrs. Florence Agnes Edy," [Obituary], *Edmonton Journal*, 16 June 1975, p. 46.

[304] "John E. Brownlee," [Editorial], *Edmonton Journal*, 17 July 1961, p. 4.

[305] "Able Premier," [Editorial], *Red Deer Advocate*, 17 July 1961, p. 4.

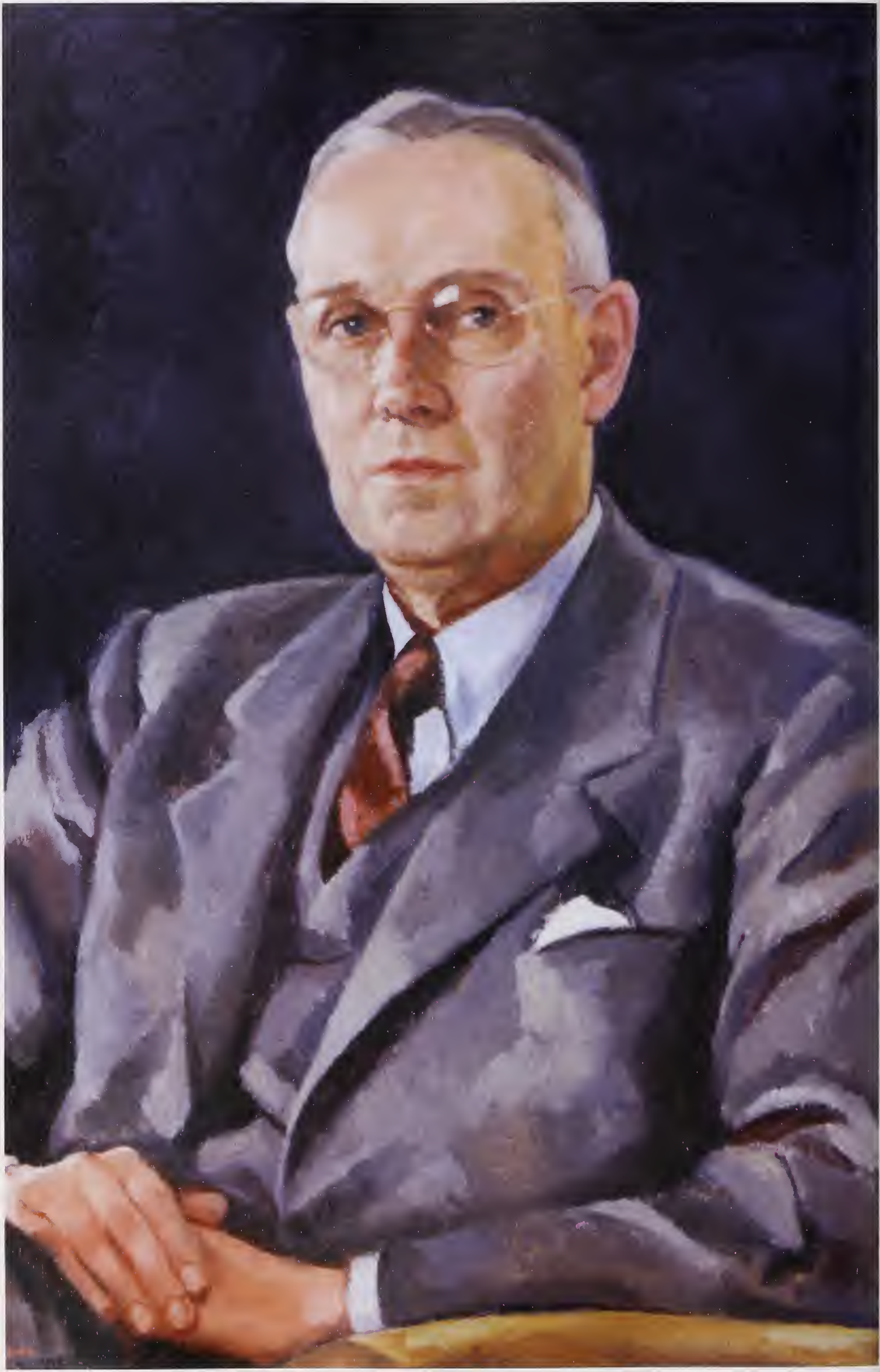
[306] B. Olstead, "Mr. J. E. Brownlee," [Letter to the Editor], *Lethbridge Herald*, 21 July 1961, p. 4.

[307] "John Edward Brownlee," [Editorial], *Lethbridge Herald*, 17 July 1961, p. 4.

[308] Norm Ovenden, "Alberta's Wealth is Legacy of Dimly-Recalled Premier," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 November 1980, p. B8.

*My chief aim is to do my duty, wherever that might lead*

# Reid 1934–1935



# RICHARD GAVIN REID

Richard Gavin Reid was Alberta's sixth Premier and the last United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) Premier of the 20th century. After serving for a total of 13 years in prominent Cabinet posts, including Provincial Treasurer and Minister of Lands and Mines, Reid was called upon to form a Government, following the resignation of John E. Brownlee on July 10, 1934. While Reid was the shortest-serving of all of the Premiers of Alberta to date, he was the longest-lived. He held office for almost 14 months, between July 1934 and September 1935, and passed away at the age of 101 in 1980, having witnessed a lengthy span of provincial and legislative developments, from Premier Haultain's struggle for provincial autonomy and the establishment of Alberta as a province in 1905 to the celebration of its 75th Anniversary in 1980. During his term in office, Reid endeavoured to alleviate some of the hardships experienced by Albertans as a result of the Great Depression, yet cautioned the populace against adopting apparent panaceas, such as social credit economic theory. Reid's brief tenure as Premier was partially concurrent with the term of Lieutenant Governor William L. Walsh (1931–1936). At the time of his appointment, Reid was 55 years of age.

## Family History

Richard Gavin Reid was born on January 17, 1879,[1] in a southern suburb of the city of Glasgow, Scotland.*[2] Richard† was the fourth of the six children‡ of George Reid and Margaret Ogston.[3] George Reid (1843[4]–1913[5]) was born in the Parish of New Deer, Aberdeenshire, Scotland,[6] the son of George Reid (b. ca. 1807), a farmer near Drymuir,§ and his wife, Jane Thomson (ca. 1807).[7] Margaret (1850[8]–1928[9]), born in the Parish of New Deer near Whynietown,[10] was the daughter of James Ogston, a farmer, and Margaret Rae.[11] By 1871, Margaret and her family had moved to the Parish of Forglen, Banffshire, Scotland, where her father was a landowner, farming over 40 hectares of land.[12] In 1872, George Reid and Margaret Ogston were married at Parks of Whitefield, in the Parish of Forglen.[13]

---

* Reid's place of birth is listed as 151 Cathcart Road, Govanhill, District of Hutchesontown in the County of Lanark, Scotland. Scotland. General Register Office, "Richard Gavin Reid," in *Statutory Registers*, District of Hutchesontown, County of Lanark, 31 January 1879, no. 644/11 0190, p. 64, [Birth Registration].

† In Mannville, Alberta, Richard was also known as 'Dick.' Robert Tod and Joan Tod, "Scotstoun No. 1894," in *Trails to Mannville: A History of Mannville and District* (Mannville, AB: Mannville and District Old-Timers Society, 1983), pp. 149–150.

‡ Margaret (b. 1873) [James Young], George (1875), James Ogston (1877), Richard Gavin (1879–1980), William Ogston (1880–1882) and Charles Thomson (1882–1900). "Local and General [Geo. Reid Esq.]," [Obituary], *Manville* [sic] *Empire*, (Mannville, AB), 29 May 1913, p. 8.

§ Drymuir is located about 20 kilometres west of Peterhead and about 40 kilometres north of the city of Aberdeen. Reid spent 'lengthy summer school holidays' in Drymuir with his family. Richard Gavin Reid, "From the Old Land to the New: A Pioneer's Impressions and Recollections (Part 1)," *Alberta Historical Review* vol. 5, no. 1 (Winter 1957): p. 3.

By the early 1870s, George Reid was employed as a commercial traveller.[14] Between 1881 and 1901, he worked as a wholesale provision merchant,[15] but he was also a margarine manufacturer for some of this time.[16] In 1906, George and Margaret, along with their daughter, Margaret, followed sons Richard and George to Canada,[17] and homesteaded in the Scotstoun area, near Mannville, Alberta.*[18] Richard's father, George, was a justice of the peace for this area and a trustee of the Scotstoun district school board.[19] The Reids were Presbyterian.[20]

## Education

Richard Reid attended Hutchesons' Grammar School in Glasgow. Hutchesons' was established in 1641, providing high-school level instruction.[21] Of his public school education, Reid commented:

> For the most part we were educated in public schools at a time when the Scottish system of education was recognized as [being] in the forefront in this field. The results achieved under that system were, in my opinion, quite up to the present day standards. What the curriculum may have lacked in variety may have been compensated for by the thoroughness applied to the instruction in the somewhat narrower field.[22]

## Military Career

In 1900, Reid enlisted at Glasgow for military service with the Royal Army Medical Corps, and was eventually made a lance sergeant.[23] He served in the South African (Boer) War from 1900 to 1902 and was awarded two medals in recognition of his service.[24] Reflecting on his time in South Africa, Reid said: "I saw the impossible accomplished … by groups of determined men, bound together under good leadership and the belief that the impossible was always possible."[25] Reid considered this military service to be the most important experience of his life[26] and later remarked that it "proved to be valuable and interesting but also, without doubt, provided [his] first inoculation of the virus wanderlust."[27]

## Early Career

For 'a few years' preceding his military career, Reid was employed in the business sector as an apprentice for a wholesale firm in Glasgow, in which position he was paid the equivalent of $26 a year.[28] After his military service ended, Reid returned to Scotland, and, shortly thereafter, struck out for "a less crowded environment," choosing western Canada as "the most desirable of the remaining locations available."[29] In early July 1903, his ship arrived at Montreal, and from there, he made his way west to the prairies.[30]

---

* George Reid homesteaded on the southeast quarter of Section 30, Township 48, Range 8, West of the 4th Meridian, receiving a patent for the homestead in 1910. Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Alberta Homestead Records for George Reid, no. 1222374, for SE 30 48 8 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2754, 1970.313.

Determined to eventually homestead and establish his own farm, Reid sought practical farming experience as a 10-dollar-a-month, with board, 'greenhorn' hired hand on an established, half-section farm near Killarney, in southern Manitoba.[31] As winter brought lower wages and generally less opportunity for agricultural experience, Reid presented himself to an employment agency in Winnipeg that November and, after exchanging 'city' for 'working' clothes, secured a lumberjack position with the Pigeon Lumber Company in western Ontario.[32] Succumbing to 'the lure of the unfolding West,'[33] in 1904, Reid moved to the Vermilion area, North-West Territories (Alberta), and homesteaded near the new Scottish settlement of Scotstoun in the District of Alberta.[34] While living and farming there, Reid served on the Mannville Municipal Hospital Board in which capacity he was instrumental in organizing the first municipal hospital district in Alberta. He also served a four-year term as councillor, and a two-year term as reeve, in the municipal district of Buffalo Coulee.[35] Additionally, because of the knowledge and expertise that he had gained while serving in the Royal Army Medical Corps, Reid "was pressed into service as the area's dentist" and performed tooth extractions for his fellow settlers.[36]

## Marriage and Family

On September 19, 1919, during what has been described as "one of the finest evenings in Scotstoun history," Richard Gavin Reid married Marion Stuart.[37] Marion (1895[38]–1981[39]) was the second of the six children* of Kenneth Stuart, a farmer, and Flora McDonald,[40] a schoolteacher.[41] Kenneth 'Kenny' Stuart (1865–1940) was born in Saint-Anicet, Canada East (Quebec).[42] Flora (1873[43]–1904[44]), who was born in Roxborough Township, Stormont County, Ontario, married Kenny in 1893, in the village of Alexandria, Glengarry County, Ontario.[45] They farmed in various locations: Green Valley, Lancaster and Williamstown, all in Lancaster Township, Glengarry County.[46] In 1908, Kenny Stuart, now a widower, brought five of his six children from Ontario to Alberta's Scotstoun area,† where he applied for a homestead.‡[47] Marion's brother Angus Stuart served as councillor of Mannville, Alberta (1944), and mayor of Mannville (1945–1947).[48]

---

* Alexander Kenneth 'A. K.' (b. 1893), Marion (1895–1981) [Richard Gavin Reid], Angus (1896), Marguerite 'Tootsie' Christina (1899) [Rod McLennan], Campbell (1901) and Donalda (1902) [Brian Palmer]. Ontario. Vital Statistics, "Alexander Kenneth Stuart," County of Glengarry, Division of Lancaster Township, 30 April 1895, no. 031763, [Birth Registration]; Ontario. Vital Statistics, "Marion Stewart," County of Glengarry, Division of Lancaster Township, 6 June 1896, no. 036318, [Birth Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Angus Stuart," County of Glengarry, Division of Lancaster Township, 12 March 1897, no. 040729, [Birth Registration]; Ontario Vital Statistics. "Marguerite Christina Stuart," County of Glengarry, Division of Lancaster Township, 12 March 1966, no. 000686, [Birth Registration]; Robin Stuart, "The Kenneth (Kenny) Stuart Family," in *Trails to Mannville: A History of Mannville and District*, [Mannville, AB: Mannville and District Old-Timers Society, 1983], pp. 726–728.

† The youngest child, Donalda, only two years of age at the time of the death of her mother, Flora, in 1904, had been placed in the care of close family friends, and remained in Ontario until 1916, after which she joined her family in the Mannville area. Stuart, "The Kenneth (Kenny) Stuart Family," p. 726.

‡ Kenny Stuart homesteaded on the northeast quarter of Section 24, Township 48, Range 9, West of the 4th Meridian, receiving a patent for the homestead in 1911. Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Alberta Homestead Records for Kenneth Stuart, no. 1668322, for NE 24 48 9 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2821, 1970.313; Stuart, "The Kenneth (Kenny) Stuart Family," pp. 726–728.

Richard and Marion Reid had five children: George Stuart (b. 1920, d. ca. 1950), Flora Marion (b. 1921) [William 'Bill' Joseph Maher], twins James 'Jim' Kenneth (1922–1944) and Richard 'Dick' (b. 1922) and Kathleen Margaret (1932) [Gordon Henry Hunter].[49]

## Political Career

While farming near Scotstoun, Reid became 'active in the Agrarian movement' that was developing in the prairie west.[50] According to Reid, he was involved in the UFA movement "right from the very start of its history in the northern … part of the province."[51] Established in 1909 as a non-partisan farmers' organization aimed at effecting economic, social and legislative reform, the UFA passed a resolution at its convention in January 1919 in favour of its becoming active in the political sphere.[52] Reid's connection with the farmers' movement was solidified in 1920 when, during his attendance at a convention of the UFA Political Association for the federal constituency of Battle River, Reid was elected its president.[53] Reflecting later on his activities following his election as president, Reid indicated that he "spent the whole of that winter organizing the place until practically every man and his dog in the constituency was a member of the U.F.A."[54] His tireless efforts in support of the movement's political ambitions did not go unnoticed by his fellow UFA members. Subsequently, when the Liberal Government under Premier Charles Stewart (1917–1921) 'sprang an election,' Reid was nominated as the UFA candidate for the constituency of Vermilion.[55] Following his nomination, *The Standard*, the local paper in Vermilion, wrote:

> With his many years' residence in Alberta, Mr. Reid is well conversant with its problems and his experience gained in public office … makes him particularly well fitted to become the standard bearer for the United Farmers in the riding of Vermilion.[56]

To the surprise of many, including members of the UFA, in the provincial general election held on July 18, 1921, the UFA won 38 out of a total of 61 seats in the Legislative Assembly, securing a majority government.[57] Reid soundly defeated his opponents in the constituency of Vermilion, garnering almost 76 per cent of the total votes cast.[58] On August 13, 1921, Reid was appointed Minister of Health (1921–1923) and Minister of Municipal Affairs (1921–1923, 1925–1934), and was sworn in on the same day.*[59] Shortly after assuming these portfolios, Reid remarked that he had been given the responsibility of what were, in his view, "two of the most interesting, and perhaps two of the most important Departments of the Government."[60] The appointment to Cabinet required that Reid go back to the electorate;* in a by-election held on December 9, 1921, Reid was returned to the Legislative Assembly by acclamation.[61]

---

* In addition to fulfilling his Cabinet portfolios, Reid was a member of the *Special Committee on Redistribution/Redistribution Procedure* (1929, 1933) and the *Special Committee on Rules, Orders and Forms of Proceedings* (1927). He also served on a number of Select Standing Committees, namely: *Agriculture and Colonization* (1922–1928); *Agriculture, Colonization, Immigration and Education* (1929–1935); *Municipal Law* (1922–1924, 1927–1934); *Miscellaneous and Private Bills* (1923–1926); *Public Accounts* (1927–1934); *Railways* (1924–1928); and *Railways, Telephones and Irrigation* (1929–1935).

Reid's Cabinet career was long and varied. Many of his noteworthy contributions to the province were accomplished in his capacity as a Cabinet Minister. As Minister of Health, Reid was involved in introducing significant amending legislation, such as: *An Act to amend The Public Health Act* (1922), which implemented more rigorous sanitation practices in 'public places and public health utilities';[62] *An Act to amend The Hospitals Ordinance* (1922), which provided that "[e]very local authority shall … make provision for the care and treatment of its indigent sick residents";[63] and *An Act to amend The Mental Defectives Act* (1923), which designated the "Provincial Training School for Mental Deficiency … for the public use of the Province as an institution for the detention, care and training of mentally defective persons."[64] As Minister of Municipal Affairs, Reid introduced *The Town and Village Act* (1934), an exhaustive Act legislating the formation, alteration and dissolution of towns and villages and regulating their governance in extensive detail.[65]

In 1923, Reid was appointed Provincial Treasurer, a portfolio that he held during the administrations of both Premier Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) and Premier John E. Brownlee (1925–1934). In this capacity, Reid's achievements were considerable and numerous. Most significantly, throughout his tenure as Treasurer, Reid adhered to the UFA's financial policy of strict economy, and in presenting the Budget Speech to the Legislative Assembly on March 18, 1926, Reid was able to report a budgetary surplus,[66] the first surplus since before the First World War.[67] Reid credited the UFA administration's fiscal conservatism with generating the $188,019 surplus for the previous year:[68]

> The present administration set out in the beginning with the definite policy of effecting economies wherever that might be done without dislocating existing services, or impairing their successful operation; and it will be evident as we proceed that this has been accomplished, not only without detriment to the service, but with improvements in many Government Departments and Branches.[69]

In the Budget Speech of 1928, Reid remarked on Alberta's having enjoyed three years of economic growth, of favourable crop returns and of industrial development. While expressing doubt that Alberta had reached the height of its prosperity, Reid nevertheless cautioned that the favourable conditions did "not justify extravagance" in provincial expenditures: "What has already been won has been at the cost of strenuous endeavor, and can only be retained by the continued exercise of thrift."[70]

---

* The legislation in force at the time was *An Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, S.A. 1909, c. 2, s. 16, which stated that if a Member of the Legislative Assembly became a member of the Executive Council, then the Member was required to go back to the electorate. The provision was in effect until an amendment to the Act came into force on April 8, 1926. *The Legislative Assembly Act Amendment Act, 1926*, S.A. 1926, c. 3, s. 6.

During his tenure as Provincial Treasurer, Reid also participated in important intergovernmental discussions, including the 1927 federal-provincial conference held in Ottawa, at which agenda topics included provincial subsidies, immigration, railways and taxation.[71]

With the onset of the Great Depression, Alberta's economy plummeted, as did the financial circumstances of Albertans. Because of the severity of the economic downturn, the Government was compelled to provide much in the way of assistance to Albertans and to consider unorthodox monetary reforms. To this end, in 1931, Reid supported the introduction of several pieces of legislation, such as: *The Alberta Co-operative Rural Credit Act*; *The Local Tax Arrears Consolidation Act*; *The Debt Adjustment Act, 1931*; and *The Unemployment Relief Act*.[72] By 1932, Reid announced that increased taxes were "deemed necessary to carry on the essential undertakings of Government."[73] Accordingly, during the Second Session of the Seventh Legislature (Spring 1932), the Government introduced *The Income Tax Act*.[74] For Reid, it was "with reluctance" that he reported the need to impose a new tax while decreasing public expenditures on services, but he hoped that Albertans would "realize the financial difficulties of the world, and expect their Government to face the facts in order that the stability of this Province and the functions of its Government may be maintained."[75]

After the transfer of Alberta's natural resources was completed in 1930, Reid was appointed Minister of the newly created Department of Lands and Mines, a portfolio that he held until 1934.[76] One of his first undertakings as Minister was to provide for "the administration and management of the transferred property," resulting from the Alberta-Dominion natural resources agreement.[77] Another initiative was to support the regulation of oil and gas well drilling operations in the developing oil industry through the introduction of *The Oil and Gas Wells Act, 1931*.[78]

### As Premier

On July 3, 1934, Premier John E. Brownlee announced his intention to immediately resign as Premier in the wake of a sensational civil suit brought against him by former government stenographer Vivian MacMillan.[79] His resignation, effective on July 10, was accompanied by that of his Cabinet.[80] The scandal and the prospect of Premier Brownlee's sudden departure prompted a crisis of confidence within the UFA governing caucus. Caucus members met in the Alberta Legislature Building to consider the merits of several candidates, including front-runner and veteran Minister of Health and Telephones, George Hoadley; Member for Coronation and Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta (1927–1935) George N. Johnston; Agriculture Minister Frank S. Grisdale; and Provincial Treasurer Richard G. Reid.[81] After three days of deliberation, the governing caucus gave its unanimous support to 'practical farmer'[82] and long-standing Cabinet Minister Richard Reid. Upon being designated as the caucus' choice for leader, Reid made the following remarks: "One thing that is gratifying is the knowledge of the unanimous individual support given me by United Farmers of Alberta members. This is particularly so when one realizes the duties are such as cannot be taken lightly."[83] Brownlee, meanwhile, asserted that Reid was "one of my most faithful Ministers, and I have every confidence in his ability and good judgment."[84] On July 10, 1934, Lieutenant Governor William

L. Walsh administered the Oath of Office to Premier Richard Gavin Reid[85] and to the members of his new provincial Cabinet.*[86] Reid's first act was to issue, on behalf of both himself and the UFA Government members, "a statement … re-affirming their support of Brownlee and their confidence in his integrity."[87]

Left to Right: Mark Baring; Governor General of Canada, Ninth Earl of Bessborough; Countess of Bessborough; Premier R.G. Reid; and Lady Moyra Ponsonby, on steps of Legislature Building (Mar. 22, 1935).

The new Premier took office as the worst of the Great Depression devastated Alberta's agricultural sector. Nevertheless, in a hopeful Speech from the Throne, delivered on February 7, 1935, Lieutenant Governor Walsh reported "some improvement in general conditions" and suggested that this amelioration of the Province's economic situation could portend "a return to more normal times" and could offer "fresh encouragement to [Albertans] in their efforts to meet the problems and difficulties with which they are still confronted."[88] Then, after highlighting some issues of provincial concern, such as high interest rates, farmers' debts and drought, the Speech resumed its optimistic tone in listing progress in the fields of education, employment, roads and health.[89] Also at the commencement of the Fifth Session of the Seventh Legislature, the Reid Government secured a $2,145,000 federal loan to support seeding operations and agricultural and unemployment relief.[90]

On a similarly positive note, the Reid Government presented its first Budget Speech, on March 8, 1935.[91] While it reported some disappointment with the results of *The Income Tax Act*,[92] the Speech ended with a message of encouragement for Albertans:

> As elected representatives, it is our duty to show courage while the black cloud of economic fear hovers over our people, and to remember always that our economic troubles are man made and, therefore, can and must be man cured through the proper adjustment of human relationships, and through the adoption of co-operative principles in our economic system in the place of those destructive competitive practices that have so seriously affected the economic welfare of our people.[93]

During its brief administration, the Reid Government undertook to address the issue of indebtedness throughout the agricultural community through the passing of *The Agricultural Industry Stabilization Act*, which, "for the promotion of the well-being of the Province," provided general relief from farm debt.[94] Specifically, the Act, which was intended to replace *The Debt Adjustment Act, 1933*, aimed to preserve an acceptable standard of living for Depression-era farm families by requiring that creditors obtain the prior written permission from the Debt

---

* Several of the Ministers who had served under Premier Brownlee were re-appointed to Cabinet under Reid. New appointments included Member for Taber John J. MacLellan as Minister of Public Works; Member for Wainwright J. Russell Love as Provincial Treasurer; and Member for Grande Prairie Hugh W. Allen as Minister of Lands and Mines and Minister of Municipal Affairs. Reid took on the portfolio of Provincial Secretary (1934–1935).

Adjustment Board before executing a foreclosure. In addition, the Act authorized farmers to divert from debt payments sufficient income to provide their families with the necessities of life and to fund farm operations.[95] Moreover, the Reid Government sought to arrest the effects of 'dust bowl' farm conditions by requiring specific crop and field management practices under *The Control of Soil Drifting Act*.[96]

Other significant legislation enacted by the Reid Government included *The Industrial Standards Act*, which granted the Government power to "establish wage codes, supervise labor conditions and control price levels" over a wide range of industrial activity.[97] Additionally, the Reid administration passed *The Alberta Health Insurance Act*, which established a Health Insurance Commission. The Commission established local medical districts and collected health-insurance funding from municipalities, employers and private citizens in order to cover the costs of medical, dental and prescription services for Albertans.[98] Notably, this Act represented the first government-legislated insurance program devoted exclusively to health and entitled every resident of a medical district to 'receive without charge' necessary health-service benefits, including hospitalization, nursing services, surgery, dental treatment, laboratory services and medicines.[99]

The successful sale of the provincially owned Alberta Government Telephones (AGT) rural telephone lines to various mutual companies,* effected through the enactment of *The Rural Mutual Telephone Companies Act* (1935),[100] signified another achievement of the UFA Government under Premier Reid. Although at the time AGT boasted the most extensive rural telephone system in North America, the rural lines had become a financial liability to the province.[101] In 1933, AGT had an operating deficit of more than $615,000, and in 1934, a deficit of more than $277,000;[102] the rural system was largely the cause of the deficit, due to the damage to its lines and the difficulty of collecting from its account holders.[103] In addition, those funds that the UFA Government had been able to contribute during the Depression years to a depreciation reserve for AGT amounted to only a very small proportion of the value of its fixed-capital assets.[104] Moreover, while it was never self-sustaining, the rural system had become severely dilapidated by the early 1930s, and its rehabilitation would cost the Government $4.5 million.[105] The sale of AGT's rural lines to local, farmer-run mutual companies, which could operate the lines more economically, was therefore the Government's best option for dealing with this concern.[106] Indeed, the arrangement also had the advantageous effect of increasing the rural population's access to the telephone system, which was, after all, the original aim of the Government-owned operation. Under AGT, the rural system provided fewer than 8,000 telephones, while under the mutual companies, it provided approximately 14,500.[107]

The 1935 Session also witnessed the Reid Government's determination to curb the sensationalist tendency exhibited by Alberta newspapers with regard to both the divorce case involving former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta Oran L. McPherson (1922–1926) and the lawsuit against former Premier John E. Brownlee. *The Reports of Judicial Proceedings Act* restricted journalists' reports on such matters to the names, addresses and occupations of the parties and witnesses, in addition to the submissions, conclusions and concise statements of evidence.[108] At the same time, amendments were made to Alberta's libel and slander law emphasizing the responsibility of the press to report accurately on such cases without comment or malice and to refrain from printing anything of a 'blasphemous or indecent nature.'[109]

---

* A mutual company is a private company whose ownership base is made up of customers and whose profit is distributed proportionately amongst its owners. It is often used synonymously with 'co-operative.'

As the Great Depression wore on, many Albertans struggled to subsist. Farmers were particularly vulnerable to privation and bankruptcy and contended with drought, high debt, low crop prices and complex market conditions, all of which were beyond their control.[110] For instance, by the early 1930s, the price of wheat had dropped to 34 cents a bushel, which represented 'the lowest recorded price' in Canadian history.[111] Adverse conditions persisted as the 1930s continued, with little hope of respite. Thus, in spite of earlier attempts to alleviate Albertans' hardships through legislative measures, and despite a solid administrative record, the UFA experienced a significant decrease in support as many Albertans became frustrated with what they saw as the Government's inability to improve conditions.[112] As one historian remarked:

> At first the depression could be borne because it seemed to be a temporary crisis, a passing phase. As time went by, however, many reacted against a continuing and seemingly endless dependence on relief. They could not believe that the riddle of the depression could not be resolved and they demanded action, effective action. And by action most of them meant political action. Governments had the power. Relief was thus only the first step. Governments were expected to go further, to take control of the economic system and to direct it and manipulate it to bring an end to the depression.[113]

Both at their local association meetings and at their annual conventions, the UFA membership had repeatedly proposed monetary reforms, including those espoused by popular lay preacher and radio-evangelist William Aberhart.[114] By 1932, Aberhart had begun incorporating social credit ideas, which had originated in the United Kingdom with Major Clifford H. Douglas,* into his weekly broadcasts and had quickly popularized the theory.[115] He believed that social credit had the potential to allay the oppressive social and economic conditions that characterized the Depression years, including widespread poverty and unemployment.[116] At this point, Aberhart was not interested in forming a political movement, but rather aimed to have social credit concepts embraced by an established party.[117] In the spring of 1934, growing pressure from both the UFA organization and the electorate to consider social credit as a remedy for the Great Depression led the farmers' Government to investigate the possibilities of implementing social credit theory in Alberta. Douglas and Aberhart, both participants at the inquiry, were questioned at length, but no action was taken as a result.[118] This reluctance on the part of the Government, and the ultimate rejection of Aberhart's plan at the UFA convention of January 1935, gave Aberhart and his well-organized followers the impetus to formally enter the political arena and to challenge the UFA at the next provincial general election.[119]

---

* Douglas (1879–1952), a reserve officer with the Royal Air Force (RAF), was a Scottish engineer who developed a theory that economic depression was the result of faulty monetary policies. Douglas believed that he had detected a fundamental flaw in the industrial-capitalist system wherein individuals' collective purchasing power could never equal the total production of goods, owing to the fact that the costs "of intermediary production were passed on to consumers in the form of prices for the articles produced but not as purchasing power through such means as wages." Bob Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 20, 20–22; John J. Barr, *The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), pp. 25–28. Douglas also believed that international financiers were conspiring to control the world's economy. As a solution, Douglas advocated state control of credit and prices. David R. Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* (Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1987), pp. 98–100.

As Aberhart's Social Credit movement—now politically active—spread, Reid took more decisive steps both to obtain further information on the proposed monetary-reform theory and to assess the feasibility of its implementation in Alberta. He invited Major Douglas to accept the position of Chief Reconstruction Adviser to the Government of Alberta, a move that is thought by some historians to have been an attempt to discredit Aberhart by exposing what the UFA believed to be his faulty understanding of social credit theory.[120] Douglas agreed to the appointment, and on May 23, 1935, submitted his report, entitled *First Interim Report on the Possibilities of the Application of Social Credit Principles to the Province of Alberta*.[121] In it, Douglas contradicted his earlier assertions that, given the provisions of the *British North America Act (BNA Act)*, social credit could not be introduced in Alberta. In the *First Interim Report*, by contrast, Douglas claimed that it could.[122] This change in view is perhaps not altogether surprising, for, although Douglas had not always fully endorsed Aberhart's version of social credit, the immediate possibility of any version of his theory's being implemented proved a powerful temptation. As one historian stated:

> [Douglas] could hardly have been expected to close the door on the commencement of the first experiment in his own theories. Douglas recognized that neither he nor his movement stood to lose, and might gain much by repeating those of Aberhart's arguments that appealed to him as reasonable.[123]

The public release of Douglas' report, however, "did absolutely nothing for the U.F.A., and merely served to give a measure of government sanction to what Aberhart was proposing all across the province already."[124] Indeed, the report, which was "said to be vague and indecisive,"[125] did not at all satisfy the wishes of those UFA caucus members, "who had hoped that [Douglas] would attack Aberhart's ideas."[126] Shortly after receiving and considering the report, Reid sent a letter to Douglas. In addition to thanking him for preparing the document, Reid concluded that Douglas' recommendations, as stated in the report, would ultimately be "ineffective in achieving the results sought, and would not be social credit as expounded by you."[127] The UFA then concluded that social credit for Alberta "was constitutionally and economically impossible."[128]

This reluctance to support novel monetary theories, however, was said by some to have contributed to the UFA's downfall:

> The hesitant image created by the compromises gradually worked out between the U.F.A. [organization] and the government contrasted sharply with the confidence of Aberhart who, moreover, insisted on the value of an attractive provincial monetary scheme rejected by the leadership of both the U.F.A. and the government.[129]

Indeed, the Social Credit movement was rapidly gaining momentum. In light of this perceived threat to the UFA administration, several of Reid's Cabinet colleagues exhorted him to recommend an election, “hoping perhaps that if one were held, the government could be returned before Aberhart’s movement ‘peaked’.”[130] However, Reid decided to wait out the Government’s term.[131] On July 16, 1935, the date of the election was announced, at which time *The United Farmer*[*] commended the record of the farmers’ Government and emphasized the importance of the voters’ upcoming decision:

> [T]he main issue before the farm people will be the continuance of the Farmers’ Government which, in spite of its limited powers under the constitution of Canada, has gone further than any other Government in North America in giving protection to the farm people against loss of their lands and homes in a period of world depression; and which in social legislation under its control has made greater advances than any other Government.[132]

On July 24, the Reid administration released, as part of its campaign, an election manifesto.[133] In addition to listing some of the UFA Government’s achievements, the manifesto included a list of 16 “steps” the UFA was planning to take towards its objective, which was “[t]o bring a sense of security into the lives of men and women, and bring back to youth the vision of life as a great and worthwhile adventure.”[134] Listed amongst the steps were the increase of support for secondary education in rural areas; the lowering of the qualifying age for old age pensions to 60 (from 70); the introduction of work for wages to address unemployment and to assist the relief efforts; the encouragement and support of the federal regulation of credit and currency; the reduction of interest rates on private mortgages; the improvement of provincial highways; and the reconsideration of the tariff system “on the premise that Canada’s fiscal policies should be based on the selling of our agricultural products on the markets of the world rather than on building up an artificial eastern industrial structure without due consideration of the interests of the agricultural west.”[135] In addition, it articulated the UFA’s intention to support federal and provincial investigations “connected with the production, the refining and the distribution of gasoline, distillates, and lubricating oils, to the end that these commodities, which are so vital to our agricultural industry, shall be operated as public utilities.”[136] The manifesto was later described by one historian as “a highly ‘progressive’ document that reflected the U.F.A.’s traditional concern with breaking new political ground—but it had little relevance to the crying emotional needs of Albertans.”[137]

Also in preparation for the election, Reid embarked on an extensive speaking tour of the province, visiting two constituencies per day. The throngs of people who turned out to hear him bore “testimony to the lively interest being taken in the issues of the day.”[138] *The United Farmer*, meanwhile, supported Reid’s campaign, highlighting his administration’s achievements in increasing farm security measures[139] and in promoting the education of rural students, despite declining revenue.[140] Furthermore, Reid chose to counter Aberhart and his proposals by delivering several speeches over the radio, a medium that was used to very good effect by Aberhart. In one of his broadcasts, Reid remarked:

---

[*] *The U.F.A.*, the official organ of the UFA since the newspaper was established in 1922, was renamed *The United Farmer* in 1934. The paper was published until 1936.

> The discontent of the people rising out of the depression has manifested itself in the political field by the attitude of many people in public life who all too frequently have been making irresponsible statements and impractical promises. … The future of democratic government will be imperilled if we do not have in positions of public trust men who steadfastly refuse to mislead the people even if it may be to their temporary advantage.[141]

In a later broadcast, Reid was more explicit in identifying the target of his admonitions:

> Mr. Aberhart and his associates have been telling the electors that they should vote for Social Credit candidates despite the proved fallacies upon which their scheme of Social Credit is based, despite the established fact that it is economically unsound and constitutionally impracticable and despite the fact that the details of their scheme, so far as they have been formulated, are so vague and uncertain as to be little better than unintelligible nonsense; and despite the fact that the election of candidates pledged to Mr. Aberhart's policy is calculated to destroy the credit of the Province and every individual in it.[142]

Nevertheless, in the weeks preceding the provincial election of August 1935, criticism of the UFA Government grew in the face of what was said to be the administration's "failure to grapple effectively with public problems."[143] In total, 340 candidates contested the so-called 'free-for-all' election[144] of 1935, including those representing the UFA, Social Credit, the Liberal Party, the Conservative Party, the Labour Party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF)* and the Communist Party, in addition to nine Independents. During the campaign, Reid spoke out against the UFA's political opponents "who are impatient and want to take short-cuts which may be catastrophic in the consequences."[145] Despite Reid's efforts, the Government's platform faced criticism because of its emphasis on federal aid for economic recovery and because of the extent of the provincial debt.[146]

On August 22, 1935, the Social Credit Party achieved an overwhelming victory in capturing 56 out of a total of 63 seats. No UFA candidates were returned to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. However, while William Aberhart was the recognized leader of the Social Credit Party, he had not stood for election and had yet to obtain a seat in the Legislative Assembly. At the request of Lieutenant Governor Walsh, the outgoing administration of Richard G. Reid continued in office until Aberhart's swearing-in on September 3, 1935.[147]

## Later Career

Subsequent to his resignation as Premier, Reid felt compelled to speak out against the criticism that was being levelled at his administration by the newly elected Social Credit Government. Reid staunchly defended his Government's actions and record, particularly denying the claim that the UFA "had left provincial financing in an awful 'mess'."[148] Reid expressed "resentment" at the receipt of such censure after "fourteen years of arduous public service, during which the honesty of purpose or performance of the [Government] had at no time been successfully challenged."[149] Reid indicated:

---

* The CCF was founded in Calgary in 1932 "as a political coalition of progressive, socialist and labour forces" and, in attempting to gain power at both the federal and provincial levels, sought to introduce economic reforms to a country suffering from the effects of the Great Depression. J. T. Morley, "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada, 2004), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

> I say that I do this with reluctance, for I believe … that the people having spoken, as they did, decisively at the general election, the new administration should be given reasonable time to implement their pre-election pledges. But when I find the excuse is made that the new social order cannot be immediately instituted on account of the financial mess that was inherited, and, further, that this condition was not disclosed to the people by the late government, I am impelled to protest most vigorously.[150]

Following his tenure as Premier, Reid worked as a broker.[151] During the Second World War, he served on the Mobilization Board for the Dominion Government.[152] In 1951, at the age of 73, Reid embarked on a new career, becoming the librarian for Canadian Utilities Limited, in Edmonton. In that capacity, he established "branch libraries for power stations outside Edmonton," working for the company until he was 95 years of age.[153] Reid remained interested and informed regarding contemporary Alberta politics throughout the entirety of his long life.[154] In 1977, he praised Premier E. Peter Lougheed for his "great vision in broadening Alberta's economic base."[155]

## Community Activities, Personal Interests and Honours

Reid served on the Edmonton Historical Board and was a member of the Garneau Lawn Bowling Club and the Edmonton Golf and Country Club.[156] In 1977, he was made an Honourary Member of the Edmonton Library Association.*[157] Reid Street is located in the Village of Heisler, Alberta, which is known as the 'Premier Village' because its streets are named in honour of former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[158]

## Death

Richard Gavin Reid died in Edmonton on October 17, 1980, at the age of 101.[159] Premier E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985) and Member for Barrhead Kenneth R. Kowalski (future Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1997– ) were amongst those who paid their respects at the private funeral.[160] Marion Reid died June 2, 1981. Both Richard and Marion were sadly predeceased by their sons James Kenneth, in 1944, and George Stuart, in about 1950.[161] The Reids' ashes are buried at the Edmonton Cemetery.[162]

## Fonds

Records covering Richard G. Reid's service to Alberta as Cabinet Minister and Premier are housed at the Provincial Archives of Alberta.

---

* The Edmonton Library Association became the Greater Edmonton Library Association (GELA) in 1980.

### Tributes

A contemporary of Reid's said of him: "His identification with public affairs forms one of the vital interests of his life and he has always done efficient and conscientious work, being actuated at all times by high ideals and altruistic motives."[163] Upon his elevation to the Office of Premier, he was considered to have been a "[c]entral figure in historical political developments."[164] At the time of his death, one journalist noted that Reid was "[h]onest and unyielding on points of principle" and that "his accomplishments in four cabinet portfolios indicate that, under less trying circumstances, he might have held office much longer."[165]

### Publications

Reid was the author of an article, "From the Old Land to the New," in which he described pioneer life in Alberta. The two-part article appeared in the Winter and Spring 1957 issues of the *Alberta Historical Review*.[166]

## Notes

[1] Scotland. General Register Office, "Richard Gavin Reid," in *Statutory Registers*, District of Hutchesontown, County of Lanark, 31 January 1879, no. 644/11 0190, p. 64, [Birth Registration], *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 21 July 2005, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk

[2] Richard Gavin Reid, "From the Old Land to the New: A Pioneer's Impressions and Recollections (Part 1)," *Alberta Historical Review* vol. 5, no. 1 (Winter 1957): p. 3.

[3] Scotland. General Register Office, "Richard Gavin Reid," [Birth Registration]; Scotland. General Register Office, "Margaret Reid," Hutchesontown, Burgh of Glasgow, 24 May 1873, no. 1066, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 4 April 2006; Scotland. General Register Office, "George Reid," Hutchesontown, County of Lanark, 13 January 1875, no. 88, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 4 April 2006; Scotland. General Register Office, "James Ogston Reid," Hutchesontown, County of Lanark, 5 January 1877, no. 34, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 4 April 2006; Scotland. General Register Office, "William Ogston Reid," Hutchesontown, County of Lanark, 20 September 1880, no. 2057, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 4 April 2006; Scotland. General Register Office, "Reid, William Ogston," in *Statutory Registers,* Hutchesontown, County of Lanark, 11 December 1882, no. 1196, [Death Registration], GROS Ref 644/11 1196, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 24 April 2006, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; Scotland. General Register Office, "Charles Thomson Reid," Hutchesontown, County of Lanark, 2 September 1882, no. 1751, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 4 April 2006; Scotland. General Register Office, "Reid, Charles Thomson," in *Statutory Registers*, Tradeston, Burgh of Glasgow, 6 February 1900, no. 51, [Death Registration], GROS Ref 644/13 0051, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 3 August 2006, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk

[4] Scotland. General Register Office, "George Reid," in *Old Parochial Register of Births and Baptisms*, County of Aberdeen, Parish of New Deer, 31 October 1843, no. 225/00 0003, [Certified Copy of Baptismal Record], reproduced 21 April 2006.

[5] "Reid, George Sr. ( - 25 May 1913) Cemetery Report," *Alberta Genealogical Society Master Databank*, [Electronic Database], (Edmonton: Alberta Genealogical Society), accessed 22 March 2006; "Local and General [Geo. Reid Esq.]," [Obituary], *Manville* [sic] *Empire* (Mannville, AB), 29 May 1913, [p. 8].

[6] Scotland. General Register Office, "George Reid," [Certified Copy of Baptismal Record]; Scotland. General Register Office, George Reid Household, 1881 Census of Scotland, district no. 110, Lanark, Govan, p. 14, household 151, microfilm FHL 0203673, GRO Ref 644/11, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 21 July 2005, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; Scotland. General Register Office, George Reid Household, 1891 Census of Scotland, district no. 13, Tradeston, Glasgow City, Lanark, Govan, p. 17, household 86, GROS Ref 644/13 037/13, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 21 July 2005, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk

[7] Scotland. General Register Office, George Reid Household, 1861 Census of Scotland, district no. 225/00, County of Aberdeen, Parish of New Deer, p. 9, household 42, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 3 April 2006, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; Scotland. General Register Office, "George Reid - Margaret Ogston," in *Statutory Registers*, County of Banff, Parish of Forglen, 1872, no. 154/000 004, p. 2, [Marriage Registration], reproduced 21 July 2005; Scotland. General Register Office, "George Reid - Jane Thomson," in *Old Parochial Register of Proclamations of Banns and Marriages*, County of Aberdeen, Parish of Old Deer, 7 January 1836, no. 228/000 004, [Certified Copy of Marriage Registration], reproduced 21 April 2006.

[8] Scotland. General Register Office, "Margaret Ogston," in *Statutory Registers*, County of Aberdeen, Parish of New Deer, 21 June 1850, no. 225/00 0003, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 21 April 2006.

[9] "Died [Mrs. Margaret Reid]," *Mannville News and the Minburn and Innisfree Times*, 14 June 1928, [p. 8]; "Reid, Margaret Ogston ( - 13 June 1928) Cemetery Report," *Alberta Genealogical Society Master Databank*, [Electronic Database], (Edmonton: Alberta Genealogical Society), accessed 22 March 2006.

[10] Scotland. General Register Office, "Margaret Ogston," [Certified Copy of Birth Registration]; Scotland. General Register Office, James Ogston Household, 1851 Census of Scotland, Banffshire, district no. 225/00, County of Aberdeen, Parish of New Deer, p. 7, household 23, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 3 April 2006, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; Scotland. General Register Office, James Ogston Household, 1861 Census of Scotland, County of Aberdeen, Parish of New Deer, p. 17, household 78, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], GROS Ref 225/00 003/00, accessed 3 April 2006, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk

[11] Scotland. General Register Office, "George Reid - Margaret Ogston," [Marriage Registration].

[12] Scotland. General Register Office, James Ogston Household, 1871 Census of Scotland, Forglen, County of Banff, Civil Parish of Forglen, p. 4, household 20, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], GROS Ref 154/00 002/00, accessed 3 April 2006, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk

[13] Scotland. General Register Office, "George Reid - Margaret Ogston," [Marriage Registration].

[14] Scotland. General Register Office, George Reid Record, 1871 Census of Scotland, Hutchesontown, Glasgow City, Lanark, Civil Parish of Govan, p. 1, household 1, GROS Ref 644/10 028/10, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 21 July 2005, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; Scotland. General Register Office, "George Reid - Margaret Ogston," [Marriage Registration].

[15] Scotland. General Register Office, George Reid Household, 1881 Census of Scotland, [Internet Subscription Service]; Scotland. General Register Office, George Reid Household, 1901 Census of Scotland, district no. 34, Tradeston, Municipal Burgh of Glasgow, Civil Parish of Govan, p. 12, household 67, GROS Ref 644/13 034/13, *ScotlandsPeople*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 21 July 2005, available from http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk; Richard Gavin Reid, Interview by Mrs. E. Kreisal and J. E. Cook, 6 October 1969, [Transcript], p. 1, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, 69.264.

[16] Scotland. General Register Office, George Reid Household, 1891 Census of Scotland, [Internet Subscription Service].

[17] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Reid Household, 1906 Census of Manitoba, Sasktachewan and Alberta, Alberta, district no. 21, Strathcona, sub-district 4, schedule 1, p. 17, household 245, microfilm T-18362, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 29 March 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02015302_e.html; "Local and General [Geo. Reid Esq.]," [Obituary], p. 8.

[18] Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for George Reid, no. 1222374, for SE 30 48 8 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2754, 1970.313; *Trails to Mannville: A History of Mannville and District* (Mannville, AB: Mannville and District Old-Timers Society, 1983), inside cover page, p. 302.

[19] "Local and General [Geo. Reid Esq.]," [Obituary], p. 8; Margaret Tod, "Scotstoun District," in *History of Mannville and District*, ed. Charles M. Finlay (Edmonton: Mannville Old Timers Association, 1961), p. 110.

[20] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Reid Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Alberta, district no. 6, Strathcona, sub-district 7, Township 48, Range 9, W4, schedule 1, p. 10, household 199, microfilm T-20331, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 16 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html

[21] Ernest J. Chambers, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1926 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1926), p. 542.

[22] Reid, "From the Old Land to the New (Part 1)," p. 3.

[23] John Blue, *Alberta Past and Present: Historical and Biographical*, vol. 3 (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924), p. 131; Reid, "From the Old Land to the New (Part 1)," p. 3.

[24] Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 131; Reid, "From the Old Land to the New (Part 1)," p. 3.

[25] Armin Hecht, "Few Recall Ex-Premier," *Edmonton Journal*, 26 December 1965, p. 26.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Reid, "From the Old Land to the New (Part 1)," p. 3.

[28] Ibid.; Nick Lees, "Stories Aplenty, but Past is Past," *Edmonton Journal*, 28 January 1978, p. B4.

[29] Reid, "From the Old Land to the New (Part 1)," p. 3.

[30] Ibid., p. 4.

[31] Ibid., pp. 5–6.

[32] Ibid., p. 6; "Homesteader as Premier," [Editorial], *Globe* (Toronto), 16 July 1934, p. 6.

[33] "Homesteader as Premier," p. 6.

[34] Brian Brennan, *Building a Province: 60 Alberta Lives* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2000), pp. 32–33; "Homesteader as Premier," p. 6.

[35] Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 130; Else Rempel, "Premier in UFA Gov't, Reid is Dead at 101," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 October 1980, p. B4.

[36] "Whisper Amid the Storm: Alberta's Sixth Premier, Richard Gavin Reid, 1879–1980," *Alberta Report* vol. 7, no. 49 (31 October 1980): p. 28; Lees, "Stories Aplenty, but Past is Past," p. B4.

[37] Robert Tod and Joan Tod, "Scotstoun No. 1894," in *Trails to Mannville: A History of Mannville and District* (Mannville, AB: Mannville and District Old-Timers Society, 1983), p. 149; Chambers, ed., *CPG 1926*, p. 542.

[38] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Marion Stewart," County of Glengarry, Division of Lancaster Township, 6 June 1895, no. 036318, [Birth Registration].

[39] "Reid, Marion," [Obituary], *Edmonton Journal*, 3 June 1981, p. D2.

[40] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Marion Stewart," [Birth Registration]. A variation in the spelling of Flora's last name is 'McDonell.' Ontario Vital Statistics, "Angus Stuart," County of Glengarry, Division of Lancaster Township, 12 March 1897, no. 040729, [Birth Registration]. Marguerite has also been found spelled as 'Margaret.' Robin Stuart, "The Kenneth (Kenny) Stuart Family," in *Trails to Mannville: A History of Mannville and District* (Mannville, AB: Mannville and District Old-Timers Society, 1983), p. 726.

[41] Stuart, "The Kenneth (Kenny) Stuart Family," p. 726.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Kenneth Stuart Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 62, Glengarry, sub-district d-1, Lancaster Township, schedule 1, p. 6, household 49, microfilm T-6467, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 3 April 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html. Flora's birth date is also indicated as 1872. Stuart, "The Kenneth (Kenny) Stuart Family," p. 726.

[44] Stuart, "The Kenneth (Kenny) Stuart Family," p. 726.

[45] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Kenneth Stuart - Flora McDonald," County of Glengarry, Village of Alexandria, 30 June 1893, no. 011138, [Marriage Registration].

[46] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Alexander Kenneth Stuart," County of Glengarry, Division of Lancaster Township, 30 April 1895, no. 031763, [Birth Registration]; Stuart, "The Kenneth (Kenny) Stuart Family," p. 726.

[47] Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 131; Stuart, "The Kenneth (Kenny) Stuart Family," pp. 726–727. Kenneth Stuart homesteaded on the northeast quarter of Section 24, Township 48, Range 9, West of the 4th Meridian, receiving a patent for the homestead in 1911. Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Kenneth Stuart, no. 1668322, for NE 24 48 9 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2821, 1970.313; Stuart, "The Kenneth (Kenny) Stuart Family," p. 727.

[48] *Trails to Mannville*, p. 40.

[49] Personal communication with Flora Maher, [Daughter of Richard G. Reid], 22 April 2006; Personal communication with Robin Stuart, [Nephew of Richard G. Reid], 15 March 2006.

[50] "Reid Chosen Premier to Succeed Brownlee," *Globe* (Toronto), 6 July 1934, p. 1.

[51] Reid, Interview by Kreisal and Cook, 6 October 1969, p. 4.

[52] C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 28–29; Carl Frederick Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship between the Agricultural Organization and the Government of Alberta" (MA Thesis, University of Alberta, Fall 1971), pp. 180–181, 24–25.

[53] "The Battle River Convention," *Western Independent* (Calgary), 23 June 1920, p. 9; Reid, Interview by Kreisal and Cook, 6 October 1969, p. 5.

[54] Reid, Interview by Kreisal and Cook, 6 October 1969, p. 6.

[55] Ibid., pp. 6–7.

[56] "R. G. Reid Choice of Farmers' Convention," *Standard* (Vermilion), 6 July 1921, p. 6.

[57] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 11; Franklin L. Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography* (Lloydminster, AB: Foster Learning, 1996), pp. 53–54; Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 47.

[58] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 35.

[59] A. L. Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1927 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1927), p. 354; Richard G. Reid, Minister of Public Health, 13 August 1921, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; Richard G. Reid, Minister of Municipal Affairs, 13 August 1921, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; Norma J. Milton, "The Scots in Alberta," in *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity*, ed. Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), pp. 116–117.

[60] R. G. Reid, "Public Health and Municipal Affairs," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 15 April 1922, p. 3.

[61] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 177.

[62] *An Act to amend the Public Health Act*, S.A. 1922, c. 33, s. 2.

[63] *An Act to amend The Hospitals Ordinance*, S.A. 1922, c. 32, s. 3.

[64] *The Mental Defectives Act Amendment Act, 1923*, S.A. 1923, c. 52, s. 3.

[65] *The Town and Village Act*, S.A. 1934, c. 49.

[66] *Budget Speech of The Hon. R. G. Reid, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered on March 18, 1926, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: W. D. McLean, Acting King's Printer, 1926), pp. 3, 9–10, 13, 19.

[67] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 83.

[68] *Budget Speech*, 1926, pp. 9, 13.

[69] Ibid., p. 9.

[70] *Budget Speech of The Hon. R. G. Reid, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered on February 24, 1928, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: W. D. McLean, Acting King's Printer, 1928), pp. 15, 3–6.

[71] "National Attitude on All Questions before Ottawa Conference," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 November 1927, p. 13.

[72] *The Alberta Co-operative Rural Credit Act*, S.A. 1931, c. 66; *The Local Tax Arrears Consolidation Act*, S.A. 1931, c. 54; *The Debt Adjustment Act, 1931*, S.A. 1931, c. 57; *The Unemployment Relief Act*, S.A. 1931, c. 35.

[73] *Budget Speech of The Hon. R. G. Reid, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered on March 3, 1932, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: W. D. McLean, King's Printer, 1932), p. 4.

[74] *The Income Tax Act*, S.A. 1932, c. 5.

[75] *Budget Speech, 1932*, p. 17.

[76] *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21; *The Department of Lands and Mines Act*, S.A. 1931, c. 42; Richard Gavin Reid, Minister of Lands and Mines, 2 October 1930, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[77] *The Administration of Natural Resources (Temporary) Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 22, s. 5(2), Preamble.

[78] *The Oil and Gas Wells Act, 1931*, S.A. 1931, c. 46.

[79] "U.F.A. Caucus to Name Brownlee Successor: Reid, Hoadley and Johnston Mentioned for Premiership," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 3 July 1934, p. 1.

[80] "Reid Chosen Premier to Succeed Brownlee," p. 1.

[81] "Alberta Caucus Picks Successor to J. E. Brownlee," *Globe* (Toronto), 4 July 1934, pp. 1, 2; "U.F.A. Caucus to Name Brownlee Successor," p. 1.

[82] "Reid Chosen Premier to Succeed Brownlee," p. 1.

[83] Ibid., p. 3.

[84] Ibid., p. 1.

[85] Richard G. Reid, President of the Council, 10 July 1934, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[86] "Name 3 New Ministers in Alberta Gov't," *Calgary Herald*, 11 July 1934, p. 1.

[87] Foster, *John E. Brownlee: A Biography*, p. 263.

[88] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 7th Legislature, 5th Session*, vol. XXXII, 7 February 1935, p. 6.

[89] Ibid., pp. 7–9.

[90] *The Unemployment and Agricultural Relief Borrowings Act*, S.A. 1935, c. 5, Schedule, ss. 1, 3, 2.

[91] *Budget Speech Delivered by The Hon. J. R. Love, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, March 8th, 1935, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: W. D. McLean, King's Printer, 1935), pp. 3–4.

[92] Ibid., pp. 17–18.

[93] Ibid., p. 23.

[94] *The Agricultural Industry Stabilization Act*, S.A. 1935, c. 25, Preamble, s. 3.

[95] *The Agricultural Industry Stabilization Act*, S.A. 1935, c. 25, ss. 1, 3(a-d).

[96] *The Control of Soil Drifting Act*, S.A. 1935, c. 40, s. 3(a-d).

[97] "Control of Industry throughout Alberta Vested in Government," *Globe* (Toronto), 20 October 1934, p. 1; *The Industrial Standards Act*, S.A. 1935, c. 47, ss. 7–8, 20.

[98] *The Alberta Health Insurance Act*, S.A. 1935, c. 49, ss. 3(1), 8, 22 (a, b), 26–27, 30, 37, 38, 45(a-k).

[99] *The Alberta Health Insurance Act*, S.A. 1935, c. 49, s. 37.

[100] *The Rural Mutual Telephone Companies Act*, S.A. 1935, c. 48.

[101] Tony Cashman, *Singing Wires: The Telephone in Alberta* (Edmonton: Alberta Government Telephones Commission, 1972), p. 362; *Budget Speech of The Hon. R. G. Reid, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered on March 3rd, 1933 in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: W. D. McLean, Kings' Printer, 1933), pp. 11–12; *Budget Speech of The Hon. R. G. Reid, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered on March 8th, 1934 in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: W. D. McLean, King's Printer, 1934), p. 13.

[102] *Budget Speech, 1933*, pp. 11–12; *Budget Speech, 1934*, p. 13.

[103] Cashman, *Singing Wires: The Telephone in Alberta*, pp. 357, 362.

[104] Ibid., p. 357; *Budget Speech, 1933*, pp. 11–12.

[105] Cashman, *Singing Wires: The Telephone in Alberta*, pp. 362, 357.

[106] Ibid., p. 362.

[107] Ibid., p. 365.

[108] *The Reports of Judicial Proceedings Act*, S.A. 1935, c. 22, ss. 2–3.

[109] *The Libel and Slander Act Amendment Act, 1935*, S.A. 1935, c. 23, s. 10.

[110] Carl F. Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935," in *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers*, ed. Carlo Caldarola (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979), p. 23; Carlo Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta, 1935–1971," in *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers*, ed. Carlo Caldarola (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979), p. 35; Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 144.

[111] H. Blair Neatby, *The Politics of Chaos: Canada in the Thirties* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), p. 28.

[112] Bob Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 66.

[113] Neatby, *The Politics of Chaos*, p. 35.

[114] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 144, 146–147.

[115] Ibid., pp. 144–146.

[116] *The Douglas System of Economics: 'Credit Power for Democracy': A System for State Credit Which Will Supply Purchasing Power to the Consumer* (n.p.: [193?]), p. 8.

[117] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 145–146.

[118] Ibid., p. 146.

[119] Ibid., pp. 146–147.

[120] John J. Barr, *The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), pp. 75–76; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 83; *First Interim Report on the Possibilities of the Application of Social Credit Principles to the Province of Alberta: Submitted to His Majesty's Premier and Legislative Council of Alberta, at Edmonton, Alberta, May 23rd, 1935, by Major C.H. Douglas, Together with Correspondence which followed the Report, between Premier R.G. Reid and Major Douglas, and between Hon. J.F. Lymburn, Attorney-General, and Major Douglas* (Edmonton: W.D. McLean, King's Printer, 1935), p. 8.

[121] *First Interim Report on the Possibilities of the Application of Social Credit Principles to the Province of Alberta*, [title page].

[122] Ibid., pp. 10, 4–8; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 76.

[123] David R. Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* (Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1987), pp. 186–187.

[124] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 76.

[125] "Cash for Credit," *Globe* (Toronto), 12 June 1935, p. 4.

[126] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 187.

[127] *First Interim Report on the Possibilities of the Application of Social Credit Principles to the Province of Alberta*, p. 11.

[128] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 187.

[129] Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921–1935: The Relationship," p. 167.

[130] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 69.

[131] Ibid.

[132] "Provincial Election to be Held on August 22nd," *United Farmer* (Calgary), 19 July 1935, p. 1.

[133] "Farmers' Government Issues Election Manifesto," *United Farmer* (Calgary), 26 July 1935, pp. 1, 5.

[134] Ibid., p. 1.

[135] Ibid., p. 5.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 77.

[138] "Enthusiastic Crowds Greet Premier Reid," *United Farmer* (Calgary), 9 August 1935, p. 1.

[139] "Premier Reid Describes Farm Security Measures," *United Farmer* (Calgary), 12 July 1935, p. 1.

[140] R. G. Reid, "Farmers' Government Keeps Higher Percentage of Schools Open Despite Fall in Revenue," *United Farmer* (Calgary), 2 August 1935, p. 1.

[141] Richard G. Reid, Radio Address by Premier R. G. Reid Over CJCA, Edmonton and CFAC and CFCN, Calgary, 10 May 1935, [Transcript], p. 1, Walter Norman Smith and Amelia Turner Smith Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M1157/72.

[142] Richard G. Reid, Radio Address by Premier R. G. Reid Over CJCA, Edmonton and CFAC and CFCN, Calgary, 21 August 1935, [Transcript], pp. 1–2, Walter Norman Smith and Amelia Turner Smith Fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M 1157/72.

[143] "Alberta Next," [Editorial], *Globe* (Toronto), 19 August 1935, p. 4; "[Premier Reid of Alberta Has Issued a Manifesto]," [Editorial], *Globe* (Toronto), 2 August 1935, p. 4.

[144] "Alberta is Ready for 'Free-for-All Vote'," *Globe* (Toronto), 20 August 1935, p. 10.

[145] Ibid.

[146] "Alberta Next," p. 4.

[147] "Aberhart is Ready to Take Premiership," *Globe* (Toronto), 27 August 1935, p. 1; William Aberhart, President of the Council, 3 September 1935, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; "No Pomp as Cabinet Sworn: Alberta Social Crediters Take Over Government," *Globe* (Toronto), 4 September 1935, p. 12.

[148] "Ex-U.F.A Premier Strikes Heavy Blows at Aberhart Claims," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 22 January 1935, p. 1.

[149] Ibid., pp. 1–2.

[150] Ibid., p. 2.

[151] "Whisper Amid the Storm," p. 28.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Rempel, "Premier in UFA Gov't, Reid is Dead at 101," p. B4; Helen Corbett, "At 100, All He Thinks about is Politics," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 January 1979, p. B1.

[154] Corbett, "At 100, All He Thinks about is Politics," p. B1.

[155] Rempel, "Premier in UFA Gov't, Reid is Dead at 101," p. B4.

[156] Ibid.; Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 131.

[157] Jim Davies, "Ex-Premier Urges a United Canada," *Edmonton Journal*, 16 April 1977, p. 13; Rempel, "Premier in UFA Gov't, Reid is Dead at 101," p. B4.

[158] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; Welcome to *The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

[159] Rempel, "Premier in UFA Gov't, Reid is Dead at 101," p. B4.

[160] Ibid.; "Whisper Amid the Storm," p. 28; Personal communication with Maher, 22 April 2005.

[161] "Reid, Marion," [Obituary], p. D2; Stuart, "The Kenneth (Kenny) Stuart Family," p. 728; Personal communication with Maher, 22 April 2005.

[162] Nancy Millar, *Remember Me as You Pass By: Stories from Prairie Graveyards* (Calgary: Glenbow Museum and Archives, 1994), p. 61; "Reid, Marion," [Obituary], p. D2.

[163] Blue, *Alberta Past and Present*, p. 131.

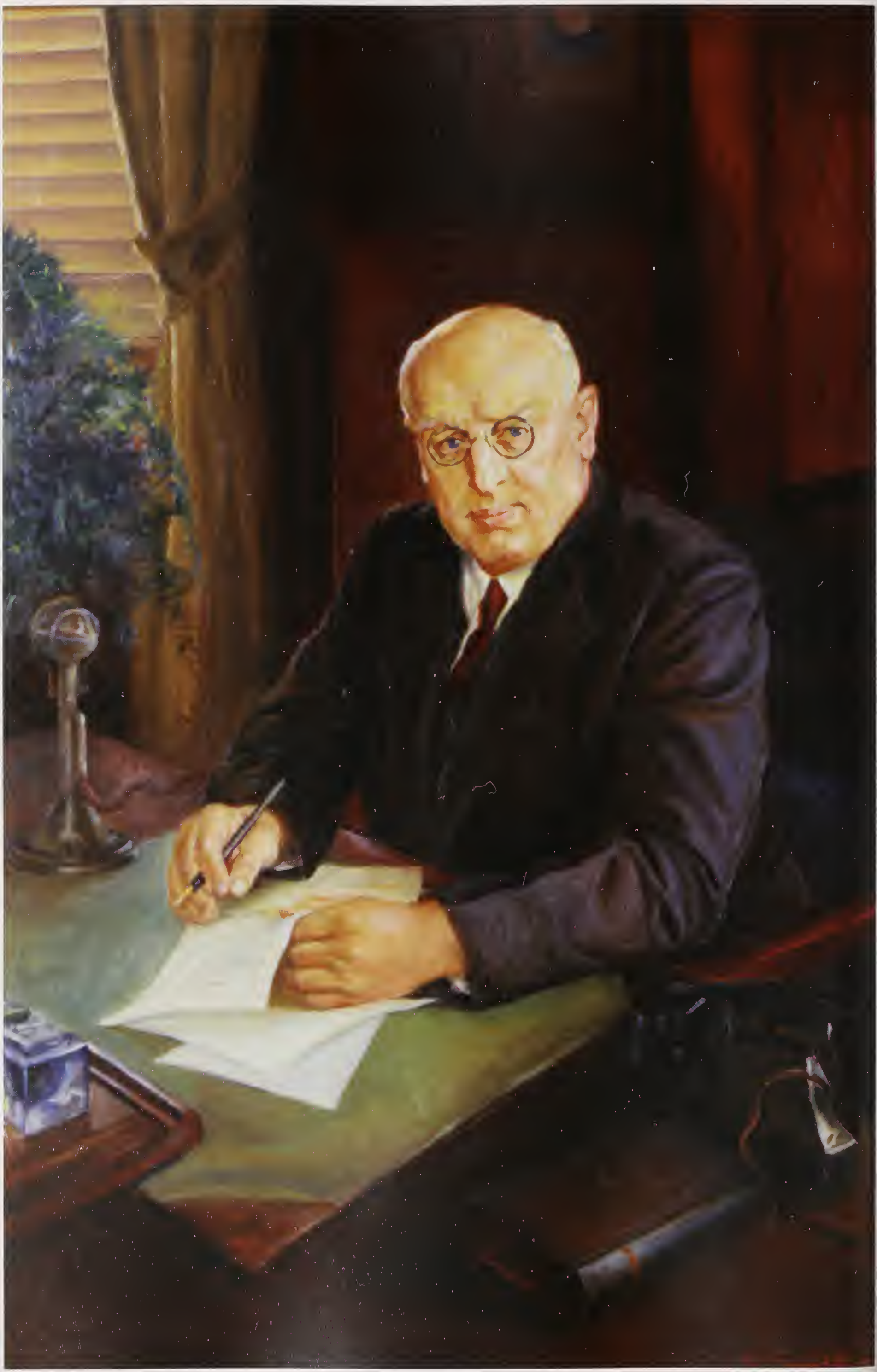
[164] "U.F.A. Members are Unanimous in Selection of New Chieftain," *Edmonton Journal*, 5 July 1934, p. 1.

[165] "Whisper Amid the Storm," p. 28.

[166] Reid, "From the Old Land to the New (Part 1)," pp. 3–9; Richard Gavin Reid, "From the Old Land to the New: A Pioneer's Impressions and Recollections (Part 2)," *Alberta Historical Review* vol. 5, no. 2 (Spring 1957): pp. 15–21.

*It is important to remember that the fine social legislation that he gave this province was the product of a burning sympathy for the aged and the sick and the helpless. That will be his epitaph, whatever one may think of his politics, that he was the champion of the oppressed*

# Aberhart 1935-1943



In 1935, at the height of the Great Depression, popular radio evangelist and teacher William Aberhart was appointed Alberta's seventh Premier. Having promised Albertans relief from the dire circumstances in which they found themselves, Aberhart formed a Government based in part on the reformist economic theories of Major Clifford H. Douglas. These theories were known collectively as 'social credit.' Aberhart was a man of strong religious convictions who believed that social credit reforms would restore hope and prosperity to Alberta, thereafter protecting individual enterprise and ownership and rewarding "individual effort to the full possible enjoyment of the good things of life."[1] Notably, the Social Credit Government that Aberhart led was the first such administration in the world.[2] Aberhart's tenure as Premier coincided in part with the terms of three Lieutenant Governors: William L. Walsh (1931–1936), Philip C. H. Primrose (1936–1937) and John C. Bowen (1937–1950). At the time of his appointment, William Aberhart was 56 years of age.[3] To date, he is the only Premier of Alberta to have died in office.

## Family History

William Aberhart was born on December 30, 1878, on a farm in Hibbert Township, Perth County, Ontario.[4] William was the fifth of the nine children* of William Aberhart and Louisa Pepper.[5] In 1854, William Aberhart Sr. (b. ca. 1844, d. 1910)[6] had emigrated as a young boy with his family from the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (which became part of Germany after unification in 1871).†[7] By 1861, his mother, Lena Sophia Dorothy (b. ca. 1817), and her second husband, Christopher Heffler (b. ca. 1795),‡ a labourer and gardener, had established their home near Egmondville, in Tuckersmith Township, Huron County, Upper Canada (Ontario).[8] By the time William Sr. was 17, he was boarding nearby, working as a labourer for a blacksmith, and also at the Stapleton Salt Works, near Seaforth.[9] Subsequently, he ran a blacksmith shop in Egmondville.[10] William Sr. and his parents were Lutheran.[11]

---

* Augusta (1872–1931), Charles (1873–1956), John (1875–1953), Elizabeth (b. and d. 1878), William (1878–1943), Louis (1881–1960), Monetta 'Nettie' (1885–1956), Henry 'Harry' (1888–1933) and Wilfred (1890–1939).

† Mecklenburg-Schwerin became a Grand Duchy in 1815; its inhabitants were known as Mecklenburgers. David R. Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* (Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1987), p. 2. In 1871, German unification was complete, and Mecklenburg became part of northeastern Germany.

‡ William Aberhart's grandfather William Eberhardt died in about 1848. His widow, Sophia, later married Christopher Heffler. British Columbia. Vital Statistics Agency, "Aberhart, William," 26 May 1943, no. 3678, [Death Registration], British Columbia Archives, Victoria, microfilm B13179; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 2.

PROSPERITY CERTIFICATE
ONE DOLLAR

In 1871, William Aberhart Sr. married Louisa Pepper, and the couple rented a farm close to Egmondville.[12] Louisa Pepper (b. ca. 1850, d. 1944)[13] was the fifth of the seven children* of John Pepper (1812–1893) and his first wife, Elizabeth Saunders (1818–1857).[14] John, a labourer, and Elizabeth were married in 1838 in the Parish of Rickmansworth, District of Watford, Hertfordshire, England.[15] Louisa's parents immigrated to Canada West (Ontario) in the mid-1840s, settling on a farm south of Mitchell in Fullarton Township, Perth County, where Louisa was born and raised.[16] Louisa's younger brother Roger J. Pepper was involved in community service as a member of the Tuckersmith Township Board of Health (1901), a councillor for Tuckersmith Township (1905) and a "pathmaster for Division 21" of Tuckersmith (resigned 1906).[17]

In 1874, William Sr. and Louisa Aberhart moved their family to a wheat farm, which they had purchased, in Hibbert Township, Perth County.[18] By this time, the Aberharts were Methodist.[19] In 1886, William Sr. moved his family back to Tuckersmith Township, where he operated a wheat and dairy farm near Egmondville and Seaforth.[20] This move resulted in the Aberharts' sending their older children to high school in Seaforth and to Sunday school at the nearby Presbyterian church.[21]

## Education

Upon reaching school age, William Aberhart first attended a 'one-room wooden' schoolhouse in Hibbert Township, bearing the name "School Section (or S.S.) No. 7, Hibbert."[22] After the family returned to Tuckersmith Township, William attended the nearby elementary school in Egmondville.[23] From 1893 to 1898, William was educated at Seaforth Collegiate Institute, with the exception of a short period during which he studied at the model school in Mitchell, Ontario,[24] where he started his 'teaching apprenticeship.'[25] In his final year of high school and later at Ontario Normal School, in Hamilton, Ontario,† William excelled as an athlete, playing on the soccer and basketball teams and participating in track and field.[26] He earned a Commercial Specialist Certificate from Chatham Business College in 1897[27] and, after further study, graduated in 1899 from normal school with an Interim Certificate.[28] In addition to earning his permanent 'First Class' provincial certificate in teaching by 1901,[29] Aberhart also pursued further education from 1907 to 1911 through correspondence, earning his 'extramural' Bachelor of Arts degree from Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario.[30]

---

* The children of John Pepper's first marriage were: James (b. 1840), Caroline Susan (1842–1908), Thomas (1844–1937), Timothy (1847–1912), Louisa (b. ca. 1850, d. 1944), William (1852–1922) and Roger John (1855–1940). Hannah Miller, The 'Pepper' Family History, as of Oct. 1988, Stratford-Perth Archives, Mitchell and Area Division, Mitchell, ON, p. 5; United Kingdom. General Register Office, "James Pepper," Watford, County of Hertford, Sub-district of Bushey, 30 January 1840, no. 322, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 18 November 2005; Phyllis Peterson, "Edgewood-Colesburg (Iowa) and Surrounding Towns," Ancestry World Tree Project, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], (Provo, UT: MyFamily.com), accessed 17 November 2005, available from http://awt.ancestry.com

† Normal school was the term used to describe teachers' colleges in the late-19th and early-20th centuries.

## Marriage and Family

On July 30, 1902, William Aberhart married Janet 'Jessie' Mary Flatt in a ceremony at the home of the bride's father near Galt, in North Dumfries Township, Ontario.[31] Jessie (1878–1966)[32] had been raised on a farm near the village of Killean in Puslinch Township, Wellington County, Ontario.[33] She was the youngest of the five children* of George N. Flatt (b. ca. 1842, d. 1909)[34] and Janet Clark (b. ca. 1842, d. 1894).[35]

George, who was the son of William Flatt and Ellen Hill, was born in London, England.[36] Having immigrated to Canada in 1842,[37] the William Flatt family resided for some time near the village of Sheffield in Beverley Township, Halton County, Upper Canada (later part of Wentworth County, Ontario).[38] Janet Clark was born in Wellington County, the daughter of Scottish immigrants Peter Clark and Peggy McMillan (née Fleming).[39] The Flatt and Clark families were Presbyterian.[40] In the early 1880s, George Flatt relocated his family to the town of Galt, where he worked as a labourer in local foundries.[41]

William and Jessie Aberhart had two daughters: Khona Louise (b. 1903) [James M. Cooper] and Ola Janet (1905) [Charles A. S. MacNutt], both of whom were born in Brantford, Ontario.[42]

## Early Career

By the turn of the 20th century, William Aberhart was working as a teacher at Morris Public School No. 7, located between Belgrave and Wingham, Ontario.[43] In 1901, he moved to Brantford, Ontario, having accepted a teaching position at Brantford's Central Public School where, four years later, he was promoted to the position of principal.[44] During his years at the school, Aberhart's approach to pedagogy earned him a reputation as a stern, yet effective, disciplinarian. With respect to his teaching methods in Brantford, it has been said that his classroom "operated much like an army camp."[45] Indeed, "[l]earning, as Aberhart saw it, was achieved through rote memory work and unfailing obedience to authority."[46] While in Brantford, in addition to his responsibilities at the school, Aberhart conducted Bible-study classes, served as a lay preacher and pursued his Bachelor of Arts degree through correspondence.[47] William and Jessie Aberhart lived in Brantford until 1910.

---

* Alexander Fleming (1869–1873), Peter (b. 1872), Alexander Fleming (1874), Margaret (1876) and Janet 'Jessie' (1878–1966). Anna Jackson, "Names on Gore Lots 1-7R," Archival Holdings: Lot Histories, *Puslinch Historical Society: Puslinch Research Aids*, [Internet], accessed 25 June 2006, available from http://puslinch.bravepages.com/Gore%20lots%201-7%20R.htm; Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 151, Wellington South, sub-district a-3, Puslinch Township, schedule 1, p. 10, household 46, microfilm C-13258, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1891 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 123, Waterloo South, sub-district c-2, Town of Galt, schedule 1, household 638, microfilm T-6375, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; "Geo. Flatt Almost Instantly Killed," *Galt Reporter*, 16 March 1909, p. 5.

PROSPERITY CERTIFICATE
ONE DOLLAR

In 1910, upon receiving and accepting 'an unsolicited offer' from the Calgary School Board[*] to serve as the principal of the new Mount Royal School, which was still under construction, Aberhart and his family relocated to Calgary, Alberta.[48] When the Aberharts arrived in Calgary, with the school still not complete, Aberhart served as principal first of Alexandra School and then of Victoria School, before finally assuming the position at Mount Royal School.[49] In 1915, he was appointed principal of Calgary's Crescent Heights High School, a post he retained for 20 years until his election as a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta in 1935.[50]

In Calgary, Aberhart served as a lay preacher in several local churches and once again conducted Bible-study classes.[51] This "immensely popular Bible-study program" was the precursor to the Calgary Prophetic Bible Conference, which Aberhart founded in 1918.[†52] Aberhart began ministering on the radio on October 11, 1925, when he launched his *Back to the Bible Hour* program.[53] By 1927, the Conference had grown sufficiently in influence and popularity to support the building of the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute, which was constructed for a cost of $65,000.[‡54] Aberhart was amongst the most successful of the popular lay preachers ministering to Albertans during the 1920s and 1930s.[55] Within a year of its inception, the Institute had attracted a wide audience, owing to the popularity of Aberhart's Sunday radio broadcasts.[56] "By 1930," one journalist noted, "his various broadcasts occupied 5 1/2 hours of Sunday airtime."[57] Aberhart's radio audience rapidly expanded to include listeners in Saskatchewan, Manitoba, British Columbia and the northwestern region of the United States.[58] At the height of his popularity, Aberhart's following was estimated at 300,000 listeners weekly.[59] William Aberhart had become a celebrity.

The Aberharts were a gregarious family, often taking in students of the Institute as boarders. Journalist Eva Reid, one such student, recounted the kindness she received as a lodger, and the general tenor of Aberhart family life. Forty years after her stay with the Aberharts, Reid recalled:

---

[*] Apparently, two of Aberhart's teaching colleagues, who had moved west sometime earlier, recommended him to members of the Calgary School Board. They also gave favourable reports about Calgary to Aberhart. Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 18-20.

[†] Initially, meetings of the Calgary Prophetic Bible Conference were held at Calgary's Central Library. For a time, they were held at Westbourne Baptist Church, and then at Paget Parish Hall. By 1920, the Conference was operating from the Lougheed Grand Theatre, and in 1923, it was relocated once again to the Palace Theatre on Calgary's 8th Avenue. Jennifer Bobrovitz, "Downtown Building Was Home to Bible Belt: Aberhart's School Was Also Used to Broadcast Radio Show," *Calgary Herald*, 29 November 1998, p. E7.

[‡] The building, which was located at 516–8th Avenue SW, housed the Institute until it closed in 1951. In 1974, the building was demolished, and in 1976, the Calgary Historical Society unveiled a plaque at the Institute's former site. Jennifer Bobrovitz, "Cornerstones: Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute," Local History: A Virtual Tour of Historic Calgary, *Calgary Public Library*, [Internet], accessed 25 June 2006, available from http://calgarypubliclibrary.com/calgary/historic_tours/corner/cpbinst.htm

> [Aberhart] demonstrated a great love of family and I recall his glee when he could snatch an hour or two from a busy schedule to join them in music and song. He played the piano, sometimes for guests, but in the living room he never took himself too seriously and as jokes were exchanged, his infectious laugh could be heard through the eight-room house.[60]

Aberhart's years in Brantford and his early years in Calgary were formative ones in terms of his spiritual development. During the course of his education, Aberhart's religious views were challenged by his exposure to biblical criticism and by the discovery of apparent inconsistencies within the Bible.[61] While in Brantford, however, Aberhart resolved these contradictions to his own satisfaction* and, at the same time, became absorbed with biblical prophecy.[62] Aberhart soon cultivated an uncompromising orthodoxy with respect to biblical interpretation. Wholeheartedly rejecting the implications of a theology wherein the authenticity and accuracy of the Bible could be questioned,[63] Aberhart "began to believe that the whole Bible was absolutely true from the first verse of the first Chapter of Genesis to the last verse of the last [C]hapter of Revelation."[64] Scripture, according to Aberhart, was 'inerrant and infallible,' a literal expression of divine authority.[65]

In Calgary, Aberhart was initially affiliated with churches of various denominations, namely Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist, but eventually, he "found in the Baptist practice of complete autonomy within each church the scope he needed."[66] Officially baptized in Calgary in 1920,[67] he became a self-proclaimed 'Fundamental Baptist,'[68] advocating the importance of prophecy and the supreme authority of the Bible.[69] In his early sermons, Aberhart often preached against what he perceived to be modern threats to fundamentalism, including biblical criticism, humanist social gospel ideals and the theory of evolution.[70]

Also influential in Aberhart's spiritual development was the Great Depression, which brought 'human misery and social dislocation'[71] to the Prairies during the 1930s.[72] In those times, "as bewildered as the next man by the staggering misfortune under which his society was collapsing,"[73] Aberhart sought social justice and freedom "from the dread of poverty and starvation in the midst of plenty."[74] Perhaps most significantly, Aberhart witnessed the tragic effects of the Great Depression first-hand when, in 1932, one of his students committed suicide out of despair.[75] Aberhart questioned the value of educating students who were facing such a bleak future.

---

* Aberhart's faith in biblical truth was strengthened upon adopting dispensationalist theory. According to the theology of dispensationalism, human history (past, present and future) is divided unequally into periods of time, or dispensations (usually seven). In each, man breaks a covenant made with God and consequently faces divine judgment. However, for each dispensation, "the regulations were somewhat different; therefore the key to understanding the Bible was to know which verses applied to which dispensation." This new theology allowed Aberhart to explain contradictions within the Bible as different plans for salvation applying to different dispensations. Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 9, 12.

PROSPERITY CERTIFICATE
ONE DOLLAR

## Political Career

The evolution of Aberhart's personal theology explains, in part, his ultimate acceptance of the social credit doctrine. It was in 1932 that Aberhart was first introduced to the ideas of Scottish engineer Major Clifford H. Douglas, whose theory of economics was called 'social credit.'[76] Douglas posited a world-wide conspiracy of 'Finance' or the 'Invisible Government,'[77] which, he maintained, actively resisted any threat to its 'monopoly over credit creation.'[78] Douglas believed that he had detected a fundamental flaw in the industrial-capitalist system wherein individuals' collective purchasing power could never equal the total production of goods, owing to the fact that the costs "of intermediary production were passed on to consumers in the form of prices for the articles produced but not as purchasing power through such means as wages."[*79] The world suffered, Douglas believed, from an excess of production. Capitalism had been too efficient in the production of more goods than there was money in circulation to purchase. What was needed, Douglas argued, was a concentration of purchasing power, placed in the hands of individuals and free from the interference of Finance.[80]

Aberhart was first impressed by Douglas' social credit theories upon reading Maurice Colbourne's *Unemployment or War*.[81] Soon thereafter, Aberhart came to believe that social credit held the key to releasing society from dire poverty, widespread unemployment and the social evils common to the Depression era.[82] He readily grafted social credit theories to his personal theology,[83] which resulted in a version of social credit that was unique to Aberhart and to Alberta.[†84] Many of his beliefs accorded with the basic assumptions of Douglas' social credit theory, such as the need of the individual to free himself from "the profit driven world in which [he] lived."[85] However, Aberhart's adaptation of social credit developed as a doctrine which has been described as "cruder and more forceful than the original, and always directly related to the immediate Alberta problem."[86] According to Aberhart's interpretation of social credit, as articulated in his 'Yellow Pamphlet,'[‡]

---

[*] Douglas' theory expressed this idea according to the 'A + B Theorem,' where 'A' represented earnings (salaries and dividends) and 'B' represented other production costs. 'A' + 'B' = the total cost of all goods produced. Through the theory, Douglas emphasized a shortfall in the purchasing power of consumers. C. H. Douglas, *The Douglas Manual: Being a Recension of Passages from the Works of Major C. H. Douglas Outlining Social Credit*, comp. Philip Mairet (New York: Coward McCann, 1934), pp. 68–74; Bob Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 20–22.

[†] Aberhart's version of social credit was not without its contemporary detractors. In 1933, the New Age Club of Calgary complained to Major Douglas of Aberhart's alternate interpretation of social credit ideas. One historian suggests that Aberhart began commenting upon social credit ideas in radio broadcasts before becoming fully conversant with the complexities of Douglas theories and consequently often oversimplified Douglas' ideas. John A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 76; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 41.

[‡] So named for its yellow cover, the pamphlet's official title was *The Douglas System of Economics*. Although published anonymously, it has been confirmed that Aberhart was indeed the author. *The Douglas System of Economics: 'Credit Power of Democracy'—A System for State Credit Which Will Supply Purchasing Power to the Consumer* (n.p., [193?]); Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 110; William Aberhart, *Address by William Aberhart, B.C. over CFCN*, Calgary, 4 June 1935, [Transcript], p. 2, Walter Norman Smith and Amelia Turner Smith Fonds, Glenbow Archives, Calgary, M11576/83.

the 'wondrously simple plan' of social credit was based on three principles.[87] Firstly, it was necessary to distribute a "Basic Dividend" to every eligible citizen in order to augment individual consumers' purchasing power and to "provide for [the] bare necessities of food, clothing and shelter."[88] Secondly, 'hoarding of wealth or credit' would be eliminated through the continual flow of credit through the system.[89] Thirdly, production and consumption of goods would be balanced through an 'Automatic Price Control System.'[90] The persuasiveness of Aberhart's adaptation of social credit, however, was derived largely from what he suggested it would provide in practice. The version of social credit adopted and modified by Aberhart offered dramatic economic reform and a return to prosperity despite the poverty, war and economic hardship perpetuated by "the financial exploiters of the people."[91] In practical terms, Aberhart believed that Finance would be defeated through the establishment of provincial credit houses dispensing credit in the form of what would become known as 'prosperity certificates.'[92]

In 1932, Aberhart began to incorporate social credit ideas into his weekly radio broadcasts and rapidly gathered a popular audience for these messages.[93] He also toured extensively in Alberta, speaking on the subject and training others to do likewise. From amongst his listeners, "study groups were soon formed throughout the province, and a central advisory board composed of delegates from the study groups was established."[94] Indeed, Aberhart's vision elicited a 'tremendous response' from Albertans, and thousands hastened to volunteer for the cause.[95] The volunteer study groups, which expanded with 'blurring speed' in Alberta,[96] developed into an organization that came to be known as the Social Credit League.[97] The social credit movement had begun to emerge.

At this stage, however, social credit was not a partisan political movement.[98] Nonetheless, Aberhart knew that convincing the people of Alberta of the merits of social credit would not be sufficient to bring about the reforms he advocated. Between 1932 and 1935, Aberhart hoped to convince the political establishment, namely the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) Government, to adopt social credit economic policies. To this end, "U.F.A. locals were extensively infiltrated" by Aberhart and his followers.[99] On March 1, 1934, a motion was passed in the Legislative Assembly, which called upon "Aberhart and others … to explain and give evidence" on the "Douglas System."[100] Aberhart thus became, on March 19, 1934, the first stranger* to address the Assembly when he appeared in the Chamber and provided details about social credit.[101] Many adherents to social credit believed that once the UFA Government understood that the voters were clamouring for reform, elected officials would acquiesce to public demand and implement social credit policies.[102] Initially, Aberhart merely sought to have his economic reforms incorporated into the UFA's election platform, indicating that he wished to keep social credit proposals 'distinct and separate from party politics.'[103] But the UFA's ultimate rejection of

---

* A stranger is an individual on the floor of the Chamber who is neither a Member of the Legislative Assembly nor an officer of the House. During the history of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, the opportunity for a stranger to address the Assembly has been afforded on only five occasions.

PROSPERITY CERTIFICATE
1
ONE DOLLAR

Aberhart's recommendations* at its convention in January 1935 galvanized the Social Credit League into direct political action.[104] The existing network of study groups situated throughout the province greatly facilitated the nascent movement's ability to rapidly organize into a political force prepared to contest the next provincial general election.

During this period, Aberhart's "original" social credit ideals were diluted by a "broadening out" of social and economic concerns beyond the initial emphasis on monetary and fiscal reform.[105] Social Credit was at this time a "loose coalition of study groups with little but shared grievances and a belief in Aberhart and his promises holding it together."[106] Therefore, determined to "pre-empt the possibility that infiltrators and opportunists might be selected to run in the provincial election" and in order to retain control of his movement, Aberhart arranged to make the final decisions in selecting the Social Credit candidate for each constituency.[107] In March 1935, nomination meetings were held, at which "three or four contenders for the candidacy"[108] were nominated, and from these prospective candidates, Aberhart and his advisory committee chose the individual who "would serve the best interests of the Social Credit cause."[109] Aberhart favoured educators and businessmen as candidates, and despite Social Credit's strong support from the agrarian sector, only nine of the 63 candidates finally selected were farmers.[110] This somewhat unorthodox candidate-selection process was criticized by some as being 'undemocratic.'[111]

Despite having refused to accept Aberhart's proposals in January 1935, the UFA Government acknowledged the popularity of social credit ideas in Alberta and appreciated the economic and social conditions that had won it widespread support. It also recognized the threat that the Social Credit Party posed to the continuance of its administration.[112] Demonstrating a willingness to consider social credit reforms and their suitability for the province, in March 1935, the Legislative Assembly of Alberta passed the following motion:

> Whereas there is keen interest among the people of the Province in the subject of Social Credit; and
> Whereas it is of vital importance that its possibilities as far as this Province is concerned should be thoroughly investigated; therefore be it
> Resolved … that the Government should make arrangements to engage Major Douglas to advise, firstly, to what extent his proposals are practical within the Provincial jurisdiction, and, secondly, what initial steps of any kind are best calculated to bring about the greatest amount of economic relief to the people of this Province …[113]

Accordingly, Premier Richard G. Reid (1934–1935) extended an invitation to Major Douglas to act as 'Reconstruction Economic Adviser' to the Government.[114] It has been argued that the decision to hire Douglas was the 'UFA's hoped-for *coup* against Aberhart,' since Aberhart himself had planned to hire 'experts' (including Douglas) to implement the social credit program, should his party come to power.[115] However, when a motion made by the leader of the Conservative caucus, David M. Duggan, was carried, the Government also invited Aberhart to submit a social credit plan for the consideration of the Legislative Assembly.[116] Although Aberhart did not reply immediately, he ultimately rejected the invitation, having decided that it was 'a political trick.'[117]

---

* Many members of the UFA, in fact, had advocated Douglas' social credit theories for a number of years prior to 1935. The UFA newspaper had responded favourably to many of Douglas' pamphlets and ideas throughout the 1920s and 1930s. What the UFA rejected at this time was not social credit *per se*, but Aberhart's version of social credit theory. C. B. MacPherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 144, 144–147, 151.

Throughout March and April, Aberhart's version of social credit was denounced, not only by UFA caucus members, but also by economists whose expert opinions on the viability of social credit proposals for Alberta had been actively sought.[118] Perhaps not surprisingly, the Government declined to alter its economic policies, recognizing the unconstitutionality of provincially mandated monetary reform and publishing information that contradicted Aberhart's theories.[119]

Nonetheless, Aberhart's newly formed Social Credit Party gained popularity, and its campaign gathered momentum. Many factors combined to make Alberta "a fertile environment for the growth of a Social Credit movement,"[120] the most obvious of which was the economic and social destitution created on the Prairies by the Great Depression. Alberta's farmers were particularly vulnerable to hardship and bankruptcy, being compelled to contend with drought, high debt, low crop prices and complex market conditions, all of which were beyond their control.[121] Albertans coped as well as they could. As one historian remarked:

> People survived but for many the depression was a period of bitter frustration, of degradation, made more human only by the comradeship and sympathy of others who shared the same problems, the same resentments and the same faith that somehow the depression would end.[122]

The effects of the Great Depression on the populace were not only economic but also psychological, and "few emerged unscathed either financially or personally from the whirlwind of crisis."[123] Many were desperate to find employment as much "to preserve even a vestige of personal self-worth" as to "put food on the table."[124]

Another factor in the growth of Social Credit's popularity was Albertans' dissatisfaction with the federal and provincial governments because of their apparent inability to relieve the harsh and humiliating effects of a collapsed economy.[125] Albertans were frustrated by "the failure of their honest toil to reap its just reward,"[126] by the depth of the economic crisis and by what was perceived as an absence of equitable and effective federal relief from the Great Depression's devastating social effects.*[127] The Dominion Government under Prime Minister Richard B. Bennett (1930–1935) had initially favoured relief through a public works program, which

---

* One historian states that the 1932 federal relief funds authorized by Prime Minister Richard B. Bennett amounted to $20 million. However, as it was widely assumed amongst government leaders and economists that the effects of the Great Depression would be short-lived, many looked upon relief as a temporary measure. The Dominion Government counselled Canadians to be patient while the Bennett Government's trade tariff increases, designed to support Canadian producers, took effect. H. Blair Neatby, *The Politics of Chaos: Canada in the Thirties* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), pp. 57–62.

PROSPERITY CERTIFICATE
ONE DOLLAR

promised much needed psychological as well as economic assistance to Canada's unemployed.*[128] But in abandoning 'relief work for direct relief,' Bennett's administration was seen by many to be contributing to the degrading effects of the Great Depression.[129] Seeking solutions to the drastic situation in which they found themselves, Albertans were receptive to change, and "political radicals made deep inroads into the consciousness of many men and women."[130] It was an era largely supportive of calls for the redistribution of wealth and a renewed commitment to address the issue of poverty.†[131] Social credit offered seemingly simple, plausible solutions to perplexing and far-reaching problems. Social credit policies, promised Aberhart, would help Albertans overcome adversity and restore their lives, families and homes.[132]

An equally, if not more, influential factor in the rise of the Social Credit Party was Aberhart himself. Significantly, Aberhart had already established, through his broadcasts, a vast and devoted audience. Given his popularity as a radio evangelist, he was able, by incorporating novel proposals for economic reform into his sermons, to captivate thousands and persuade them of the merits of social credit ideas.[133] While radio was perhaps the most powerful medium employed by Aberhart to relay his ideas, he also toured the province, speaking publicly in many Alberta communities. For example, the *Alberta Social Credit Chronicle* reported that at a gathering in Camrose more than 1,500 people "listened with close attention to the one man whose courageous leadership is lifting the heavy hand of despair from the people of the province."[134] Possessed of a powerful speaking voice,[135] an imposing physical presence and a gift for oratory, Aberhart 'held his audiences spellbound.'[136] As one commentator writes:

> When William Aberhart, the respected man of God, talked of inflation, his views carried authority. And when Aberhart applied his talents as teacher and preacher to presenting a simple but dogmatic exposition of Social Credit—so lucid that all could understand, so obvious that all could believe, so sincere that to doubt was almost a sin—it was then that Social Credit became a movement.[137]

His message, which offered immediate economic recovery through monetary and social reform, resonated with Albertans, who were eager to reclaim hope for the future through direct political action. People were united in a single belief that something must be done,[138] and social credit began to appear to be a panacea. Because Aberhart invoked the authority of the Bible, opposition to his social credit program "was seen as opposition to God Himself," and "economic critics found themselves cast in the role of atheists."[139] With regard to Aberhart's contribution to the rise of Social Credit in Alberta, it has been said that as "[a] man of unquestioned rectitude, with a dogmatic but shrewd mind, Aberhart was ideally suited to transform Douglas's exotic theories into a popular creed."[140]

---

* One commentator suggests that the public construction projects meant to provide meaningful work to Canada's unemployed provided a welcome and necessary means for these men to maintain their self-respect and mitigate the humiliation of being 'on the dole.' James Struthers, *No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State 1914 – 1941* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 71.

† Amongst Canada's most notable social reformers in this era was James S. Woodsworth, a founder and first leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), the forerunner to the New Democrat Party (ND). Woodsworth was a contemporary of Aberhart's and a Member of Parliament from 1921 to 1942. Kenneth McNaught, "Woodsworth, James Shaver," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 6 January 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

A final and some would say dominant factor in the success of the Social Credit movement in Alberta was the proposal of a $25 monthly dividend. Aberhart's plan called for the government to augment individuals' purchasing power. Therefore, a Social Credit Government would, Aberhart suggested, issue $25 a month to each citizen, establish a just price for goods and offer interest-free loans to producers. Such programs would be predicated upon an exhaustive review of the economy, to determine Alberta's productive capacity, and would require a full registration of citizens.[141] The dividend, which would guarantee $25 per month to each and every eligible adult citizen,* was a key element of the Social Credit Party's 1935 election campaign.[†142] The appeal of such a generous offer to people suffering from the severity of the Great Depression can hardly be overstated. For many, the fulfillment of such a pledge would bestow on them economic benefits unlike any they had ever known. Some Albertans were so convinced of Aberhart's ability to deliver on his promise of a dividend that they quit their jobs at the prospect.[143] The Social Credit Party's political opponents, meanwhile, lacking "any concrete proposals for ending the depression," stood in marked contrast to Aberhart, who emerged "both as a political leader with a precise programme and as a religiomoral leader uninterested in personal gain …"[144] Perhaps not surprisingly then, Aberhart's dividends, in addition to his commitment to establish a just price for all consumer goods, encouraged thousands of Albertans to lend Social Credit their strong support.[145]

Despite demonstrable popular support for Social Credit, as the election approached the party's 'interventionist' economic positions alarmed capitalists and labour leaders alike.[146] Both groups feared, to varying degrees, that social credit policies might curtail private investment, which was necessary for economic development and job creation. Labour leaders worried particularly about Aberhart's plans to introduce wage controls, pondering the uncertain future of unions that "were not able to negotiate the wages of their members."[147] Mainstream economists, including those of the Economic Safety League,‡ published detailed pamphlets that rejected social credit theories as

---

[*] Leading up to the August 1935 election, Aberhart indicated that the qualifications for being considered an eligible or "bona fide" citizen would "be clearly defined and rigidly enforced" and that while citizens of 21 years of age or older would receive $25 per month, individuals under the age of majority would also receive dividends, but of a lesser value. William Aberhart, *Social Credit Manual: Social Credit as Applied to the Province of Alberta: Puzzling Questions and Their Answers* (n.p.: 1935), p. 19.

[†] Although Aberhart claimed to have put forth the $25 value merely as a 'suggestion,' the public and his political adversaries seemed to regard the value as a firm election pledge. In fact, the latter used it as a means of discrediting the feasibility of Aberhart's proposed reforms. Homer H. Ramage, "Aberhart, Enigma of Alberta Politics, Imparts Religious Zeal to 'Credit-ers'," *Edmonton Journal*, 8 April 1935, p. 1; "Chaos in Social Credit Plan Says Brownlee: Plan is Legal Asserts Aberhart: Ex-Premier Sees Only Confusion in Idea of Albertan," *Edmonton Journal*, 4 April 1935, p. 1.

[‡] The Economic Safety League, formed in 1935 to challenge social credit economic theory, was an association whose membership consisted primarily of businessmen and various boards of trade. The League was chaired by Dr. William Egbert, Alberta's third Lieutenant Governor (1925–1931). Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta*, pp. 321–322; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 196; Alvin Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 35–36.

impractical and unconstitutional.[148] One member of the League—the Calgary Board of Trade—"after very prolonged and careful consideration of the arguments for and against [social credit] proposals," declared that the reforms would result in "crushing taxation" and "incredible confusion and paralysis of business," and would "isolate Alberta and render it impossible for either the farmer or the business man to buy or sell to advantage."[149] The opposition to Social Credit by business interests and economists lent credence to Aberhart's claims that orthodox financiers, in attempting to thwart the implementation of social credit ideas, were the true nemesis of economic reform.[150] A full socialist redistribution of wealth, however, was in direct contrast to Social Credit beliefs. Rather, exponents of the movement understood the importance of private ownership and commercial activity, but sought to end the "wildcat exploitation of the consumer"[151] through unjust prices that produced "exorbitant profits."[152]

The Social Credit Party's campaign proved successful, reflecting "the almost universal belief in Aberhart's integrity and ability to fulfill his campaign promises."[153] Notwithstanding early challenges to its unity and concerted efforts on the part of its critics to discredit its economic theories, the Social Credit Party prevailed in the 1935 provincial general election.

### As Premier

On August 22, 1935, the Social Credit Party won 56 out of a total of 63 seats in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta and over 54 per cent of the popular vote, supplanting the UFA Government of Premier Richard G. Reid.[*][154] Although Aberhart was the undisputed leader of the Social Credit Party, he had not stood as a candidate in the election. And while he was sworn in as President of the Executive Council on September 3, 1935,[†][155] he would not become a Member of the Legislative Assembly for another two months. On November 4, 1935, Aberhart was elected by acclamation in a by-election as the Member for the constituency of Okotoks-High River.[‡][156]

Upon assuming office, Aberhart was immediately faced with Alberta's financial realities. The Provincial Treasurer informed the Legislative Assembly that the provincial debt amounted to

---

[*] At the request of Lieutenant Governor Walsh, the outgoing administration of Richard G. Reid continued in office until Aberhart's swearing-in on September 3, 1935. "Aberhart is Ready to Take Premiership," *Globe* (Toronto), 27 August 1935, p. 1; William Aberhart, President of the Council, 3 September 1935, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; "No Pomp as Cabinet Sworn: Alberta Social Crediters Take Over Government," *Globe* (Toronto), 4 September 1935, p. 12.

[†] Aberhart was also sworn in on this date as Minister of Education, a portfolio he held until his death in 1943.

[‡] The seat was made available for Aberhart after Rev. William Morrison resigned as a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. Morrison had been elected as the Social Credit candidate in the constituency of Okotoks-High River in the 1935 election. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 178; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 217. Morrison is the shortest-serving Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta to date. He served for a total of 46 days until his resignation on October 7.

$153.9 million[*][157] and that even the timely payment of the civil service payroll was in jeopardy.[158] Forced to contend with a complex economic crisis that was more serious, perhaps, than he had expected, Aberhart struggled to reconcile social credit ideals with the Government's urgent obligations. For instance, he immediately established a conventional Cabinet, in effect ignoring the social credit stipulation that subsequent to assuming power, the administration should relinquish control "in favour of responsible experts."[159] He also realized that with the provincial treasury so depleted, the implementation of social credit reforms would have to be postponed.[160] In September 1935, Aberhart appealed to Prime Minister Richard B. Bennett for an $18.3-million federal loan, and was granted one but in the considerably more modest amount of $2.25 million.[161] One month later, Aberhart appointed financial advisor Robert J. Magor[†] to assist with the management of the province's finances.[162] The appointment complicated Aberhart's relationship both with Major Douglas and with caucus hardliners.[163]

Over the course of the first few months of Aberhart's premiership and into the spring of 1936, a group of 'disgruntled' Social Credit Private Members emerged, consisting of caucus hardliners or 'pure Douglasites.'[164] Strict followers of Major Clifford H. Douglas, these Members charged Aberhart with risking "failure for the [social credit] movement" and were "angered by Aberhart's apparent refusal to follow Douglas's advice and challenge Finance."[165] The development of this group and the emergence of its grievances during Aberhart's first Session as Premier would ultimately threaten the continuance of the Social Credit administration in Alberta.

The First Session of the Eighth Legislature, which opened on February 6, 1936, was the first Session ever in which there was a Social Credit governing caucus.[‡] The Speech from the Throne, delivered by Lieutenant Governor William L. Walsh, highlighted the novelty of, and the challenges facing, the new administration:

> The economic reconstruction, which my Government has promised to undertake, presents many problems, the solution of which involves new conceptions of human rights and social justice. The meeting of these problems fearlessly and without sectional or political prejudice offers a challenge to Canadian democracy which has attracted world-wide attention.[166]

---

[*] This amount is equivalent to almost $2.3 billion, in 2005 terms.

[†] A businessman and economist from Montreal, Magor was credited with having restored Newfoundland's financial stability, primarily through instituting cost-saving measures, when that Dominion was near bankruptcy in the early 1930s. Many Douglasites, however, "labelled him as a typical front-man for the Eastern banking interests." John J. Barr, *The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), p. 86; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 100.

[‡] The media took a strong interest in the "world's first Social Credit experiment." Frank Dolphin, *The Alberta Legislature: A Celebration* (Edmonton: Plains Publishing, 1987), p. 81. Membership in the Press Gallery Association grew quickly as reporters from around the continent and from overseas took a sudden interest in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. The Press Gallery was filled to capacity for the Speech from the Throne, not only with reporters but also with agents of banks and mortgage companies claiming to be journalists in order to secure a seat. Fred Kennedy, *Alberta Was My Beat: Memoirs of a Western Newspaperman* (Calgary: The Albertan, 1975), p. 227.

PROSPERITY CERTIFICATE
ONE DOLLAR

The Speech also addressed more specifically the issues of a province in social and financial turmoil, emphasizing, amongst other things, the need for strict economy, the improvement of public health and the development of resources, industry and private enterprise.[167] Replying to the Speech from the Throne, Liberal leader William R. Howson promised to support the implementation of social credit measures, particularly the introduction of the much-anticipated $25-monthly dividend, if the Government could carry out its policies without raising taxes or increasing the public debt.[168] Given the financial status of the province, however, the Aberhart administration would be unable to deliver the reforms quickly.

The 1936 budget was a disappointment to those expecting the immediate implementation of social credit reforms. As an austere plan to exercise financial restraint, to increase government income through new taxes and to augment expenditures for certain social services, the budget was hardly reformist.[169] The Douglasites in particular disapproved of the attempt to balance the budget, perceiving it as a refusal to defy banking interests and as evidence of Magor's influence.[170] During the First Session of the Eighth Legislature, legislation ensued that supported the budget: *The Ultimate Purchasers Tax Act* imposed a two-per-cent tax, which, it was hoped, would gross $2 million 'for the use of the Province' on all commodities purchased for any purpose other than for resale;[171] *The Retail Sales Tax Act* taxed all retailers two per cent;[172] *The Fuel Oil Tax Act* widened the definition of fuel oil and charged all purchasers, consumers and users of fuel oil a tax of seven cents a gallon;[173] and *The Social Services Tax Act* imposed an annual levy on the rateable land—that is, land that was 'liable to assessment and taxation'[174]—in all rural and urban municipalities, and was expected to generate more than $1.2 million "to cover at least a portion of the cost of social services."[175] The budget had proposed that the revenue from *The Social Services Tax Act*, in part, be made available specifically for tuberculosis patients and for Mothers' Allowances.*[176] True to its word, the Government enacted *The Tuberculosis Act*, which provided not only for the operation of the Central Alberta Sanatorium "for the reception, care and treatment of tuberculosis patients," but also ensured that treatment received at the sanatorium would be free for Alberta residents.[177] In addition, under *The Mothers Allowance Act Amendment Act, 1936*, the Province, in assuming a portion of the costs of Mothers' Allowances, lessened the financial burden borne by municipalities.[178]

In addition to levying new taxes in early 1936, the Aberhart administration attempted to address the Province's dire economic circumstances through other means. Although Aberhart had hoped to "cut relief expenditures" and to decrease the demand for relief in Alberta through the implementation of thorough economic reforms, he was compelled to provide more assistance rather than less.[179] *The Bureau of Relief and Public Welfare Act* (1936) established an agency to oversee the granting of unemployment relief to Albertans,[180] while *The Agricultural Relief Advances Act* (1936) aimed to decrease the costs to the Province of providing agricultural relief to needy farmers by limiting such relief to farmers' 'actual domestic requirements.'[181] On May 27, 1936, the Aberhart Government announced a "compulsory reduction of the interest rate on the public debt of Alberta to 2 1/2 per cent," effective June 1 of that year.[182] An Order in Council, issued on May 30, made provision for the halving of interest rates to be paid on most Alberta securities, beginning on June 1.[183] With a provincial public debt of $160 million, the measure was expected to save Alberta $3 million annually.[184] The move, however, caused the London Stock Exchange, two days later, to halt trading in Alberta bonds.[185]

---

* Mothers' Allowances were a social service, or 'public assistance' program, that allocated public monies to mothers who were also the wives of inmates of mental hospitals or widows. Representing "a significant departure from traditional poor relief practices which had existed [in Canada] from colonial times," the idea was first adopted in Alberta in 1919. Qualifying for monetary assistance were mothers who had custody of children under a certain age but were unable to provide proper care for them. Successful applicants received a weekly allowance, the value of which was determined by an inspector considering the woman's case. *The Mothers Allowance Act*, S.A. 1919, c. 6, ss. 3–5; Dennis Guest, *The Emergence of Social Security in Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), p. 63.

Under pressure from the electorate and Members of the Legislative Assembly, the Social Credit Government drafted legislation intended to facilitate the implementation of social credit reforms.[186] *The Social Credit Measures Act*, while the most explicitly 'social credit' legislation introduced by the Aberhart Government in its first Session, was essentially only enabling legislation.[187] The Act provided for the appointment of individuals to consider social credit economic reforms for Alberta but did not actually implement any social credit measures.[188] Nevertheless, Lieutenant Governor Walsh warned Aberhart that, because some of the more obscure clauses of the Act could be considered unconstitutional, he might be unable to grant Royal Assent to the Bill.[189] Ultimately, Royal Assent was granted on April 3, 1936.[190]

Faithful to its promise to introduce legislation providing for the recall of any elected Member by his or her constituents, the Assembly passed *The Legislative Assembly (Recall) Act* (1936).[191] The Act stipulated that if any petition presented to recall a Member were signed by more than 66 and two thirds per cent of the number of voters registered during the previous election, then that Member's seat would become vacant.[192] In October 1937, the legislation was revoked, effective retroactively "as if the Act … repealed had never been enacted."[193] The passage of the rescinding legislation was timely, for it occurred just as members of Aberhart's own constituency of Okotoks-High River had gathered enough signatures to fulfill the requirements of the recall petition.[194]

As Albertans grew impatient for the improved social and economic conditions that they had been promised in the months leading up to the 1935 election, the dearth of social credit legislation arising from the 1936 Spring Session was used as criticism of the Aberhart Government.[195] However, the Session included a number of legislative accomplishments in the areas of education and trade and industry. As Minister of Education, Aberhart initiated some much-needed reforms in the provincial school system.[196] For instance, *An Act to amend The School Act, 1931* reorganized rural school districts into consolidated school divisions, implementing a reform that proved to be not only a cost-saving measure but also one which increased access to education for rural students.[197] *An Act to amend The Teaching Profession Act, 1935* made it compulsory that teachers join the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA) and established the 'Teaching Profession Appeal Board' to assist teachers in cases of suspension, expulsion or other disciplinary action.[198] In effect, the legislation provided teachers with "a means of safeguarding their common interests."[199] Aberhart's Minister of Trade and Industry,

PROSPERITY CERTIF
1
ONE DOLLAR

Ernest C. Manning,* also introduced several pieces of important legislation. *The Department of Trade and Industry Act Amendment Act, 1936*, in fixing minimum and maximum prices for certain commodities, was an early attempt at implementing price controls.[200] *The Provincial Industries Development Act*, while it promoted industrial development, was also intended to erode the banking industry's hold on credit by authorizing the Government to guarantee the financial obligations of any Alberta-incorporated business.[201] Moreover, the Department of Trade and Industry sought to improve labour standards with *The Male Minimum Wage Act*[202] and *The Labour Disputes Act Amendment Act, 1936*.[203]

During this period, the Social Credit Party, plagued by contradictions and divergent visions of its purpose and platform, offered a somewhat ambiguous message.[204] It criticized businessmen and financiers and called for, amongst other things, "a yet-to-be-defined form of public control over the policy of finance and production," an end to status-quo capitalism, a rejection of socialism and the protection of private property.[205] Meanwhile, it vacillated between advocating "a reawakened democracy," wherein the electorate determined government policy, and suggesting "a form of government-by-experts that seemed to threaten British parliamentary traditions and, possibly, democracy itself."[206] During the early months of the Social Credit administration, Aberhart operated with the expectation of receiving an implementation plan from Douglas.[207] Douglas' advice, however, often seemed obscure and impractical. In one instance, he indicated: "The financial system is essentially a system of black magic, and one of the best protections against black magic is not to believe in it."[208] He provided few realistic suggestions, and those recommendations that he did offer were rejected by Aberhart as inappropriate for Alberta.[209] Relations between Douglas and Aberhart deteriorated, until in the spring of 1936, the two men broke off their association entirely, leaving Aberhart and his Cabinet to govern without Douglas' advice in social credit theory.[210] As a result, the Government sought to implement social credit through what one historian refers to as "autarchic politics and an aggressive just price, while searching for some legal formula for creating new purchasing power."[211] When a motion was passed requiring that Aberhart's and Douglas' correspondence be tabled in the Legislative Assembly, their 'disintegrating relationship' was publicly revealed.[212] The action heightened the grievances of the Douglasites within the caucus.[213]

By the end of the first Session, the electorate's confidence in the Government's ability to fulfill its pledges had weakened. During the 1935 election campaign, Aberhart had encouraged Albertans to vote for results, asserting that it was not necessary to understand social credit to vote for it. However, according to some, he had "been unable to deliver results."[214] The lack of explicitly social credit legislation, the severing of ties between Aberhart and Douglas, the continuance of the very difficult economic and social conditions and the absence of monthly dividends all contributed to an increasingly disenchanted populace. Additionally, confidence in Social Credit's financial management was severely shaken by the Government's April 1, 1936 default on bond payments.*[215]

---

* Manning succeeded Aberhart as Premier, becoming Alberta's longest-serving Premier (1943–1968) to date.

Premier W. Aberhart making a radio broadcast (ca. 1940).

In the summer of 1936, the Aberhart Government announced its intention to initiate social credit reforms during the upcoming Special Session. Two Orders in Council authorized the issuance of Alberta Prosperity Certificates in an attempt to allow the Alberta Government "to 'carry on' without having to rely on financial institutions in terms of borrowing funds.[216] The idea of prosperity certificates, or 'scrip,' was not quite social credit, yet certificates "offered the government considerable scope for furthering social-credit plans."[217] They would lead to the introduction to Albertans of provincial credit houses, home-grown instruments of credit which would be distinct from the large financial institutions.[218] On September 1, 1936, *The Prosperity Certificates Act* came into force.[219] Albertans, however, failed to support the scheme. Wholesalers, stores and even Government Ministers refused to accept prosperity certificates as payment or salaries in lieu of Bank of Canada legal tender.[220] To shore up the prosperity-certificate program, Aberhart's administration also enacted *The Alberta Credit House Act*, which authorized the issue of prosperity certificates worth up to $2 million[221] and launched an impassioned campaign encouraging Albertans to free themselves from the stranglehold of the banks. As Aberhart declared in one of his broadcasts:

> What would you have thought at the time of the great war, when many of our very best men and young boys were being sacrificed, what would you have thought if a community of people had continued regularly to send finances to the enemy's headquarters so that they could blow your people to pieces when at the same time they said they hoped for victory? Preposterous, ridiculous, yet there are still those in the province of Alberta who fail to see that we are in a real fight for liberty as far reaching as was fought in the great war ...[222]

In addition to these Acts, which "seemed to promise the fulfillment of the Social Credit mandate," the 1936 Special Session also yielded two pieces of important debt legislation that furthered "the Social Credit attack on impoverishment."[223] The first of these, *The Debt Adjustment Act, 1936*, created a Debt Adjustment Board with the authority not only to make final decisions relating to conflicts between certain debtors and creditors, but also to declare a moratorium on a particular

---

* The first ever default on bond payments by a Canadian provincial government prompted a crisis of confidence for Canadian bond holders and threatened to negatively impact Canada's international credit rating. Four years later, in the weeks leading up to the Alberta general election of March 21, 1940, the national press once again raised the spectre of repercussions to Canada's foreign credit should Albertans not reject Aberhart and his 'credit-destroying Acts.' William Marchington, "Refuses Loan to Alberta," *Globe* (Toronto), 1 April 1936, p. 1; Wellington Jeffers, "Finance at Large," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 6 March 1940, p. 18.

debt.[224] The second of these, *The Reduction and Settlement of Debts Act*, limited the payment of private debts by declaring that interest on debts incurred before July 1, 1932 was uncollectible and by stipulating that the interest rates on loans must not exceed a five-per-cent maximum.[225]

By the autumn of 1936, it was apparent that Aberhart had adopted a strategy of gradual implementation of social credit theory.[226] However, the reforms that his Government had attempted to introduce had proven unsuccessful. The prosperity certificates were abandoned, the Government's plans to establish credit houses were in abeyance, and the Government's code system, which was implemented to establish just prices, 'was unpopular.'[227] As a result, "Aberhart faced enormous pressure within the caucus and party to take a bolder, more decisive action towards implementing social credit."[228] Indeed, "[o]nly the kind of extreme, more authoritarian measures Aberhart had generally tried to avoid now seemed able to capture caucus loyalty."[229] The conflict within the caucus was prompted by the hardliners, who subscribed to Douglas' vision of immediate implementation of social credit measures regardless of provincial or federal law.[*][230] At the same time, Aberhart was pressured by a number of Cabinet Ministers, who were increasingly concerned about the growing influence within the caucus of Douglasite hardliners and their policies. Most of these Cabinet members had been "recruited by Aberhart as candidates" for the 1935 election "despite their coolness to social credit monetary theories" and instead "because they were respected citizens who would bring needed expertise to cabinet."[231] These Ministers opposed the increased influence of the hardliners and the Government's attempt, influenced by these Douglasites, to enact legislation that was beyond the jurisdictional scope of a provincial legislature.[232] By the end of 1937, four of the nine original Cabinet Ministers, John W. Hugill (Attorney General), William N. Chant (Minister of Agriculture),[†] Charles C. Ross (Minister of Lands and Mines) and Charles C. Cockroft (Provincial Treasurer), would resign their portfolios.[‡][233] Their departure from Cabinet was another indication of the rise in influence of the Douglasite faction and the decline in the Aberhart gradualist approach to social credit reform.[234]

---

[*] One of the chief proponents of immediate implementation of social credit was John G. Hargrave. Hargrave had arrived in Alberta from England at the end of 1936 and joined a government committee struck to identify a plan for the full implementation of social credit. Under Hargrave's influence, the committee issued an 11-point plan calling for radical monetary reforms, including credit houses and the issuance of Alberta money, which infringed on federal constitutional powers. Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 251–255; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 139.

[†] Significantly, Aberhart had requested Chant's resignation in the interests of achieving what he described as "more aggressiveness and higher efficiency in the Department of Agriculture." On May 1, 1937, Lieutenant Governor Bowen was called upon to sign an Order in Council regarding the retirement of Chant, whose removal from office constituted the second occasion in Alberta's history on which a Cabinet Minister had been removed from office by a Lieutenant Governor. Charles W. Cross was "retired from the Office of Attorney General" on August 23, 1918, through an Order in Council signed by Lieutenant Governor Robert G. Brett (1915–1925). "Minister is Ousted in Alberta," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 3 May 1937, p. 1; "Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 33, no. 9, 15 May 1937, pp. 422–423; O.C. 1154/18, Alberta.

[‡] In addition to resigning from Cabinet, John W. Hugill, Member for Calgary, and William N. Chant, Member for Camrose, joined the Opposition as Independents in September 1937, making this the first time in the history of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta in which "the act of members 'crossing the floor' was witnessed. On previous occasions, members asked for their seats to be moved and merely occupied their new seats at the next sitting, without any ceremony in connection." "History is Made as Floor Crossed," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 September 1937, p. 3.

In February 1937, both *The Provincial Securities Interest Act* and *The Reduction and Settlement of Debts Act* were ruled *ultra vires* by the Supreme Court of Alberta, deepening the crisis within the governing caucus. Many Social Credit Private Members regarded the ruling as a signal that "the time for radical action had arrived," while Aberhart "still talked of measured, incremental change to establish a solid foundation for the eventual erection of a full-scale social-credit economy."[235] The Sessions of 1937 would bring the conflict to a climax, as much of the significant social credit legislation produced during this period was likewise ruled unconstitutional.

The 1937 Spring Session yielded legislation once again aimed at the reduction and management of private and public debt. This legislation constituted, in part, the Government's response to the *ultra vires* rulings of February of that year.[236] These enactments included: *The Debt Adjustment Act, 1937*, which prohibited the collection of some debts incurred before July 1, 1936 without a permit from the Debt Adjustment Board; *The Provincially Guaranteed Securities Proceedings Act*, which prevented the collection of provincially guaranteed debts without the consent of the Lieutenant Governor in Council; *The Provincial Guaranteed Securities Interest Act* and *The Provincial Securities Interest Act, 1937*, both of which halved interest rates on provincially guaranteed debts with an original rate of four per cent or higher; and *The Postponement of Debts Act*, which granted the Lieutenant Governor in Council the power to declare a postponement of payments on certain debts.[237] The debt legislation further alienated the Douglasites because they believed that it was not in line with Douglas' version of social credit. This, coupled with Aberhart's admission, in February 1937, that he would be unable to introduce dividends within his first 18 months of office as promised, made Aberhart all the more vulnerable to a revolt of these disgruntled Private Members within the governing caucus.[238]

In April 1937, under considerable pressure from the Douglasites, the Aberhart Government enacted *The Alberta Social Credit Act*, which established an unprecedented parliamentary structure—the Social Credit Board—and empowered it, amongst other things, to appoint social credit experts, to consider and recommend social credit legislation and, in effect, to direct the implementation of a full social credit program within Alberta.[239] The Board essentially usurped the power that constitutionally rests with the provincial Cabinet, responsibility for the implementation of social credit having been reassigned from this traditional parliamentary body to a panel of experts.[240] According to the Act, the Board, which comprised five Members appointed by the Legislative Assembly, was responsible for the appointment of members to the Provincial Credit Commission. The Commission's purpose was to set the value of Alberta credit with a view to issuing the long-awaited monthly dividend.[241] The Commission, in turn, acted with the approval of the Board and made recommendations to the Board related to social credit measures.[242] A degree of cooperation within the Social Credit caucus was re-established with the enactment of *The Alberta Social Credit Act*, although the newfound accord came at the expense of Aberhart's direct control over the Government's legislative program.[243] Unlike earlier social credit legislation, the Act provided for an approach less consistent with Aberhart's gradualist policies than with Douglas' imperatives, the most important of which was the establishment of the Social Credit Board.[244]

PROSPERITY CERTIFIC
1
ONE DOLLAR

In the late spring of 1937, G. L. MacLachlan, the chair of the newly established Social Credit Board, travelled to England with the purpose of returning with Major Douglas, who, it was hoped, would act as adviser to the Social Credit Board and Provincial Credit Commission.[245] Douglas declined, preferring instead to send two advisers, George F. Powell and L. Denis Byrne, who would direct efforts to establish a social credit economic system according to Douglas' instructions.[246] Powell and Byrne's arrival had an immediate impact upon the Social Credit Party. As one historian wrote:

> Alberta Social Credit was ready for Douglas's message. … Byrne and Powell's hyped-up rhetoric equating Social Credit's struggle to war recaptured the urgency and revolutionary purpose of the early movement and electrified the backbenchers. Finally, they thought, Social Credit was about to get down to the business for which it had been elected; it was about to revolutionize not only Alberta, but the world.[247]

Under Powell and Byrne's tutelage, the Social Credit Government deliberately drew the Dominion Government into the conflict. By provoking federal action against provincial bills, Finance, which Douglas believed was allied with the federal government, would be exposed.[248]

Legislation introduced during the Fourth Session of the Eighth Legislature—a Special (four-day) Session, in August 1937—reflected the influence of Douglas, Powell and Byrne and the Social Credit Board on the Government of Alberta and proved satisfactory to the more radical element of the Social Credit caucus.[249] *The Judicature Act Amendment Act, 1937* prohibited any court action over the constitutionality of any act of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta without the permission of the Lieutenant Governor in Council.[250] *The Credit of Alberta Regulation Act*, which was "intended to provide the government with the means to compel obedience from banks," demanded that all banks and bank employees obtain a provincial licence and submit to the directorship of a Social Credit Board appointee.[251] *The Bank Employees Civil Rights Act* removed any unlicensed bank employee's right to access Alberta's courts.[252] Despite a warning voiced by Attorney General John W. Hugill that these three Bills were unconstitutional, Lieutenant Governor John C. Bowen granted them Royal Assent.[253] Perhaps not surprisingly, the Acts brought Aberhart into conflict with the Dominion Government. With respect to this legislative program, one academic commented:

> This was certainly legislation which not only pressed the theory of provincial rights to its utmost extremity but challenged the Dominion to interfere with the programme of a provincial government aggressively attempting to modify fundamental national policy. By it the Government of Alberta stood committed to a rejection of the financial system of Canada and of the basic assumptions of national unity.[254]

Having decided to submit the legislation to the Supreme Court in order to assess its validity, Prime Minister King requested that Aberhart delay its enforcement, but Aberhart refused.[255] Consequently, on August 17, 1937, the Governor General in Council disallowed all three Acts.[256] Less than a month later and following the resignation of John Hugill from the provincial Cabinet, on September 15, 1937, Aberhart assumed the portfolio of Attorney General, a position he held until 1943.[257]

Other legislation enacted in 1937 that challenged federal jurisdiction was: *The Licensing of Trades and Businesses Act, 1937*[258] and *The Credit of Alberta Regulation Act, 1937*.[259] Both met with vehement opposition from Alberta business organizations, which renewed their attacks upon the Government's 'weapon[s] of tyranny and oppression.'[260] Moreover, the Government sought to control Alberta's press through the *Accurate News and Information Act*, which required, amongst other things, journalists to disclose sources and a guarantee of print space for the Chair of the Social Credit Board to make rebuttal statements to articles published.[261] On October 5, 1937, Lieutenant Governor John C. Bowen reserved Royal Assent on all three Acts pending the Governor General's instructions.[262] On November 2, the Governor General in Council referred the disputed legislation to the Supreme Court of Canada to determine its constitutionality. On March 4, 1938, the Supreme Court ruled the Acts *ultra vires* and upheld the constitutional right of the Governor General in Council to set aside provincial statutes and the rights of provincial Lieutenant Governors to reserve Royal Assent.[263] For its part in leading Alberta newspapers in opposition to the *Accurate News and Information Act*, the *Edmonton Journal* was awarded a special Pulitzer Prize on May 2, 1938.*[264]

Eventually, the extremism of Douglas' ideas coupled with the unconstitutionality of the legislation that he advocated would erode support for the Douglas approach to social credit. As Douglas' influence had gained ascendancy within the Social Credit Party so too did various views regarding financial conspiracies, correctly labelled as anti-Semitic[265] and extremist, culminating in the circulation of highly polemical and libellous political materials.†[266] Such ideas were rejected by Premier Aberhart, who publicly denounced the anti-Semitism associated with the Douglas position.‡[267]

By 1938, Aberhart was able to reassert his plan for gradual economic reform. The legislative program for that year was indicative of a newly achieved compromise between Aberhart's agenda and that of the Douglasites.[268] It was in 1938 that the Government outlined its Interim Program for the implementation of social credit economics, a program whereby the people of Alberta would, Aberhart maintained, establish the pace of progress.[269] In emancipating Albertans from

---

* The *Edmonton Journal* was presented with a bronze plaque by the Pulitzer Prize Board, on May 2, 1938, "for its leadership in the defence of the freedom of the press in the province of Alberta," and five other dailies, including the *Calgary Herald*, *Calgary Albertan*, *Edmonton Bulletin*, *Lethbridge Herald* and *Medicine Hat News*, and 90 weeklies all received engraved certificates. "Edmonton Journal Winner Special Pulitzer Award," *Edmonton Journal*, 2 May 1938, p. 1.

† As one historian points out, the most famous example of such attacks against those seen to be aligned with Finance was the *Bankers' Toadies* pamphlet of 1938, believed to have been written by George Powell and John Unwin. Considered seditious, the pamphlet called for the 'extermination' of those seen to be allied with banking institutions. The pamphlet's publication included names of prominent bankers and resulted in Powell and Unwin's being found guilty of defamatory libel and sentenced to prison terms of six months for Powell and three months for Unwin. Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 170–171.

‡ Aberhart's own writing confirms his respect for Jewish history and practice. In sending Rosh Hashanah (New Year) greetings to the Alberta Jewish Community for the Hebrew year 5697 (beginning in the fall of 1936), Aberhart wrote: "This event … reminds us of the lasting gifts which Jewish civilization has given to the world. The wisdom and understanding of the great Jewish leaders whose experiences are recorded in the Old Testament have been a constant source of guidance and inspiration throughout the centuries down to modern times." William Aberhart, *Aberhart: Outpourings and Replies*, ed. David R. Elliott (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 1991), p. 171.

PROSPERITY CERTIFIC
ONE DOLLAR

supposed financial tyranny by increasing individual purchasing power through provincially created credit, and in encouraging Alberta's industrial development, the Interim Program, it was hoped, would clear the way for the full implementation of social credit policies.[270] The program would achieve this, in part, through the establishment of the Alberta Treasury Branches, which provided 'an alternate banking system' to the chartered banks.[271] Somewhat reminiscent of the Prosperity Certificate program, the Treasury Branches issued non-negotiable vouchers instead of cheques to its depositors and, in order to promote Alberta-made products, credited them with a three-per-cent bonus on the value of products that they had purchased which had been manufactured in Alberta.[272] On November 22, 1938, *The Treasury Branches Act* received Royal Assent.[273] Additionally, to foster Alberta's oil and gas industry, the Aberhart Government enacted *The Oil and Gas Resources Conservation Act*, which would, as one historian remarked, in establishing the Petroleum and Natural Gas Conservation Board, "eventually do far more to improve the economy of Alberta than Social Credit legislation could ever do."[274] Most importantly, the Interim Program "established, for the first time, a constitutionally acceptable, viable strategy of gradualism" with respect to the implementation of social credit reforms.[275]

Perhaps rather surprisingly, it was not until February 1939 that Aberhart delivered what is considered to be his maiden speech in the Legislative Assembly.[276] Provoking the belated address, which was indeed a departure "from [his] usual policy," were apparently the various criticisms levelled at his Government by both Conservative and Liberal Opposition Members during the debate on the Speech from the Throne of that month.[277] In particular, Liberal leader Edward L. Gray contended that the Speech from the Throne contained a conspicuous lack of social credit content:

> The references to Social Credit have become less and less in each [Speech from the Throne] until in this address … there is not one reference to Social Credit. … Are we to interpret this to mean that the promises on which this Government was elected in 1935 have been thrown absolutely into the discard?[278]

Aberhart's address, later published under the title 'Let's Look at the Record,' was ostensibly intended to highlight his Government's achievements.[279] Aberhart clarified his purpose with the following remarks:

> My reason for speaking on this occasion is not due to any need of defence from an attack upon the Government or its policies by the opposition. I am merely speaking to throw a little more light on the work that we have successfully accomplished in Alberta, and to indicate what may yet be expected from our policies. I am satisfied that a brief survey of these two factors will be a complete answer to the unwarranted, unproven charges and declarations of all those who have said that nothing has been, or is being done, and that the principles of Social Credit, the only remedy for the chaotic state in which we find ourselves, are being abandoned by us.[280]

Aberhart then continued by countering the allegation that in the recent Speech from the Throne there was an absence of social credit content, pointing out that the Speech had mentioned, amongst other things, the Alberta Treasury Branches, which he believed embodied the principles of social credit.[281] Later in his address, Aberhart elaborated on "the work that [was] being accomplished" by his Government in the areas of education, health, agriculture and public works and with the Interim Program.[282]

During most of the spring of 1939, Aberhart was preoccupied with the preparations for the visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, which was to take place that May and June.[283] The royal visit represented, as Aberhart emphasized, "the first time in history that any reigning British Sovereign will have set foot on Alberta soil."[284] On their national tour, the Royal Couple stopped at a number of places in Alberta, namely Medicine Hat, Calgary, Banff, Jasper and Edmonton. Aberhart awaited the event with earnest anticipation; according to the Premier, the monarchy stood for "something personally worthwhile in each of us."[285] During Their Majesties' visit to Edmonton, Aberhart hosted a banquet for the Royal Couple at the Hotel Macdonald, at the beginning of which King George escorted Mrs. Aberhart and the Premier escorted Queen Elizabeth into the dining hall.[286]

The onset of the Second World War in September 1939 compelled Aberhart to retreat from the pursuit of the social credit agenda. Because of the war effort, Aberhart was unable to divert "scarce" provincial resources—which were "needed elsewhere"—towards social credit reforms.[287] Aberhart refrained from criticizing the Dominion Government while the nation was at war in order to avoid being labelled unpatriotic.[288] In fact, during this period, the Alberta Government visibly and actively supported the war effort.[289] Furthermore, the economic impetus associated with the war effort released many Albertans from Depression-era unemployment and re-established relative prosperity.[290]

As the Second World War wore on, Aberhart fought a battle closer to home—the decline in popular support for the Social Credit Party. The April 1936 loan default, the revolt of some Private Members of the governing caucus in 1937, months of false policy starts, the move towards gradualism and the emphasis on expert rather than popular policy development had diluted Social Credit's appeal amongst voters. As the 1940 general election loomed,* Social Credit faced declining party membership and withering grassroots support.[291]

Perhaps benefiting from a reticence to replace an administration during wartime, Aberhart's Social Credit Party prevailed in the 1940 election, but it did so with a significantly reduced majority, winning 36 out of a total of 57 seats.†[292] Aberhart, who ran in the multi-Member constituency of Calgary in that election, was returned to the Legislative Assembly with strong support from his constituents.[293] In 1941, Aberhart was elected national president of the Democratic Monetary Reform Organization (DMRO), the aim of which was "to initiate and coordinate the activities of electoral organizations in the various provinces."[294] He became involved in building the organization, and linking it to the Alberta Social Credit League.[295]

---

* A week prior to the provincial general election of March 21, 1940, the *Globe and Mail* posited that Albertans would do well to restore confidence in their province in order to ensure the development of Alberta's natural resources. "Without the complete confidence of investors and business men they will get nowhere." "The Election in Alberta," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 13 March 1940, p. 6.

† In 1935, the Social Credit Party had won 56 out of a total of 63 seats with 54.3 per cent of the popular vote. In 1940, the size of the Social Credit caucus shrank by 20 and the party's share of the popular vote declined to 42.9 per cent. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 13.

PROSPERITY CERTIFIC
ONE DOLLAR

## Death

On May 23, 1943, while vacationing in Vancouver, British Columbia, William Aberhart died, after a short illness, of conditions associated with kidney failure and cirrhosis of the liver.*[296] He was 64 years of age. The funeral services were held on May 26 at Vancouver's Canadian Memorial Church, with six Alberta Cabinet Ministers, including Ernest C. Manning, serving as honourary pallbearers.†[297] Several other Members of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta served as active pallbearers.‡ Reporting on the funeral, the Social Credit publication *Today and Tomorrow* remarked:

> It was an amazing tribute to the personality of the premier that in a strange city, where his known friends were naturally few, thousands of his unknown friends turned out to pay their final respects to a great leader.[298]

On May 30, 1943, a memorial service was held for Aberhart in Edmonton at the McDougall United Church, at which Rev. Peter Dawson, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta (1937–1963), gave a reading. Lieutenant Governor John C. Bowen also attended the service.[299] William Aberhart was interred in Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Burnaby, British Columbia. Jessie Aberhart was laid to rest beside her husband following her death in Calgary, on January 13, 1966.[300]

## Fonds

Records relating to the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute are located at the Glenbow Archives in Calgary, Alberta, as are Premier Aberhart's personal papers. The Glenbow fonds also include audio recordings of Aberhart's radio broadcasts delivered between 1936 and 1940. Documents related to Aberhart's years as Premier are located at the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton.

---

* Cirrhosis, the irreversible scarring of the liver tissue, although commonly associated with alcoholism, is not exclusively caused by excessive alcohol consumption. Other causes of the condition include viral infections and inherited disorders. Aberhart was a teetotaler. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 3, 15th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2002), s.v. "cirrhosis"; Carl J. Brandt and Ove Schaffalitzky de Muckadell, "Cirrhosis of the Liver," Encyclopedia: Diseases, *NetDoctor.co.uk*, [Internet], accessed 25 June 2006, available from http://www.netdoctor.co.uk/diseases/facts/cirrhosisliver.htm

† Other honourary pallbearers were Provincial Treasurer Solon E. Low, Minister of Health Dr. Wallace W. Cross, Minister of Municipal Affairs J. Lucien P. Maynard, Minister of Lands and Mines and former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta (1936–1937) N. Eldon Tanner and Minister of Public Works William A. Fallow. "Premier Aberhart to be Buried at Coast," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 May 1943, p. 1; "Funeral of Aberhart Most Impressive Ceremony," *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 3 June 1943, p. 5.

‡ The active pallbearers were: Member for Drumheller Gordon E. Taylor; Member for Alexandra Selmer A. Berg; Member for Little Bow and Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta Peter Dawson; Member for Macleod James Hartley; Member for Rocky Mountain Alfred J. Hooke; and Member for Spirit River Henry E. DeBolt. "Funeral of Aberhart Most Impressive Ceremony," p. 5.

## Honours and Awards

Calgary's William Aberhart High School[301] and William Aberhart Park[302] are named in honour of the late Premier. In Edmonton, a long-term medical care facility, the Aberhart Centre,* is dedicated to his memory.[303] On April 20, 1954, William Aberhart was inducted posthumously as an honourary member of the Alberta Teachers Association, which established a scholarship in his honour.[304] In Seaforth, Ontario, the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario erected a plaque in honour of Premier William Aberhart at the Seaforth and District High School.[305] Former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Arthur J. Dixon (1963–1972), established the William Aberhart Historical Foundation, a charitable organization, in January 2000.[306] Aberhart Avenue is located in the Village of Heisler, Alberta, which is known as the 'Premier Village' because its streets are named in honour of former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[307]

## Tributes

Upon Aberhart's untimely death, Ernest C. Manning, the late Premier's disciple and colleague, commented:

> In a very real sense, Mr. Aberhart gave his life in the service of his fellowmen. The boundless energy with which he applied himself to his work and the unselfish zeal with which he laboured tirelessly on behalf of others took their inevitable toll on his vitality and contributed to the illness that has resulted in his death at the very height of his outstanding career.[308]

John H. Blackmore, Member of Parliament for Lethbridge (1935–1958), offered the following remarks:

> Of the leading statesmen of his time, some speak of freedom from want and fear; some promised it. He alone pointed the way by which, without loss of individual liberty, such freedom from want and fear can be attained. He lighted a light that men must not allow to be put out.[309]

J. Percy Page, Lieutenant Governor of Alberta (1959–1966), himself a former teacher, spoke of Aberhart's contributions to education in Alberta:

> As a teacher of wide experience, he knew the teachers' problems from the inside, and exercised a sympathetic attitude towards our professional aims which resulted in keeping Alberta well to the forefront in educational progress.[310]

---

* Originally called the Aberhart Memorial Sanatorium, the building's cornerstone was laid by William Aberhart's widow, Jessie. Carpenters employed by the government gave Mrs. Aberhart a fine presentation box in which to place the silver trowel and hammer she used in the dedication ceremony. Mrs. Aberhart also presided over the building's opening ceremonies in February 1952. "Provincial Carpenters Busy Completing Furniture Orders," *Within Our Borders* vol. 3, no. 17 (15 May 1951): p. 2; "Aberhart Memorial Sanatorium Ready for Patients," *Within Our Borders* vol. 4, no. 17 (15 February 1952): p. 1

PROSPERITY CERTIF
ONE DOLLAR

An editorial which appeared in an Edmonton paper perhaps comes closest to capturing the man:

> In this hour of his death, it is not important to consider the fine social legislation he gave this province. But it is important to remember that that social legislation was the product of a burning sympathy for the aged and the sick and the helpless. That will be his epitaph, whatever one may think of his politics, that he was the champion of the oppressed.[311]

## Notes

[1] William Aberhart, *Social Credit Manual: Social Credit as Applied to the Province of Alberta: Puzzling Questions and Their Answers* (n.p.: 1935), pp. 7, 57, 62–63.

[2] Wilf Bennett, "Nathan Tanner Owes a Lot to Aberhart," *Vancouver Province*, 11 March 1957, p. 6; John A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 3; "World Mourns Aberhart's Passing: Death Claims Premier in Coast Hospital," *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 27 May 1943, p. 1.

[3] "Impressive Ceremonies as Premier, Ministers Take Oath of Office," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 September 1935, p. 1; Harold J. Schultz, "Portrait of a Premier: William Aberhart," *Canadian Historical Review* vol. 45, no. 3 (September 1964): p. 199.

[4] A. Léopold Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1943 ed. (Hull: Labour Exchange, 1943), p. 368; British Columbia. Vital Statistics Agency, "Aberhart, William," 26 May 1943, no. 3678, [Death Registration], British Columbia Archives, Victoria, microfilm B13179; David R. Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* (Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1987), p. 3; Ontario Vital Statistics, "William Aberhart," County of Perth, Division of Hibbert, 22 January 1879, no. 024168, [Birth Registration]. The birth registration lists the date of birth as August 31, 1878.

[5] L. P. V. Johnson and Ola J. MacNutt, *Aberhart of Alberta* (Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art, 1970), p. 16; Hannah Miller, The 'Pepper' Family History, as of Oct. 1988, [Unpublished Manuscript], p. 39, Stratford-Perth Archives, Mitchell and Area Division, Mitchell, ON; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Aberhardt Household, 1891 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 77, Huron South, sub-district g-2, Tuckersmith Township, schedule 1, pp. 35–36, household 184, microfilm T-6345, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Aberhart Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 74, Huron South, sub-district h-1, Tuckersmith, schedule 1, p. 1, household 4, microfilm T-6474, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 31 October 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html. Several variations of the surname Aberhart have been noted; e. g., Eberhardt, Eberhart, Aberhardt and Aberheart. Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 2; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Aberheart Record, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 74, South Huron, sub-district f-1, Seaforth, schedule 1, p. 15, household 177, microfilm T-6474, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 26 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html. Louis Aberhart's given name has also been found as 'Lewis.' Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Aberhardt Household, 1891 Census of Canada.

[6] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Aberhart Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Huron Cemeteries: McKillop Twp: Maitland Methodist Cemetery (Seaforth) Con. 3 Lot 27, 1985, p. 40, A-261, Ontario Genealogical Society's Cemetery Transcriptions, Fonds F 977, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS 451, reel 101; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Aberhart, William," Huron County, Division of Seaforth, 21 July 1910, no. 015120, [Death Registration].

[7] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Aberhart Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Aberhart, William," [Death Registration].

[8] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Cristopher Heffler Record, 1861 Census of Canada, Ontario, Huron County, Ward 1, Tuckersmith Township, schedule 1, p. 5, microfilm C-1037, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Christopher Heffler Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 25, Huron South, sub-district e-3, Tuckersmith Township, schedule 1, p. 43, household 144; Ibid., schedule 3, p. 7; Ibid., schedule 4, p. 7, microfilm C-9929, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Christophe Hoeffler Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 174, Huron Centre, sub-district a-1, Tuckersmith, schedule 1, p. 13, household 50, microfilm C-13272, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; *Illustrated Historical Atlas of Huron County Ontario* (Toronto: H. Belden & Co., 1879; reprint, Belleville, ON: Mika Silk Screening, 1972), p. 47. A variation of the surname Heffler is 'Hoeffler,' as indicated on the 1881 census.

[9] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Clark Record, 1861 Census of Canada, Ontario, Huron County, Ward 1, Tuckersmith Township, schedule 1, p. 4, microfilm C-1037, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 2–3; Gwyneth J. Whilsmith, ed., *Tuckersmith Memories, 1835 – 1985* (Clinton, ON: Corporation of the Township of Tuckersmith, 1985), pp. 85–87, 172.

[10] Whilsmith, ed., *Tuckersmith Memories, 1835 – 1985,* p. 79.

[11] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Aberhart Record, 1861 Census of Canada, Ontario, Huron County, Wart 1 Tuckersmith Township, schedule 1, p. 4, microfilm C-1037, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Cristopher Heffler Record, 1861 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Christopher Heffler Household, 1871 Census of Canada, schedule 1; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Aberhart Household, 1871 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 25, Huron South, sub-district e-3, Tuckersmith Township, schedule 1, p. 33, household 110, microfilm C-9929, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Christophe Hoeffler Household, 1881 Census of Canada.

[12] Huron Cemeteries: McKillop Twp: Maitland Methodist Cemetery (Seaforth) Con. 3 Lot 27, p. 40, A-261; "Mother of Late Premier Passes," *Lethbridge Herald*, 6 March 1944, p. 7; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Aberhart Household, 1871 Census of Canada, schedule 1, p. 33, household 110; Ibid., schedule 4, p. 6.

[13] Miller, The 'Pepper' Family History, p. 5; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Aberhart Household, 1871 Census of Canada, schedule 1; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Aberhart Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; "Mother of Late Premier Passes," p. 7; Huron Cemeteries: McKillop Twp: Maitland Methodist Cemetery (Seaforth) Con. 3 Lot 27, p. 40, A-261.

[14] Miller, The 'Pepper' Family History, p. 5; United Kingdom. General Register Office, "John Pepper - Elizabeth Saunders," Watford, County of Hertford, Parish of Rickmansworth, 11 November 1838, no. 48, [Marriage Registration]; Trinity Anglican Cemetery, Blanshard Street, Mitchell, Fullerton Township, [1989], p. 2, no. 8, 7, Ontario Genealogical Society's Cemetery Transcriptions, Fonds F 977, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS 451, reel 113; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Pepper, John," Perth County, Logan, 1 February 1893, no. 014108, [Death Registration].

[15] Miller, The 'Pepper' Family History, p. 5; United Kingdom. General Register Office, "John Pepper - Elizabeth Saunders," [Marriage Registration].

[16] Miller, The 'Pepper' Family History, [unpaginated]; "Mother of Late Premier Passes," p. 7.

PROSPERITY CERTIFI
ONE DOLLAR

[17] Whilsmith, ed., *Tuckersmith Memories, 1835 – 1985*, p. 234; E-mail from Michael Dawber, Manager, Cultural Branches (Clinton, Zurich), Huron County Library, Clinton, ON, 9 December 2005; "The Municipal Elections," *Clinton New Era*, 6 January 1905, p. 1; "Tuckersmith," *Clinton New Era*, 13 January 1905, p. 1; "Tuckersmith," *Clinton New Era*, 16 March 1906, p. 1; "Roger J. Pepper," [Obituary], *Clinton News-Record*, 31 October 1940, p. 4.

[18] Isabelle Campbell, *A Hibbert Review, County of Perth* (Seaforth, ON: Huron Expositor, 1953), p. 12; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 2–3.

[19] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Abarhart Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 171, Perth South, sub-district c-2, Hibbert Township, schedule 1, pp. 50–51, household 213, microfilm C-13271, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada.

[20] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 3–4.

[21] Ibid., pp. 3, 7–8; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Aberhardt Household, 1891 Census of Canada; "Mother of Late Premier Passes," p. 7.

[22] "Former Seaforth Citizen to be Premier," *Huron Expositor* (Seaforth, ON), 30 August 1935, pp. 1, 3; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 3; Johnson and MacNutt, *Aberhart of Alberta*, p. 21.

[23] "Former Seaforth Citizen to be Premier," p. 3; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 3.

[24] Alan L. Brown, "Honourable William Aberhart, 1878 – 1843," *Ontario's Historical and Heritage Plaques*, [Internet], (Toronto: 2004), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.ontarioplaques.com/Plaque_Huron03.html; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 6; "Second and First Class Certificates," *Huron Expositor* (Seaforth, ON), 27 August 1897, p. 1; "Examinations," *Huron Expositor* (Seaforth, ON), 8 January 1897, p. 1.

[25] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 6; "Examinations," p. 1.

[26] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 6, 8; "District Matters," *Huron Expositor* (Seaforth, ON), 8 October 1897, p. 8; "Former Seaforth Citizen to be Premier," p. 3; Whilsmith, ed., *Tuckersmith Memories, 1835 – 1985*, p. 261; Dean Robinson, *Seaforth: Beginnings* (Erin, ON: Boston Mills Press, 1987), p. 72.

[27] "Egmondville Notes," *Huron Expositor* (Seaforth, ON), 8 January 1897, p. 8; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 6; Johnson and MacNutt, *Aberhart of Alberta*, p. 23.

[28] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 8; Johnson and MacNutt, *Aberhart of Alberta*, p. 23.

[29] Ontario. Dept. of Education, *Report of the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario, for the Year 1901: Part 2* (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, King's Printer, 1902), p. 216; Johnson and MacNutt, *Aberhart of Alberta*, p. 23; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 9.

[30] Schultz, "Portrait of a Premier: William Aberhart," p. 2; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 16, 211, 325; Johnson and MacNutt, *Aberhart of Alberta*, pp. 28–29.

[31] "Aberhart - Flatt," [Wedding Announcement], *Galt Daily Reporter*, 30 July 1902, p. 3; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 15; Ontario Vital Statistics, "William Aberhart - Jessie Flatt," County of Waterloo, Division of Dumfries, 1903, no. 018603, [Marriage Registration]; "Aberhart's Widow Dies: Wife of Socred Founder Was Also Active Woman," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 January 1966, p. 9; Gordon Hulbert, "William Aberhart Family History: Premier of Alberta 1935–1943," Alberta's Premiers, *Alberta Family Histories Society: Genealogy and Family History*, [Internet], (Calgary: Alberta Family Histories Society, 2002), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.afhs.ab.ca/data/premier/wa_famhist.html. In Scottish naming traditions, 'Jessie' is a diminutive of Janet. Mrs. William Aberhart was christened Janet in 1878. Ontario Vital Statistics, "Janet Flatt," Ontario, County of Wellington, Division of Puslinch, 18 June 1878, no. 034624, [Birth Registration]. Janet was enumerated as 'Jessie' on the 1881 Census and 1901 Census returns, and as 'Janet' in 1891. Jessie is the name on her marriage registration, and the Aberharts' daughter Ola MacNutt refers to her as 'Jessie' throughout her book, *Aberhart of Alberta*. Janet's middle name is listed as 'Mary' and 'Marie.' Hulbert, "William Aberhart Family History: Premier of Alberta 1935–1943," [Internet]; British Columbia. Vital Statistics Agency, "Aberhart, William," [Death Registration].

[32] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Janet Flatt," [Birth Registration]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 122, Waterloo South, sub-district b-2, Dumphries North, schedule 1, p. 7, household 64, microfilm T-6502, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 26 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; Fax from Danny Steele, Forest Lawn Memorial Park, 8 March 2002; "Aberhart's Widow Dies," p. 9.

[33] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 151, Wellington South, sub-district a-3, Puslinch Township, schedule 1, p. 10, household 46, microfilm C-13258, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Janet Flatt," [Birth Registration]; "Geo. Flatt Almost Instantly Killed," *Galt Reporter*, 16 March 1909, p. 5; *Illustrated Atlas of the County of Waterloo, County of Waterloo Directory, and Illustrated Atlas of the County of Wellington* (Toronto: H. Parsell & Co, Armstrong & Co, Walker & Miles, 1881; reprint, Port Elgin, ON: Ross Cumming, 1972), p. 84.

[34] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Geo N. Flatt - Rebecca Johnston," County of Waterloo, Division of Galt, 1897, no. 014552, [Marriage Registration]; "Geo. Flatt Almost Instantly Killed," p. 1.

[35] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1881 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1891 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 123, Waterloo South, sub-district c-2, Town of Galt, schedule 1, household 638, microfilm T-6375, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Flatt, Janet Clark," Waterloo County, Division of Galt, 29 September 1894, no. 017773, [Death Registration].

[36] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Geo N. Flatt - Rebecca Johnston," [Marriage Registration].

[37] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[38] "Geo. Flatt Almost Instantly Killed," p. 5; "Flatt, William, Wentworth, Flamboro East," *In Search of Your Past: The Canadian County Atlas Digital Project*, [Internet], (McGill University, 2001), accessed 31 July 2006, available from http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/CountyAtlas/showrecord.php?PersonID=52535

[39] Anna Jackson, "Names Gore Lots 1-7R," Archival Holdings: Lot Histories, *Puslinch Historical Society: Puslinch Research Aids*, [Internet], accessed 31 July 2006, available from http://puslinch.bravepages.com/Gore%20lots%201-7%20R.htm; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1891 Census of Canada; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Flatt, Janet Clark," [Death Registration].

PROSPERITY CERTIFICATE
ONE DOLLAR

[40] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Peter Clark Household, 1851 Census of Canada, Canada West, district no. 39, Wellington County, Puslinch Township no. 367, schedule A, p. 20, microfilm C-11756, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1881 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1891 Census of Canada; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Flatt, Janet Clark," [Death Registration].

[41] "Geo. Flatt Almost Instantly Killed," p. 1; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Flatt Household, 1891 Census of Canada.

[42] Hulbert, "William Aberhart Family History: Premier of Alberta 1935–1943," [Internet]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Ola Janet Aberhart," County of Brant, City of Brantford, 30 September 1905, no. 013960, p. 461–462, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, microfilm MS929_172, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 7 February 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com

[43] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 9.

[44] Ibid., pp. 11, 15.

[45] Ibid., p. 15.

[46] Walter D. Young, *Democracy and Discontent: Progressivism, Socialism and Social Credit in the Canadian West*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978), p. 86.

[47] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 15–17; Schultz, "Portrait of a Premier: William Aberhart," p. 186.

[48] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 20, 18–20, 23.

[49] Ibid., pp. 18–20, 23–26.

[50] Jennifer Bobrovitz, "Cornerstones: Crescent Heights High School," Local History: A Virtual Tour of Historic Calgary, *Calgary Public Library*, [Internet], accessed 31 July 2006, available from http://calgarypubliclibrary.com/calgary/historic_tours/corner/chhs.htm

[51] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 24.

[52] Lewis H. Thomas, "William Aberhart," in *William Aberhart and Social Credit in Alberta*, ed. Lewis H. Thomas, *Issues in Canadian History* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1977), p. 16; Alvin Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 29.

[53] Jennifer Bobrovitz, "Cornerstones: (Allen's) Palace Theatre," Local History: A Virtual Tour of Historic Calgary, *Calgary Public Library*, [Internet], accessed 31 July 2006, available from http://calgarypubliclibrary.com/calgary/historic_tours/corner/pt.htm

[54] David R. Elliot and Iris Miller, "Aberhart and the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute," *Prairie Forum* vol. 9, no. 1 (1984): p. 61; "Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute Fonds," *Glenbow Archives Main Catalogue,* [Fonds Level Description], [Internet], (Calgary), accessed 31 July 2006, available from http://ww2.glenbow.org/search/archivesMainSearch.aspx; Jennifer Bobrovitz, "Cornerstones: Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute," Local History: A Virtual Tour of Historic Calgary, *Calgary Public Library*, [Internet], accessed 31 July 2006, available from http://calgarypubliclibrary.com/calgary/historic_tours/corner/cpbinst.htm

[55] W. E. Mann, *Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955), pp. 122–126; C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 145.

[56] Elliot and Miller, "Aberhart and the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute," p. 62.

[57] Don Truckey, "William Aberhart: The Power and the Glory," *Herald Sunday Magazine*, 18 August 1985, p. 8.

[58] Johnson and MacNutt, *Aberhart of Alberta*, p. 64.

[59] Schultz, "Portrait of a Premier: William Aberhart," pp. 189–190.

[60] Jennifer Hamblin, "Eva Reid: Girl Reporter," *Alberta History* vol. 52, no. 4 (Autumn 2004): p. 9.

[61] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 8–9.

[62] Ibid., pp. 9, 12.

[63] Ibid., pp. 35–36.

[64] William Aberhart, *Aberhart: Outpourings and Replies*, ed. David R. Elliot (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 1991), p. 14.

[65] Ibid., p. 39; Young, *Democracy and Discontent*, p. 87.

[66] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 29, 24–29.

[67] Ibid., pp. 52–53.

[68] Schultz, "Portrait of a Premier: William Aberhart," p. 188.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Elliot and Miller, "Aberhart and the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute," pp. 61–62.

[71] Young, *Democracy and Discontent*, p. 48.

[72] Tommy Douglas, "The Highlights of the Dirty Thirties," in *The Dirty Thirties in Prairie Canada: 11th Western Canada Studies Conference*, ed. R. D. Francis and H. Ganzevoort, B.C. Geographical Series (Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1980), pp. 163–173, 163.

[73] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 105, 95.

[74] Aberhart, *Aberhart: Outpourings and Replies*, p. 67.

[75] David R. Elliot, "William Aberhart: Right or Left?" in *The Dirty Thirties in Prairie Canada: 11th Western Canada Studies Conference*, ed. R. D. Francis and H. Ganzevoort, B.C. Geographical Series (Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1980), p. 12.

[76] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 96–98, 105–107.

[77] C. H. Douglas, *Social Credit* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1933), p. 66.

[78] Bob Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 29, 24–30.

[79] Ibid., pp. 20, 20–22; Douglas, *Social Credit*, pp. 11, 18, 25.

[80] Douglas, *Social Credit*, pp. 80, 94–99.

[81] Elliot, "William Aberhart: Right or Left?" p. 13; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 44; Maurice Colbourne, *Unemployment or War* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1928).

[82] *The Douglas System of Economics: 'Credit Power for Democracy': A System for State Credit Which Will Supply Purchasing Power to the Consumer* (n.p.: [193?]), p. 8.

[83] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 42–45.

[84] Ibid., pp. 41, 45, 47.

[85] Ibid., pp. 44, 43–44.

[86] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 149.

[87] *The Douglas System of Economics*, p. 2.

PROSPERITY CERTIFICATE
ONE DOLLAR

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Carlo Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta, 1935–1971," in *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers*, ed. Carlo Caldarola (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979), p. 40; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 53–55; *The Douglas System of Economics*, pp. 1–2, 8.

[92] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 55; Government of Alberta Prosperity Certificate, 5 August 1936, Lewis Evans Collection, City of Edmonton Archives, Edmonton, MS635.

[93] Elliot, "William Aberhart: Right or Left?" p. 13.

[94] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 145–146.

[95] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 77.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta*, p. 76.

[98] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 146; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 113–115, 120–121, 129.

[99] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 146–147.

[100] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 7th Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. XXXI, 1 March 1934, p. 85.

[101] "Members Get Insight into Douglas Plan," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 March 1934, p. 3.

[102] N. B. James, *The Autobiography of a Nobody* (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1947), p. 163.

[103] William Aberhart, "Will the People Know How to Vote?" *Alberta Social Credit Chronicle* (Calgary), 7 December 1934, pp. 1–2; Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 146–147.

[104] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 146–147.

[105] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 85–86.

[106] Ibid., p. 87.

[107] Ibid.; Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 147.

[108] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 147.

[109] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, p. 31; Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 147; Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta*, p. 130.

[110] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, pp. 31–32.

[111] Ibid., p. 31; "The Social Credit Convention," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 9 April 1935, p. 4.

[112] "An Indefensible Political Move," [Editorial], *Edmonton Journal*, 25 February 1935, p. 3.

[113] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 7th Legislature, 5th Session*, vol. XXXII, 5 March 1935, pp. 114–117.

[114] "Maj. Douglas Cannot Arrive until Latter Part of May," *Alberta Social Credit Chronicle* (Calgary), 15 March 1935, pp. 1, 8; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 171; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 8th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XXXIII, 6 February 1936, pp. 10–11; Ibid., 25 February 1936, p. 63.

[115] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 171, 171–173.

[116] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 8th Legislature, 1st Session*, 5 March 1935, p. 117; "Aberhart Invited by House to Map Social Credit Plan; Reid Defends Bid to Douglas," *Edmonton Journal*, 6 March 1935, p. 15.

[117] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 174; "Premier Asks Aberhart to Visit City," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 20 March 1935, p. 3.

[118] "Dire Result Feared in Aberhart's Plan," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 March 1935, p. 12; "Social Credit Plan Defects Are Outlined," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 April 1935, p. 1; "U. F. A. Member Scoffs Plan of Aberhart," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 20 March 1935, p. 9; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 187.

[119] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 187.

[120] Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 35.

[121] Carl F. Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921 – 1935," in *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers*, ed. Carlo Caldarola (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979), p. 23; Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 35; Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 144.

[122] H. Blair Neatby, *The Politics of Chaos: Canada in the Thirties* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), p. 27.

[123] R. D. Francis and H. Ganzevoort, "Introduction," in *The Dirty Thirties in Prairie Canada: 11th Western Canada Studies Conference*, ed. R. D. Francis and H. Ganzevoort, B. C. Geographical Series (Vancouver: Tantalus Research, 1980), p. 5.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 66.

[126] Young, *Democracy and Discontent*, p. 8.

[127] Neatby, *The Politics of Chaos*, pp. 22–25, 28–29, 35–36.

[128] James Struthers, *No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State 1914 – 1941* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. 71.

[129] Ibid.

[130] John J. Barr, *The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), p. 23.

[131] Young, *Democracy and Discontent*, pp. 7–8.

[132] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 66, 74.

[133] Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 37.

[134] "Camrose People Greet Social Credit Leader," *Alberta Social Credit Chronicle* (Calgary), 10 August 1934, p. 1.

[135] Neatby, *The Politics of Chaos*, p. 150.

[136] Iris Miller, "Aberhart," in *The Alberta Golden Jubilee Anthology*, ed. William G. Hardy (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1955), p. 280.

[137] Neatby, *The Politics of Chaos*, p. 152.

[138] Ibid., p. 35.

[139] Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 40.

[140] Ibid., p. 37.

[141] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 56.

PROSPERITY CERTIFICATE
ONE DOLLAR

[142] Ibid.

[143] Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 40.

[144] Ibid.

[145] Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta*, p. 6; T. C. Byrne, *Alberta's Revolutionary Leaders* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1991), pp. 109–111; Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 40.

[146] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, pp. 46, 36–37.

[147] Ibid., p. 37.

[148] *The Dangers of Douglasism: A One Night Study of the Craze Called 'National Dividends'* (Drumheller, AB: Economic Safety League, [193?]); Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta*, pp. 361–362.

[149] Economic Safety League, "Calgary Board of Trade and Social Credit," [Announcement], *Calgary Herald*, 8 August 1935, p. 3.

[150] Young, *Democracy and Discontent*, p. 89.

[151] Aberhart, *Social Credit Manual*, p. 7.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 40.

[154] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 13, 49–53.

[155] William Aberhart, President of the Council, 3 September 1935, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[156] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 178.

[157] *Budget Speech Delivered by The Hon. Chas. Cockroft, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, March 2nd, 1936, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: A. Shnitka, King's Printer, 1936), p. 7; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 100.

[158] Robert L. Ascah, *Politics and Public Debt: The Dominion, the Banks, and Alberta's Social Credit* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1999), p. 61; "Alberta Treasury Is Almost Empty; Finances Probed," *Globe* (Toronto), 2 September 1935, p. 1.

[159] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 163, 165; Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 41.

[160] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 208.

[161] William Marchington, "Mr. Aberhart Comes Asking $18,300,000," *Globe* (Toronto), 11 September 1935, p. 1; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 207–210.

[162] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 219; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 86; Ascah, *Politics and Public Debt*, p. 61.

[163] Byrne, *Alberta's Revolutionary Leaders,* pp. 114–115; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 114–115.

[164] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 115.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 8th Legislature, 1st Session*, 6 February 1936, p. 10.

[167] Ibid., pp. 9–12.

[168] "Howson Challenges Premier Aberhart to Fulfill Pledge," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 8 February 1936, p. 1.

[169] *Budget Speech, 1936*; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 91; Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 41.

[170] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 115.

[171] *The Ultimate Purchasers Tax Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 7, ss.1, 3(1), 3(3); *Budget Speech, 1936*, p. 10.

[172] *The Retail Sales Tax Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 8, ss. 1, 3.

[173] *The Fuel Oil Tax Act, 1936*, S.A. 1936, c. 9, ss. 1–2, 4(1–2); *Budget Speech, 1936*, p. 10.

[174] *The Social Services Tax Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 12, s. 2.

[175] *Budget Speech, 1936*, p. 9; *The Social Services Tax Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 12, ss. 1, 3–5.

[176] *Budget Speech, 1936*, p. 9.

[177] *The Tuberculosis Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 50, ss. 1, 3–4.

[178] *The Mothers Allowance Act Amendment Act, 1936*, S.A. 1936, c. 38, ss. 1, 7; *Budget Speech, 1936*, p. 9.

[179] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, p. 54.

[180] *The Bureau of Relief and Public Welfare Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 34, ss. 1, 3, 8.

[181] *Budget Speech, 1936*, pp. 11, 11–12; *The Agricultural Relief Advances Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 33, ss. 1, 3, 11, 19, 21.

[182] "Alberta Forces Cut in Debt Rate," *Globe* (Toronto), 28 May 1936, p. 1; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 95.

[183] "O.C. 734-36," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 32, no. 10, 15 June 1936, p. 391.

[184] "Alberta Forces Cut," p. 1.

[185] "Aberhart Regrets London Action," *Globe* (Toronto), 4 June 1936, p. 1; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 95.

[186] Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 41.

[187] *An Act respecting Social Credit Measures*, S.A. 1936, c. 5; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 91.

[188] *An Act respecting Social Credit Measures*, S.A. 1936, c. 5, s. 3; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 91.

[189] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 236.

[190] *An Act respecting Social Credit Measures*, S.A. 1936, c. 5.

[191] *The Legislative Assembly (Recall) Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 82; Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 153.

[192] *The Legislative Assembly (Recall) Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 82, ss. 6, 4.

[193] *The Legislative Assembly (Recall) Act Repeal Act*, S.A. 1937 (3rd Sess.), c. 7.

[194] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 153; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 273.

[195] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 93; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 114–115.

[196] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 235.

[197] *The School Act, 1931, Amendment Act, 1936*, S.A. 1936, c. 85, s. 16; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 235.

[198] *The Teaching Profession Act, 1935, Amendment Act, 1936*, S.A. 1936, c. 88, ss. 3(a), 6; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 235.

[199] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 235.

[200] *The Department of Trade and Industry Act Amendment Act, 1936*, S.A. 1936, c. 66, s. 2; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 235.

[201] *The Provincial Industries Development Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 71, s. 4.

[202] *The Male Minimum Wage Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 76.

PROSPERITY CERTIFICAT
ONE DOLLAR

[203] *The Labour Disputes Act Amendment Act, 1936*, S.A. 1936, c. 78.

[204] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 97.

[205] Ibid.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Ibid., pp. 98–100.

[208] C. H. Douglas, *The Alberta Experiment: An Interim Survey* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1937), p. 95.

[209] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 113–114.

[210] "Aberhart's System is Not Feasible, Says Major Douglas," *Globe* (Toronto), 10 June 1935, p. 10; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 114, 117; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 235.

[211] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 117.

[212] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 234–235; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 8th Legislature, 1st Session*, 26 March 1936, p. 125.

[213] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 114–115.

[214] Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 94–95.

[215] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 116; William Marchington, "Refuses Loan to Alberta," *Globe* (Toronto), 1 April 1936, p. 1; William Marchington, "Dunning Invites Aberhart Parley," *Globe* (Toronto), 2 April 1935, p. 1; "Alberta Pays Interest Only on Securities," *Globe* (Toronto), 2 April 1935, p. 1.

[216] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 124; "O.C. 815/36 (The Social Credit Measures Act)," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 32, no. 12, 30 June 1936, p. 436; "O.C. 1085/36 (The Social Credit Measures Act)," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 32, no. 14, 31 July 1936, p. 775.

[217] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 124.

[218] Ibid.

[219] *The Prosperity Certificates Act*, S.A. 1936 (2nd Sess.), c. 4.

[220] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 124–125; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 96.

[221] *The Alberta Credit House Act*, S.A. 1936 (2nd Sess.), c. 1; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 127.

[222] As quoted in Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 129.

[223] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 97.

[224] *The Debt Adjustment Act, 1936*, S.A. 1936 (2nd Sess.), c. 3, ss. 3, 8, 20.

[225] *The Reduction and Settlement of Debts Act*, S.A. 1936 (2nd Sess.), c. 2, ss. 3–4.

[226] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 133.

[227] Ibid., pp. 138–139.

[228] Ibid., p. 138.

[229] Ibid., p. 140.

[230] Ibid., pp. 135, 139–140.

[231] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, pp. 61–62.

[232] Ibid.

[233] Ibid.

[234] Ibid., pp. 61–63.

[235] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 142–143.

[236] Ibid., p. 144.

[237] *The Debt Adjustment Act, 1937*, S.A. 1937, c. 9, s. 8; *The Provincially Guaranteed Securities Proceedings Act*, S.A. 1937, c. 11, s. 3; *The Provincially Guaranteed Securities Interest Act*, S.A. 1937, c. 12, s. 3; *The Provincial Securities Interest Act, 1937*, S.A. 1937, c. 13, s. 3; *The Postponement of Debts Act*, S.A. 1937, c. 30, ss. 2, 5.

[238] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 144–145.

[239] *The Alberta Social Credit Act*, S.A. 1937, c. 10, s. 1.

[240] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 146.

[241] Ibid.; *The Alberta Social Credit Act*, S.A. 1937, c. 10, ss. 3–5.

[242] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 146.

[243] Ibid.

[244] *The Alberta Social Credit Act*, S.A. 1937, c. 10, ss. 3–6.

[245] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 175; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 150.

[246] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 150.

[247] Ibid., p. 151.

[248] Ibid., p. 165.

[249] Ibid., pp. 162–164.

[250] *The Judicature Act Amendment Act, 1937 (Second Session)*, S.A. 1937 (2nd Sess.), c. 5, s. 2.

[251] *The Credit of Alberta Regulation Act*, S.A. 1937 (2nd Sess.), c. 1, ss. 3(1-2), 4(1-3); Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 162.

[252] *The Bank Employees Civil Rights Act*, S.A. 1937 (2nd Sess.), c. 2, s. 3.

[253] Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), pp. 272–273; *The Credit of Alberta Regulation Act*, S.A. 1937 (2nd Sess.), c. 1; *The Bank Employees Civil Rights Act*, S.A. 1937 (2nd Sess.), c. 2; *The Judicature Act Amendment Act, 1937 (Second Session)*, S.A. 1937 (2nd Sess.), c. 5.

[254] J. R. Mallory, "Disallowance and the National Interest: The Alberta Social Credit Legislation of 1937," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* vol. 14, no. 3 (1948): p. 349.

[255] Ibid., pp. 349–350.

[256] *Reference re: Alberta Legislation*, [1938] S.C.R. 100, 2 D.L.R. 81.

[257] "Ministerial Appointment," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 33, no. 18, 30 September 1937, p. 954.

[258] Bill no. 35, *The Licensing of Trades and Businesses Act, 1937*, 8th Legislature, 5th Session, Alberta, 1937.

[259] Bill no. 8, *The Credit of Alberta Regulation Act, 1937*, 8th Legislature, 5th Session, Alberta, 1937 (3rd Session).

PROSPERITY CERTIFICATE
1
ONE DOLLAR

[260] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 168.

[261] Bill no. 9, *The Accurate News and Information Act*, 8th Legislature, 5th Session, Alberta, 1937 (3rd Session), ss. 4, 3(2).

[262] *Reference re: Alberta Legislation*, [1938] S.C.R. 100, 2 D.L.R. 81.

[263] Ibid.; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 277.

[264] Mitch Cooper, "Taking on 'Bible Bill' - and Winning: *Journal* Won Special Pulitizer for Fighting Aberhart's Gag Law," *Edmonton Journal*, 29 September 1999, p. F9; "Alberta Newspapers Receive Honors," *Red Deer Advocate*, 4 May 1938, p. 1; "Edmonton Journal Winner Special Pulitzer Award," *Edmonton Journal*, 2 May 1938, p. 1.

[265] Janine Stingel, *Social Discredit: Anti-Semitism, Social Credit, and the Jewish Response* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), pp. 3–4.

[266] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 184.

[267] Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta*, The Canadian Social History Series (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982), pp. 156–157.

[268] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 165–166.

[269] Ibid., pp. 180–182; "Alberta Welcomes Opening of Treasury Branches as First Move in Provincial Interim Program," *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 29 September 1938, pp. 1, 8.

[270] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 181–182.

[271] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 281.

[272] Ibid.

[273] *The Treasury Branches Act*, S.A. 1938 (2nd Sess.), c. 3.

[274] *The Oil and Gas Resources Conservation Act*, S.A. 1938 (2nd Sess.), c. 1, ss. 3–5; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 281.

[275] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 183.

[276] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 281; William Aberhart, *Let's Look at the Record: An Address Delivered by Hon. William Aberhart, B.A., Premier of Alberta during the Debate on the Speech from the Throne, Friday, February 17th, 1939 in the Legislative Assembly* (Edmonton: A. Shnitka, King's Printer, 1939).

[277] Aberhart, *Let's Look at the Record*, p. 19; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 281.

[278] "Alberta Faces Debt Problem, Says E. L. Gray," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 13 February 1939, p. 1.

[279] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 281; Aberhart, *Let's Look at the Record*, pp. 1–3.

[280] Aberhart, *Let's Look at the Record*, pp. 2–3.

[281] Ibid., pp. 10–11.

[282] Ibid., pp. 15, 15–17.

[283] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, pp. 283–284.

[284] William Aberhart, "The Royal Visit, 1939," in *William Aberhart and Social Credit in Alberta*, ed. Lewis H. Thomas, *Issues in Canadian History* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1977), p. 136.

[285] Ibid., pp. 136–137.

[286] William Lyon Mackenzie King, "The Diaries of William Lyon Mackenzie King, 1893–1950: June 2, 1939, p. 3," *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 19 February 2006, available from http://king.collectionscanada.ca/EN/default.asp; Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 284; Kenneth Munro, *The Maple Crown in Alberta: The Office of the Lieutenant-Governor, 1905–2005* (Victoria, B.C.: Trafford, 2005), p. 160.

[287] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 184.

[288] Ibid., pp. 184, 192–195.

[289] Ibid., p. 193.

[290] John Herd Thompson, *Forging the Prairie West* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 137–138.

[291] Ibid., pp. 196–197.

[292] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 13.

[293] Ibid., p. 55.

[294] Johnson and MacNutt, *Aberhart of Alberta*, p. 191.

[295] Elliott and Miller, *Bible Bill*, p. 303.

[296] British Columbia. Vital Statistics Agency, "Aberhart, William," [Death Registration]; "Premier Aberhart to be Buried at Coast," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 May 1943, p. 1.

[297] "Pay Tribute to Aberhart," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 27 May 1943, p. 2; "Premier Aberhart to be Buried at Coast," p. 1; "Funeral of Aberhart Most Impressive Ceremony," *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 3 June 1943, p. 5.

[298] "World Mourns Aberhart's Passing," p. 5.

[299] Memorial Service for the Late Premier Honourable William Aberhart, McDougall United Church, 30 May 1943, [Program], City of Edmonton Archives, Edmonton, MS652.

[300] Fax from Steele, 8 March 2002; "Aberhart's Widow Dies," p. 9.

[301] "About Abe: School Name," William Aberhart High School, *Calgary Board of Education*, [Internet], (Calgary: Calgary Board of Education, 2006), accessed 25 June 2006, available from http://schools.cbe.ab.ca/b829/ourschool/abeinformation/name.htm

[302] Paul Drohan, "Park Honouring 'Bible Bill' Long Overdue, Say Politicians," *Calgary Herald*, 26 August 1999, p. B1; "New Names for Three Parks Get Council Okay," *Calgary Herald*, 15 June 1999, p. B8.

[303] J. Ross Vant and Tony Cashman, *More Than a Hospital: University of Alberta Hospitals, 1906–1986* (Edmonton: University Hospitals Board, 1986), p. 349.

[304] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, p. 43; "History: Honorary Members," About The ATA, *The Alberta Teachers' Association*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Alberta Teachers' Association), accessed 25 June 2006, available from http://www.teachers.ab.ca/About+the+ATA/History/Honorary+Members.htm

[305] "Honourable William Aberhart 1878–1943, The," Programs: Plaques & Markers: Online Plaque Guide, *Ontario Heritage Foundation*, [Internet], (Queen's Printer for Ontario, 2004), accessed 2 August 2006, available from http://www.heritagefdn.on.ca/userfiles/HTML/nts_1_7278_1.html

[306] David Bly, "Foundation puts Bible Bill's Legacy into Perspective," *Calgary Herald*, 16 November 2001, p. B4.

[307] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; *Welcome to The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

PROSPERITY CERTIFICA
ONE DOLLAR

[308] "Pays Tribute: Manning Says Premier's Loss Is Irreparable," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 24 May 1943, p. 1.

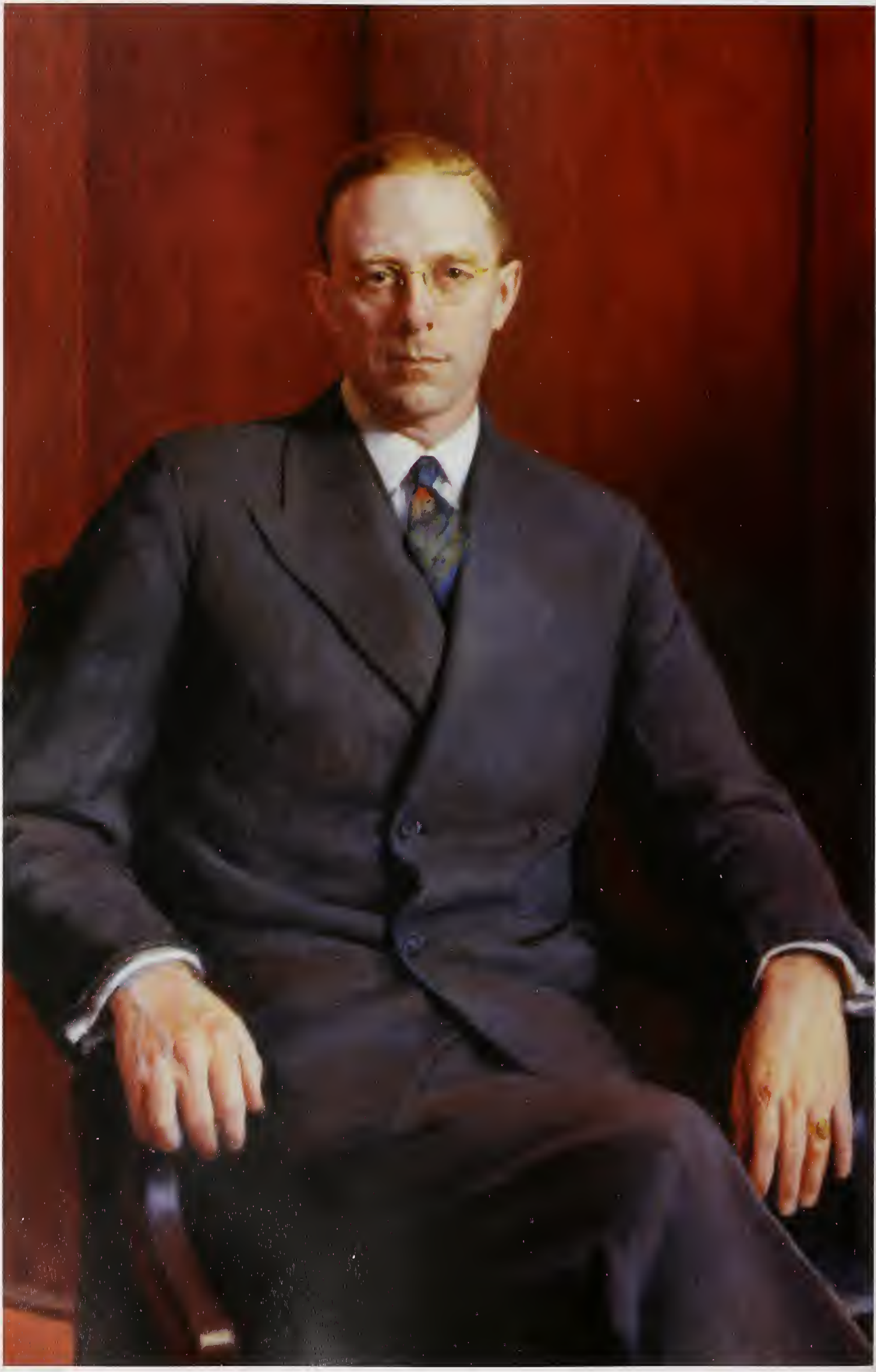
[309] "World Expresses Sorrow at Death of Wm. Aberhart," *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 27 May 1943, p. 2.

[310] "Premier Aberhart to be Buried at Coast," p. 1.

[311] "An Edmonton Bulletin Editorial: William Aberhart, The Man," *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 3 June 1943, p. 3.

*Free society should afford an opportunity to men and women to enjoy security, and at the same time, retain their individual independence and their individual responsibility*

# *Manning* 1943–1968



# ERNEST CHARLES MANNING

Alberta's eighth Premier, Ernest C. Manning, is remembered as a man with both a strong Christian faith and a firm commitment to public service. During his tenure, Manning realigned the Social Credit Party's focus from monetary reforms to more mainstream economic and social policies. Under Premier Manning, Social Credit evolved into "a conservative political party defending free market economics against socialist centralization."[1] Premier Manning's 25 years in office coincided in part with the terms of four Lieutenant Governors: John C. Bowen (1937–1950), John J. Bowlen (1950–1959), J. Percy Page (1959–1966) and J. W. Grant MacEwan (1966–1974). Ernest Manning is Alberta's longest-serving Premier to date.[*] Appointed at 34 years of age, Manning was not only the youngest individual to serve as Alberta's Premier in the 20th century, but, at the time of his appointment, was also the youngest first minister in the British Empire/Commonwealth since William Pitt the Younger.[†][2]

## Family History

Ernest Charles Manning was born on September 20, 1908, on a farm southwest of Carnduff, a small town in the southeastern corner of Saskatchewan, close to both the Manitoba and North Dakota borders.[3] Ernest was the second of the three children[‡] of English immigrants[4] George Henry Manning and Elizabeth 'Bessie' Mara Dixon.'[5] George Manning (1872–1956[6]) was born in Hadleigh, County of Suffolk, England,[7] about 25 kilometres southeast of Bury St. Edmunds. George was the youngest child in the large family[§][8] of Robert Manning (b. ca. 1830, d. 1879[9]), born in Kettlebaston, County of Suffolk, and Susannah Amos (1830–1879[10]), born in Preston,

---

[*] Premier Manning served with both John C. Bowen, the longest-serving Lieutenant Governor of Alberta, and with Peter Dawson (1937–1963), the longest-serving Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

[†] Pitt was Prime Minister of Great Britain (1783–1801, 1804–1806), and took office at the age of 24. "William Pitt 'The Younger' 1783–1801 and 1804–1806 Tory," PMs in History, *10 Downing Street,* [Internet], (Prime Minister's Office), accessed 1 July 2006, available from http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/page161.asp

[‡] William 'Bill' George (b. 1905), Ernest Charles (1908–1996) and Roy (1912). Saskatchewan. Dept. of Health. Vital Statistics, "Manning, William George," Carnduff, 7 May 1905, no. 2998, [Birth Registration Transcription], *Saskatchewan Health: Genealogy Indexes,* [Internet], accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://vsgs.health.gov.sk.ca/vsgs_srch.aspx; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Henry Manning Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Saskatchewan, district no. 211, Moose Jaw, sub-district 72, schedule 1, p. 3, household 61, microfilm T-20454, *ArchiviaNet,* [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 10 July 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html; John J. Barr, *The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 41–42; "Beloved Pioneer Passes," *Rosetown Eagle* (Rosetown, SK), 2 February, 1956, p. 8.

[§] Although a Manning biographer mentions 13 children, only five have been confirmed using the 1861–1901 Census returns and documents created by two family historians. Frank Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1997), p. 7; Steve Harvey, Descendants of Robert Manning, 19 September 2005, [Genealogy Chart], [GEDCOM file]; "Manning, Robert (1830– )," *Cosford Database Web Site for Preston St. Mary Suffolk,* [Internet], (Ray Long, 2002–2005), accessed 17 November 2005, available from http://fp.raylong.plus.com/preston/d33.html#P51441

County of Suffolk.[11] Orphaned in 1879, George was raised by his eldest brother, Amos, who was a gardener in Shimpling and later in Bury St. Edmunds, both in the County of Suffolk.[12]

Having worked as a grocer's apprentice and as a horticulturalist in Bury St. Edmunds in the 1890s,[13] George left Suffolk and made his way to London, where he had planned to enlist in the British merchant navy, but his career plans were changed when he was found to be too young to join up.[14] In 1894, encouraged by accounts of free land available in the Canadian west, George sailed for Canada, landing in Montreal, Quebec, and travelling by train to Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba.[15] By 1901, George was living about 60 kilometres north of Winnipeg in the rural municipality of Rockwood, Selkirk district, where he worked as a farm hand and began learning about Canadian farming methods.[16] George moved further west in 1902, to Carnduff, in the North-West Territories (Saskatchewan), began work on his newly acquired land and started building suitable accommodations for his future wife, who was 'his boyhood sweetheart' in England.[17]

Meanwhile, Bessie Dixon (1870–1949[18]) was residing in London, England, where she was employed in domestic service in an affluent district.[19] Born in Charlton, County of Kent, England, Bessie was the second of the six children of William Adam Dixon, a journeyman cabinetmaker, and Elizabeth 'Susan' Winch.[20] In 1891, Bessie had been working as a housemaid for a solicitor in Kensington,[21] but by 1901, she had taken a position as a housemaid in the residence of celebrated heiress and philanthropist Baroness Angela Georgina Burdett-Coutts (1814–1906),* who resided on St. George Hanover Square, in Picadilly.[22] In 1903, George wrote to Bessie asking her to join him in Canada. Leaving London, Bessie embarked on the long journey that took her to Carnduff, where, later that year, she married George in a Baptist ceremony.[23] After three disastrous crop failures due to hailstorms in the Carnduff area, the Manning family relocated to a homestead southwest of Rosetown, Saskatchewan, in 1909. George was granted title to this homestead in September 1912.[24]

## Education

Ernest Manning's early education took place in a one-room schoolhouse in the Glen Payne district, near Rosetown.[25] While still a teenager, Ernest purchased a radio—reportedly "the first radio in Rosetown"—and soon thereafter became captivated by William Aberhart's Sunday broadcasts.[26] In 1927, Ernest became one of the first applicants to Aberhart's Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute. There, he excelled in his studies and, after their completion in 1930, he became the Institute's first graduate. He was immediately employed as the Institute's secretary and joined Aberhart on his radio program as a lay preacher.[27]

---

* The Baroness was the first woman to be appointed a peeress of the realm in her own right. The title was bestowed in 1871 by Queen Victoria, who was amongst the distinguished visitors to the Baroness' home. Diana Orton, *Made of Gold: A Biography of Angela Burdett Coutts* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980), pp. 211–212, 4. The Baroness counted amongst her personal friends popular English novelist Charles Dickens. Clara Burdett Patterson, *Angela Burdett-Coutts and the Victorians*, 1st ed. (London: John Murray, 1953), p. 142.

## Political Career

While studying at the Prophetic Bible Institute, Manning pursued his call to a life of active evangelism, having encountered "religious thought … unique to [William Aberhart], but falling within … the broad outlines of fundamentalism."[28] It was a theology based on the literal interpretation of the Bible, which was, in Aberhart's view, historically accurate and an infallible guide for human conduct.[29] During his years at the Institute, Manning's religious views, in many ways, came to mirror the fundamentalist faith of Aberhart. However, he differed somewhat from his mentor in his belief that humans were "essentially alone in a struggle to achieve eternal salvation."[30] Throughout his public life, Manning believed the individual to be paramount to the state, which, he maintained, functioned chiefly to foster individualism through limited social intervention and thereby to support the individual's growth, development and spiritual redemption.[31] Manning once asserted: "It is the duty of every man to see that his principles are in accord with Christianity. If a decision is made accordingly, it is always right."[32] His convictions would earn him the respect of many Albertans as 'the Christian among the politicians.'[33]

By 1932, the Great Depression had crippled Alberta's economy resulting in widespread poverty. William Aberhart seized upon the economic theories of Major Clifford H. Douglas,* which were known as 'social credit,' as a solution to Albertans' hardships.[34] Social credit advocated radical monetary and economic reforms aimed at balancing production and consumption and the state control of credit.† Douglas proposed that every citizen receive dividends calculated on the basis of the nation's real wealth, or that price discounts on products be invoked. In addition, he declared that a just price for all goods must be established.[35]

Aberhart popularized Douglas' theories, and together with Manning, toured the province in the months leading up to the August 1935 provincial general election, coordinating political activities and selecting Social Credit candidates.*[36] Indeed, the overwhelming success of the Social Credit movement in Alberta was largely attributable to a 'masterfully conceived' election campaign, including the establishment of an extensive network of study and constituency groups, and to Aberhart's 'unquestioned' leadership.[37]

---

* Major Clifford H. Douglas (1879–1952), a reserve officer with the Royal Air Force (RAF), was a Scottish engineer who developed a theory that economic depression was the result of faulty monetary policies. He also believed that international financiers were conspiring to control the world's economy. David R. Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* (Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1987), pp. 98–100.

† Douglas believed that he had detected a fundamental flaw in the industrial-capitalist system wherein individuals' collective purchasing power could never equal the total production of goods, owing to the fact that the costs "of intermediary production were passed on to consumers in the form of prices for the articles produced but not as purchasing power through such means as wages." Douglas' theory expressed this idea according to the 'A + B Theorem,' where 'A' represented earnings (salaries and dividends) and 'B' represented other production costs. 'A' + 'B' = the total cost of all goods produced. Through the theory, Douglas emphasized a shortfall in the purchasing power of consumers. Bob Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), pp. 20, 20–22; C. H. Douglas, *Social Credit* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1933), pp. 11, 18, 25; Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 25–28; C. H. Douglas, *The Douglas Manual: Being a Recension of Passages from the Works of Major C. H. Douglas Outlining Social Credit*, ed. Philip Mairet (New York: Coward McCann, 1934), pp. 68–74.

The Social Credit League†—or Social Credit Party as it was often called—prevailed in the August 22, 1935 election, and Ernest C. Manning was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta with the greatest number of votes of the six Members representing the multi-Member constituency of Calgary.‡[38] Shortly thereafter, Premier Aberhart appointed Manning to the Cabinet as Provincial Secretary and Minister of Trade and Industry.§[39] In this capacity, Manning sponsored many important legislative enactments, including a series of laws aimed at the improvement of Alberta's labour standards. These Acts included: *The Male Minimum Wage Act* (1936);[40] *The Labour Disputes Act Amendment Act, 1936*;[41] *The Hours of Work Act* (1936);[42] and *The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act* (1938).[43] Legislation related to Alberta's industrial and business development was also introduced under Manning's auspices, including: *The Provincial Industries Development Act* (1936);[44] *The Alberta Insurance Act, 1926, Amendment Act, 1936*;[45] *The Credit Union Act* (1938);[46] and *The Vehicles and Highway Traffic Act, 1941*.[47]

Manning was of a 'problem-solving and pragmatic' disposition.[48] He was also a "conciliator" whose views "grew out of his faith."[49] As Minister of Trade and Industry, Manning earned a reputation as a 'careful, eminently fair arbitrator.'[50] Employing "tact and diplomatic skill," he met with members of the business and labour communities "to handle a wide variety of industrial grievances."[51] In late 1936, the young Minister contracted tuberculosis and spent several months at home before returning to work on restricted duty in March 1937. Manning did not fully resume his legislative responsibilities until July of that year.[52] Manning was re-elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta in the provincial general election of March 21, 1940, this time in the multi-Member constituency of Edmonton.[53]

---

* At two Social Credit conventions held in 1935, Aberhart convinced delegates to accept a relatively uncommon method of candidate selection. There was a two-level nomination process. The local constituency organization would draw up a list of three or four possible candidates. Then a committee, led by Aberhart, would interview the nominees and make the final selection of the Social Credit candidate for the constituency. Alvin Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 31; John A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 130.

† This was the name of the political arm of the populist Social Credit movement. In 1934, the numerous local Social Credit groups from across Alberta authorized the creation of an organization that could contest provincial elections, using social credit theories. While the League was ostensibly subordinate to the wider movement, under the leadership of William Aberhart and Ernest C. Manning, the Social Credit League quickly came to dominate the movement. C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 146–148, 194–196.

‡ Calgary was one of two multi-Member constituencies in Alberta in which each voter could cast as many votes as there were candidates. The other like constituency was Edmonton. Multi-Member constituencies continued until the 1959 provincial general election. *An Act to amend The Legislative Assembly Act (2)*, S.A. 1957, c. 41; "Proclamation," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 55, no. 9, 15 May 1959, p. 784. In the 1935 election, Ernest Manning received 6,087 votes, 1,029 more than the second place candidate. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 49, 8.

§ When he was appointed at the age of 26, Ernest Manning was the youngest Cabinet Minister of those serving at that time in any Government in the British Commonwealth. Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 21; "About Ernest C. Manning," *Manning Innovation Awards*, [Internet], (Calgary: Manning Awards Foundation), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.manningawards.ca/manning/manning.htm

## Marriage and Family

On April 14, 1936, Ernest Charles Manning married Muriel Aileen Preston in a ceremony at the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute in which the bride was given away by Premier William Aberhart. The Reverend Roy C. Taylor, Member of the Legislative Assembly for Pincher Creek (1935–1940),* was the presiding clergyman.[54] Many Social Credit Cabinet Ministers were amongst the invited guests at the wedding, and the event was of such "outstanding" public interest that "crowds thronged about the church awaiting the appearance of the bridal couple."[55] An elegant wedding reception, organized by the Aberharts, followed at Calgary's Palliser Hotel.[56]

Muriel Preston, born on March 30, 1911, in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan,[57] was the only child of William Preston (b. 1864[58]) and Mary Ann Hutchison (1875–1964[59]).[60] English-born William Preston was a tenor who had performed with the Trinity Church Choir of New York City[61] before relocating in 1904 to Canada, where he sang at churches in Toronto, Winnipeg and Saskatoon.[62] By 1911, he was employed as a civil servant and vocal instructor. William Preston was a member of the Church of England (Anglican).[63] Mary, born in Brock Township, North Ontario County, was the fourth of the six children of Scottish-born parents David Hutchison (1841–1911[64]), a stonemason and later a farmer, and Christina Cowley (1841–1901[65]).[66] The Hutchisons belonged to the Methodist Church, although Mary became an adherent first to the Presbyterian faith and later to the Catholic faith.[67]

When Muriel was five years old, her mother—who was by that time 'a single parent'—placed Muriel in a Catholic convent in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.[68] In 1920, Mary Preston obtained a teaching position with the Calgary School Board, and she and her daughter moved west.[69] Mary had been employed as a schoolteacher in Ontario and Saskatchewan before moving to Calgary.[70] In Calgary, Muriel attended school at the Sacred Heart Catholic Convent, where she was introduced to 'the marvellous world of music' and where she exhibited talent as a pianist.[71] Subsequently, she attended Calgary's Crescent Heights High School, where both she and her mother made the acquaintance of the school's principal, William Aberhart. Mary and Muriel began attending Westbourne Baptist Church, where Aberhart taught a Bible class, and "under the influence of [his] teaching made a personal commitment to follow Christ."[72] When Aberhart formed the Calgary

---

* Rev. Roy C. Taylor served as Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta between 1936 and 1941. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 8th Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. XXXIV, 27 August 1936, p. 26; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 9th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XLII, 6 March 1941, p. 38; "Taylor, [Rev. Roy C.]," [Obituary], *Calgary Herald*, 24 June 1963, p. 27.

Prophetic Bible Institute, he recruited 15-year-old Muriel to provide musical accompaniment for the Institute's services and for his *Back to the Bible Hour* radio broadcasts.[73] At the age of 18, Muriel received qualifications as a concert pianist from the Royal Academy of London, England.[74] Muriel's participation in the broadcasts, and her eventual promotion to the position of musical director of the Institute, brought her into a close working relationship with Ernest Manning.[75]

After their wedding and reception, the newlyweds travelled first to Vancouver with the Aberharts and then on their own to California, before taking up residence in Edmonton.[76] Ernest and Muriel Manning's two sons, William Keith (b. 1939)* and Ernest Preston (1942), were both born in Edmonton.[77] E. Preston Manning would follow his father into political life in October 1987, helping to establish and leading the Reform Party of Canada. He served as Leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Commons from 1997 to 2000.[78]

### Military Service

In August, 1940, Ernest Manning was commissioned in the 2nd Reserve Battalion, Edmonton Regiment† and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in September 1942. In July 1943, shortly after becoming Premier, Manning was promoted to the rank of captain in the Regiment.[79]

### As Premier

On May 23, 1943, Premier William Aberhart died in office. Historians have agreed that "[t]here was only one possible successor,"[80] and indeed, when the Social Credit caucus convened on May 31 for a special meeting to select a leader, Manning was the only individual nominated and was unanimously proposed to be recommended to the Lieutenant Governor to assume the premiership.[81] Later that day, Ernest C. Manning was sworn in as President of the Executive Council of Alberta by Lieutenant Governor John C. Bowen.‡[82] At the time of his appointment to the Office of Premier, Manning commented: "I feel the great responsibility which attaches to the office to which I have been called. It will be my earnest endeavor to discharge this responsibility faithfully and efficiently ever keeping in mind the good and welfare of the citizens of Alberta."[83] The Edmonton-based Social Credit organ *Today and Tomorrow* heartily endorsed the new Premier:

> Of few men in public life can it be said that they are eminently fitted to don the mantle of a great man, but in the elevation of Ernest C. Manning to the premiership of Alberta it is conceded by all that there could be no better and no more worthy successor to William Aberhart. … No man was so closely allied to our leader than Mr. Manning. No two men in public life were so closely bound in principle and personality.[84]

---

* Keith, who was afflicted with cerebral palsy from birth, died in 1986. "Manning, Muriel Aileen," [Obituary], *Edmonton Journal*, 25 April 2006, p. B7; "Political Matriarch Muriel Manning Dies at Age 95," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 April 2006, p. B5.

† This regiment was redesignated the Loyal Edmonton Regiment in July 1943. *The Loyal Edmonton Regiment: History*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Department of National Defence), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.army.dnd.ca/LOYAL_EDMONTON_REGT/history.htm

‡ During his tenure as Premier, Manning also served as Provincial Treasurer (1944–1954), Minister of Mines and Minerals (1952–1962) and Attorney General (1955–1968).

In December 1943, Manning was "unanimously elected as provincial leader of the Alberta Social Credit League with an open display of most enthusiastic support" at the Social Credit convention, held in Calgary.[85] He was now leader of both the Social Credit Government and the Social Credit Party.

The new Premier took office during a period of declining popular support for the Social Credit Government as the Great Depression gave way to the relative prosperity of 1940s.[86] By 1948, Manning had renewed Albertans' confidence in the Social Credit administration, which had previously been shaken by controversial legislation and party conflict, and had quelled party hardliners' calls for a return to Douglasite monetary reforms. As one historian contends:

> The leaders [of the Social Credit Party] were shrewd enough to see that it was impossible to make Alberta a self-contained social credit state. The tactics and programme of the first two years make plain their doubts and hestitations. But no such misgivings animated the rank and file, and the great problem for the leaders of the [Social Credit] movement was to pursue the appropriate tactics without sacrificing the enthusiastic support of the ordinary voter and member.[87]

Manning's earliest priority upon taking office was to affirm his Government's dedication to the continuance of the fundamental principles of Premier Aberhart's administration.[88] The new Premier pledged:

> The people may be assured that it will be my determined purpose to continue to fight for their social and economic security and freedom in accordance with the mandate which they gave in 1935 and renewed in 1940. The courageous battle which was waged to this end by the late Premier Aberhart will be carried on with unrelenting vigor. I know that thousands will join with me in my determination that the great work which he so well began will be carried on to a victorious conclusion.[89]

True to Manning's word, the Social Credit Government introduced legislation seeking the regulation of the province's banking industry and the protection of farmers' financial interests. Early in the Fourth Session of the Ninth Legislature, which lasted from February 10 to March 24, 1944, the Government sought federal approval for a provincial bank through *The Alberta Banking Powers Act*.[90] In addition, the Legislative Assembly passed *The Wartime Moratorium Act*, which prohibited foreclosure on farms owned by members of the armed forces on active service.[91] By May of that year, the Premier had also advocated the redistribution of 'hidden [bank] reserves' to pay for 'essential' public and social services.[92]

Manning's Government facilitated Alberta's post-war economic recovery by successfully restructuring Alberta's debt. Throughout 1944 and into 1945, Manning worked to re-establish Alberta's credit rating.* Describing his Government as "anxious" to restore "the market value of Alberta bonds,"[93] the Premier would accomplish this goal through *The Provincial Debt Reorganization Act* of 1945.[94] That year, Manning rehabilitated Alberta's standing amongst world credit and financial institutions by reaching a settlement with those Government of Alberta bondholders[95] who had suffered financial losses through the Government's loan default a decade earlier.[96] Despite a blended debt (principal and interest) of about $59 million,[97] Manning achieved a sustainable debt restructuring over 35 years at an interest rate of 3.4 per cent, which enabled Alberta to return to the "North American investment community."[98] Calling it "a practical solution to an unsatisfactory situation," Manning predicted the measures would reduce the Province's gross debt by over $15.8 million.[99] Determined to avoid future debt, Manning maintained a 'pay-as-you-go' administration from this point forward.*[100]

---

* On April 1, 1936, the Government of Alberta had defaulted on bond payments, with serious consequences to Alberta's credit rating. Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 116.

Manning's response to emerging socio-economic conditions reflected a similar pragmatism. The extensive state-sponsored post-war reconstruction programs of the day contradicted Manning's creed of individualism and personal advancement. As a consequence, Alberta's social legislation reflected Aberhart and Manning's belief in the state's duty to balance individualism and the moral imperative to act as a 'champion of the underprivileged and oppressed.'[101] In this spirit, the Government enacted *The Department of Public Welfare Act*,[102] *The Child Welfare Act*[103] and *The Maternity Hospitalization Act*[104] prior to the 1944 provincial general election. State support for those finding themselves in dire circumstances 'through no fault of [their] own'[105] was consistent with the Social Credit Government's commitment to bolster individual potential while emphasizing personal responsibility.[106]

As the 1944 election approached, the Social Credit Government placed less emphasis on monetary reform than on the immediate, practical goal of securing a third mandate. To this end, Manning positioned the Social Credit Party as the antithesis of socialism. In identifying free enterprise as the alternative to the socialist policies of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF),†[107] Manning appealed especially to members of the business community, who were persuaded to regard social credit as their 'best protection' against socialism.[108] In associating socialism with "the Banking Monopoly," Manning won the support of independent producers, who were "inclined to be equally fearful of socialism, high finance, and monopoly."[109] Free enterprise as a defence against socialism was a position supported both by Douglasite social credit theory[110] and Manning's own rejection of collectivism.[111] The roots of Manning's position stemmed from Aberhart's social credit teachings of the early 1930s regarding socialism's challenge to social credit theories and Christian faith. As Aberhart wrote:

---

* Under a pay-as-you-go approach, Government spending is limited to available, actual funds rather than anticipated revenues based on projections.

† The CCF was founded in Calgary in 1932 "as a political coalition of progressive, socialist and labour forces" and, attempting to gain power at both the federal and provincial levels, sought to introduce economic reforms to a country suffering from the effects of the Great Depression. J. T. Morley, "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada, 2004), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

> The [Douglas social credit] System provides the bare necessities of life to every bona fide citizen* of the Province, and forever frees our loyal citizens from the dread of poverty and starvation in the midst of plenty. At the same time it respects the personal rights and liberty of each individual citizen and has a definite policy for the encouragement and rewarding of his individual enterprise.[112]

Like Aberhart, Manning believed socialism elevated the state above the individual and only furthered the self-serving interests of international financiers.[113] Moreover, Manning's anti-socialist position redefined the Social Credit Government's priorities and policies as staunchly free-enterprise.[114]

On August 8, 1944, Albertans elected a majority Social Credit Government on the strength of the Manning administration's legislative record, its support for free enterprise and its denunciation of collectivism. The Party improved upon its election results of 1940,† winning 51 out of a total of 57 seats and obtaining 51.9 per cent of the popular vote.[115] The Government's victory, asserted Premier Manning, represented the "beginning of the end of the State socialism of the C.C.F. as an alternative to the old order of the past."[116]

Secure in a new mandate, Manning nonetheless faced ideological challenges as the Government continued to adopt mainstream economic policies. From within the Social Credit Party, Manning contended with calls for a return to Douglasite monetary theories;[117] from without, there persisted popular support for socialism, which had been demonstrated by the election of a CCF majority government in Saskatchewan.‡[118]

---

* Leading up to the August 1935 provincial general election, Aberhart indicated that the qualifications for being considered a "bona fide" citizen would "be clearly defined and rigidly enforced" in order to determine who would be eligible to receive a monthly dividend. William Aberhart, *Social Credit Manual: Social Credit as Applied to the Province of Alberta: Puzzling Questions and Their Answers* (n.p.: 1935), p. 19.

† In 1935, the Social Credit Party had earned 54.3 per cent of the popular vote and 56 out of a total of 63 seats. In 1940, Premier Aberhart's second term, the Social Credit caucus shrank to 36 seats out of a total of 57 seats and 42.9 per cent of the popular vote. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 13. An amendment act in 1939 had reduced the number of available seats in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta from 63 to 57. *The Legislative Assembly Act Amendment Act, 1939*, S.A. 1939, c. 94.

‡ The CCF, led by Thomas 'Tommy' C. Douglas (Premier of Saskatchewan 1944–1961), secured 53 per cent of the popular vote and 47 of Saskatchewan's 52 seats in the provincial general election, held June 15, 1944, thereby becoming the first socialist government to be elected in North America. Saskatchewan. Archives Board, *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory, 1905–2000* (Regina: Saskatchewan Archives Board, 2001), p. 2.2-1; Saskatchewan. Chief Electoral Officer, "Historical Provincial Vote Summaries," *Elections Saskatchewan*, [Internet], accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.elections.sk.ca/history.php; Julius Debuschewitz, "The CCF Became a National Movement," *Whitehorse Star*, 24 September 2004, p. 15.

As the Second World War drew to a close, the Manning Government repealed *The Post-War Reconstruction Act* of 1943[119] and re-assigned responsibility for the 'orderly economic, cultural and social development' of Alberta to the Department of Economic Affairs, with emphasis on the reintegration into society of returning military personnel.[120] Economic policy was influenced by a moral imperative to honour those who had given their lives to preserve individual freedom. As Premier Manning had stated earlier, in 1943:

Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction (Aug. 6, 1945). L to R: E.C. Manning (AB); J.W. Jones (PE); S.S. Garson (MB); A.S. MacMillan (NS); G.A. Drew (ON); Prime Minister W.L.M. King; M. Duplessis (QC); J.B. McNair (NB); J. Hart (BC); T.C. Douglas (SK). NFB. Photothèque/Library and Archives Canada (based on detail) C-026935.

> And so I give fair warning to those who still champion the old order of "poverty amidst plenty"... . My colleagues and I do not intend to stand idly by and see a repetition of pre-war conditions foisted on the men and women of our fighting forces, when they return from risking their lives that tyranny and oppression in any form may be banished from the earth.[121]

The next year, Manning upheld individual freedom as a fundamental principle of his Government's legislative program. On March 25, 1946, Premier Manning rose in the Legislative Assembly to speak in favour of Bill 76, *An Act Respecting the Rights of Alberta Citizens.*[122] One journalist reported:

> [Manning] said the [Bill] was "not an idle gesture without a definite and sincere purpose," but rather an attempt to translate into legislative enactment and experience the "overwhelming will" of the people of Alberta.[123]

The proposed legislation emphasized individual liberty and responsibility and credit reform and called for a limited amount of social programming.[124] Designed to promote universal prosperity, the legislation also represented direct continuity with the Aberhart administration.*[125] Commonly called *The Alberta Bill of Rights Act*, the legislation was predicated on the Government's commitment to foster individual freedom and opportunity through monetary reform. The preamble to the Act, itself a testament to Aberhart's policies, reads in part:

> Whereas the discharge of the Province's responsibility necessitates the recognition of certain basic rights and responsibilities of citizenship and requires that its citizens have the necessary access to their resources so that they may produce the goods and services they require and provide for their equitable distribution in a manner that will ensure to all an opportunity to obtain social and economic security with personal freedom; and

---

* As identical banking provisions proposed by the Aberhart Government had been ruled unconstitutional, critics interpreted the legislation as a futile response to Douglasite fervour exhibited at the Social Credit League's 1945 convention. *Reference re: Alberta Legislation*, [1938] S.C.R. 100, 2 D.L.R. 81; Wellington Jeffers, "Theory Threatens: Alberta Government Makes Good Orthodox Success; Debarred from Social Credit," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 5 October 1946, p. 20; C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 207.

> Whereas the control of policy with respect to the issue, use and withdrawal of credit primarily determines the extent to which the citizens of Alberta may develop and enjoy the use of their resources and therefore must be a function of the electorate of the Province to be discharged on their behalf by their democratically elected representatives.[126]

The Act aimed to deliver, at least in part, the economic benefits first pledged to Albertans in 1935.[127]

Consistent with Aberhart's original platform, the Act included measures of provincial control over financial institutions through the creation of a 'Board of Credit Commissioners'[128] and the issuance of 'Alberta Credit Certificates,' and imposed Government regulation upon Alberta's banks and credit unions by requiring them to obtain a licence to operate.[129] The Act also called for limited social programs similar to, but less comprehensive than, the modern Canadian social safety net including: unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, industry subsidies and educational and medical benefits.[130] In 1946, *The Alberta Bill of Rights Act* was ruled *ultra vires*[*] by the Supreme Court of Alberta, a ruling subsequently upheld on July 24, 1947 by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the United Kingdom.[†][131]

In practical terms, the Courts' rulings meant that Douglasite social credit theories were no longer a valid basis for public policy formulation in Alberta. The Manning Government thus reaffirmed the difficulty of implementing social credit legislation and began to consider pragmatic courses of action that would, over the next several years, draw the administration closer to the economic and political mainstream.[132]

However, the move towards a more orthodox mode of public administration alienated the Social Credit Board,[‡] whose persistent calls for full implementation of Douglasite reforms now posed a 'political liability' to the Government.[133] Replete with extreme rhetoric, the Board's 1946 Annual Report, presented to the Legislative Assembly in March 1947, called for an end to the secret ballot, proposed the abolishment of political parties and attacked international financiers,[134] whose cooperation, in Manning's view, remained vital to re-establishing Alberta's credit rating. The document harkened back to a point, a decade earlier, when Douglas' theories had helped to sway elements within the caucus.[135] Controversy surrounding the Board's report afforded

---

[*] The legal term *ultra vires* means 'beyond the powers.' For more information, see the Glossary.

[†] The Supreme Court of Canada is today the highest court of appeal in the nation. The Supreme Court did not assume final appellant jurisdiction over criminal cases until 1933 and over civil cases until 1949. Before these transfers in jurisdiction, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the United Kingdom served as Canada's highest court of appeal. "About the Court: Creation and Beginnings of the Court," *Supreme Court of Canada*, [Internet], accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.scc-csc.gc.ca/aboutcourt/creation/index_e.asp

[‡] The Board had been created in 1936 to advise and guide the Aberhart Government towards the full implementation of Douglasite social credit measures. Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta*, p. 60.

Manning an opportunity to publicly reject Douglas' radical monetary reforms and anti-Semitic conspiracy theories.[136] Following the submission of the report, the Premier stated emphatically:

> We condemn, repudiate and completely disassociate ourselves and the Social Credit movement in Alberta from any statements or publications which are incompatible with the established British ideals of democratic freedom or which endorse, excuse or incite anti-Semitism or racial or religious intolerance in any form.[137]

The report had represented a Douglasite attempt, Manning maintained, "to undermine the Social Credit movement and destroy public confidence" in the Social Credit Government.[*][138] This effort to discredit the Government confirmed, in Manning's view, that the Social Credit Board no longer represented the views held by his administration, but rather now embodied a philosophy that his Government did "not endorse and to which [it did] not subscribe."[139] Under Manning, who emphasized his Government's consistent efforts "to provide sound, honest and progressive administration" and "to make possible genuine social and economic security and the maximum of individual freedom,"[140] the Social Credit Party in Alberta was, according to some, beginning to take on a 'middle-of-the-road cast.'[141]

Douglas' influence in Alberta was coming to an end, and the Manning Government began its evolution towards more mainstream policies. The Social Credit Board was disbanded effective March 31, 1948,[142] and the Executive Council returned to 'its paramount position in government.'[†][143] As one historian notes:

> Manning had dispelled any possible doubt over who was in control of Social Credit. The last of the theorists were gone from the seats of power. The new tone of the government was centrist, pragmatic, careful—a reconciliation of traditional Socred theory with political and economic reality. The basic tone of the Manning Era had been set: balanced budgets, cautious reforms … and opposition to socialism.[144]

The ousted Douglasites responded by creating the Douglas Social Credit Council, which publicly criticized Ernest Manning's rejection of Douglasite principles.[‡][145] Representative of such criticisms were those of Major Clifford H. Douglas himself. The father of social credit wrote:

> [W]hen Mr. Aberhart won his first electoral victory, all he did was to recruit an army for A WAR. That war has not been fought; and Mr. Manning declares in the plainest

---

[*] Major Douglas, for his part, was said to have praised the report as "a comprehensive and accurate account of Social Credit ideals." "Manning Charges Plot against Social Creditors," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 12 November 1947, p. 9.

[†] In what has been described as Manning's 'purge' of the party, the Premier requested and received the resignations of those Douglasites remaining in positions close to the Cabinet or the Social Credit League, including: John P. Gillese, editor of *The Social Crediter*; L. Denis Byrne, Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs; and R. Earl Ansley, Minister of Education. Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 129–130; G. Pierre Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1949 ed. (Ottawa: G. Pierre Normandin, 1949), pp. 406–407.

[‡] E. Preston Manning, younger son of Ernest Manning, recalls the efforts of a kindly housekeeper who was determined to shield the Premier's children from reading newspaper accounts hostile to their father by cutting out the offending newspaper sections. Preston Manning recalls: "Some days the paper looked like confetti." "The Relentless Mr. Manning," *Maclean's* vol. 106, no. 42 (18 October 1993): p. 17.

> terms that he will not lead that army into a fight. Perhaps reasonably, he prefers to ride at its head in ceremonial parades.[146]

Nevertheless, Manning's leadership of the party remained secure. The Manning Government's reputation for cautious, conservative public administration and industrial development is attributable, in part, to legislation passed beginning in the mid-1940s. For instance, *The Alberta Industrial Corporation Act* (1946),[147] *The Industrial Development Act* (1952)[148] and *The Alberta Commercial Services Act* (1964)[149] collectively established independent boards and corporations to support manufacturing and other industries within Alberta. In addition, the Leduc oil strike of February 13, 1947* required that the Manning Government develop procedures to deal with an intensification of oil exploration and development activity. The Government chose a regulatory approach rather than directly risk the investment of public funds. For example, that year, Manning streamlined resource taxes under *The Mineral Taxation Act, 1947*.[150] Another early example of such regulatory measures was *The Right of Entry Arbitration Act, 1952*, which mediated disputes in situations where parties held conflicting land and mineral exploration rights.[151]

Despite Manning's progress towards the achievement of an effective regulatory framework, the Premier was criticized for allowing extensive foreign ownership of the oil industry and was accused of failing to administer petroleum revenues in Alberta's best interests.[152] Critics charged that in Manning's courting of foreign investment capital, he was granting far-reaching concessions in return for minimal employment and production commitments as well as a 'fraction of the proceeds from development.'[153] Early regulations were seen as strengthening the privileged position of the largest oil companies, many of which were American-owned and operated.[154] The degree to which investment flowed north to Alberta from the United States was often used to criticize the Manning Government. Indeed, one Opposition Member claimed that "when God placed beneath our feet these great pools of wealth for the enjoyment of us all, he did not put a sign 'Reserved for Imperial Oil.' But our premier did!"[155] However, Manning defended the American presence in Alberta's oil patch as a welcome influx of expertise and capital, and further pointed out that Central-Canadian investors were slow to respond to his Government's efforts to attract more Canadian capital.[156] Moreover, Manning was quoted as saying that his Government's non-interventionist position and encouragement of American investment had helped realize $17 million in provincial oil revenues "without the expenditure or risk of 1¢ of the taxpayers' money."[†][157] It has also been pointed out that because the business of oil exploration involved considerable risk, and because Alberta's oil was comparatively expensive

---

[*] The discovery of oil at the Leduc No. 1 oil well, near the town of Leduc, was very significant because it was the largest find in the history of Alberta up to that time and launched a petroleum boom for the nearby city of Edmonton and the entire province, which continued for decades afterwards. Eric J. Holmgren, "Leduc," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 10 July 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com; *The Hutchinson Encyclopedia*, [CD-ROM], (n.p.: Helicon Publishing, 1999), s.v. "Leduc."

[†] Nevertheless, under pressure from both the Opposition and independent oil producers, Manning amended the regulatory framework in March 1948. As a result, Albertans' access to oil and gas exploration and development opportunities was greatly improved. David H. Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry and the Conservation Board* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1993), pp. 256–258, 257–262.

to produce and market, potential local investors were lacking. Manning, therefore, unwilling to resort to state ownership of the oil industry for ideological reasons, felt that he had little choice but to welcome foreign investment.[158]

In May 1948, the Manning Government entrusted Minister of Lands and Mines (later Mines and Minerals) N. Eldon Tanner[*] (1937–1952) with the task of promoting Alberta as a sound oil and gas exploration opportunity to American investors.[159] Over a decade earlier, in 1936, Tanner had travelled to the United Kingdom on a similar errand, hoping to attract capital investment overseas.[160] The Leduc oil strike, however, had made investment in Alberta a more appealing prospect. At the 1948 International Petroleum Exposition in Tulsa, Oklahoma, the Government's oil regulation and conservation policies, which formed the basis of Tanner's address to oil industry executives attending the event, were well received.[161]

In the summer of 1949, the Manning Government became concerned about "Ottawa's emerging presence in the regulation of Alberta's oil and natural gas resources."[162] New federal laws and the incorporation of pipeline companies subject to federal regulation threatened Alberta's ability to control the quantities of oil and gas to be removed from the province and the terms and conditions governing such exports.[163] In response, the Government enacted *The Gas Resources Preservation Act*, the intent of which was to "effect the preservation and conservation of the oil and gas resources … [for the] present and future needs of the residents of the Province" by requiring that all exports receive the prior approval of the Petroleum and Natural Gas Conservation Board.[†][164]

Despite early setbacks and criticism,[‡] the Government did effectively regulate the oil industry, as provincial revenues increased through oil and gas royalties. Such regulation would prove fundamental to Alberta's prosperity for decades to come.[165] Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the effects of the oil boom on Alberta's economy and social conditions included population expansion, a rise in the standard of living and expanded economic opportunities. The sudden upsurge in government revenues, personal wealth, industrial development and investment from outside the province spurred economic growth.[166] During the 1949 Budget Speech, the Premier remarked:

> I have already pointed out that the greater part of this revenue accrues from the depletion of provincial assets, represented by our oil resources, and hence this is not a source of revenue that will continue indefinitely. Because these revenues represent a depletion of

---

[*] Nathan Eldon Tanner had served as the fifth Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta from 1936 to 1937.

[†] The Petroleum and Natural Gas Conservation Board had been constituted under *The Oil and Gas Conservation Act, 1938*. This was a Government Board, which reported to the Executive Council. *The Oil and Gas Conservation Act, 1938*, S.A. 1938, c. 15, s. 5.

[‡] Manning's leadership and the new regulations would be tested when, on March 8, 1948, the Atlantic Company's No. 3 oil well exploded, creating an industrial and environmental crisis of six months' duration. Heavy criticism was levelled at the Manning Government for failing to take immediate action. At the time, however, the Manning administration was keen to avoid any indication of a Social Credit return to interventionist policies so antagonistic to the financial industry. Consequently, it opted against intervention in the crisis, deferring to the petroleum industry itself. Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry*, pp. 270–272, 275–279, 282, 717–718, 718n91.

> provincial assets, the Government holds that they cannot properly be used for current operating expenses, but rather should be used for capital expenditures which provide other assets in place of those being depleted.[167]

Consistent with its practice of limiting itself to an administrative and regulatory role in the oil industry, the Manning Government would collect resource royalties and redistribute the wealth through capital investments in infrastructure and human welfare. It would not risk windfall petroleum revenues on direct speculation or investment in the private sector, nor would it use them to fund regular public services provided by the Province.[168] Manning maintained this approach for years to come.

By the late 1940s, Manning had 'recast'[169] the Social Credit Government as a 'conservative administration' committed to non-interventionist government, ensuring political stability and attracting outside investment to Alberta's developing economy.[170] The Opposition remarked that the term 'Social Credit' remained meaningful only as an epitaph for the late Premier Aberhart: "Since the passing of the late Mr. Aberhart, genuine Social Credit too, has died, and all that is left of the Social Credit structure is a great empty tomb with the name 'Social Credit'."[171] Under the guidance of Premier Manning, who had moved his Government away from the ideology of the more radical Douglasites and adopted, in the years of post-war prosperity, a policy of gradualism, the Social Credit Party had indeed evolved.[172] Nevertheless, in April 1947, almost four years after Aberhart's death, Manning claimed continuity with the fundamental social credit tenets espoused by his predecessor, reaffirming his Government's "unswerving allegiance to the principles of Social Credit" and its determination to continue "the fight for social and economic security with freedom initiated by the late Premier William Aberhart."[173] In June of the same year, Manning asserted that:

> In all spheres of economic development, and particularly within the industrial field, the Government of Alberta is committed, without compromise, to a policy of true economic democracy, involving genuine free enterprise and the utmost personal freedom for every individual to exercise his initiative and choice. This means a minimum of government control, the function of government being confined to that of being in the nature of a 'referee' to safeguard the liberty and the rights of citizens and eradicate the abuses inherent in our present social structure.[174]

Although the Manning Government maintained a cautious, non-interventionist approach to spending, direct investment in capital projects and in a limited amount of social programming were considered both acceptable and necessary. Public money was often allocated, however, in the form of government loans or limited grants to corporations. In 1965, legislation was passed establishing the Alberta Investment Fund, which provided "a means of attracting the savings of residents of Alberta, and others into a fund to supply capital for investment in the industrial and commercial development in Alberta."[175] The Manning Government hoped that such measures, in creating an attractive business climate, would encourage investment in Alberta.[176]

In 1948, Ernest Manning was once more involved in a campaign in preparation for the August 17 general election. This time, the Social Credit Party entered the campaign with a strong majority and sufficient oil revenue to promise the immediate implementation of its proposals.

Moreover, the Premier's campaign message continued to reiterate the Government's anti-socialist position.[177] Manning once again spoke out against the CCF, distinguishing it from the world's communist regimes only by "the degree of centralized control of industry by the Government."[178] In 1935, the Social Credit Party had been considered "radical," proposing "a highly fantastic economic program."[179] By 1948, however, having "sloughed off the doctrines which won [the party] celebrity and office," Social Credit was considered "financially orthodox," while the socialists were being touted by the national media as "the radical party in the field."[180]

Albertans heeded Manning's warnings of the socialist threat to individualism and private enterprise. On August 17, 1948, the Social Credit Party secured 55.6 per cent of the popular vote and 51 out of a total of 57 seats.[181] Satisfied with the Government's legislative program and with the return of economic prosperity, the majority of Alberta voters had supported the Social Credit Party. Following the 1948 election, the Government was on the threshold of an effective and dynamic period. As one historian writes:

> With its own house at last in order, faced by an opposition too small to be truly effective, and blessed with burgeoning oil revenues, Social Credit emerged from the 1948 election with its power consolidated beyond anything that the party had achieved since it had been first elected in 1935. The massive support conferred upon the Manning government, combined with rapidly expanding revenues generated from the oil boom, assured that economic and social policy emanating from Edmonton would be characterized by caution and limited debate, both in the Legislature and among the public at large. Guided by a stable, development-oriented government, Alberta was about to enter a period of unparalleled growth and prosperity.[182]

Petroleum revenue provided the Manning Government with the means to foster an attractive investment and business environment. Manning's reputation as an able administrator grew with the Government's increasing ability to fully fund and implement its policies.[183] Manning enjoyed the rare and enviable political opportunity to simultaneously increase public spending and maintain a surplus budget.*[184] Between 1946 and 1967, Government spending increased "three and a half times as fast as the population," and in fact, in the 1950s, the Alberta Government spent more per capita than any of its provincial counterparts.[185]

As Manning had pledged, expenditure of oil and gas revenues accruing since the late 1940s were dedicated primarily to capital projects, particularly to those associated with municipal infrastructure and schools. Once again, the Manning Government expended funds only within a comprehensive regulatory framework. In 1951, *The City Act*, which contained 740 sections, standardized every aspect of municipal government, including elections, by-laws, public utilities,

---

* From 1948 to 1968, the Manning Government maintained a budgetary surplus in the General Revenue Income Account. The Government's surplus peaked in 1966 at $160,205,183. Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta for the Year Ending March 31, 1968* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 74.

taxation, litigation and finances.*[186] Municipal taxes were supplemented and cities' coffers swelled by provincial grants administered through the Municipal Assistance Fund.[187] *The Municipal Capital Expenditure Loans Act* made available loans to defray, in full or in part, capital costs generated by projects deemed to be in the public interest.[188] In addition, *The Alberta Municipal Financing Corporation Act* established a non-profit corporation "to assist in municipal financing by [the] purchase and sale of municipal securities at the lowest possible cost" and to facilitate public investment in municipal debentures and securities.[189] Additional municipalities were created to meet the needs of a burgeoning population under *The New Towns Act*,[190] while *The Libraries Act* established municipal public libraries.[191] The Manning Government's investment in infrastructure also extended to other cultural facilities. In 1955, the two Jubilee Auditoriums were dedicated in Calgary and Edmonton in celebration of Alberta's first half-century.[192] "The need for such centres has long been apparent," the Premier remarked; "[t]he Government believes they will be both appropriate and practical memorials to the fifty years of development" of the province.[193] Both Premier Manning and Lieutenant Governor John J. Bowlen participated in the opening ceremonies of each of the auditoriums on April 28, 1957.†[194]

The Social Credit Government continued to earn the support of Alberta voters in part through extensive spending on infrastructure, education and social programs.[195] As one historian remarks:

> Of course, with revenues so flush, the Alberta government could build up reserves and yet spend so much money in the areas where it chose to spend as to surpass expenditures per capita in education, social services, and highway-building in all other provinces.[196]

Secure in popular support, the Manning Government maintained a strong majority. In the provincial election held on August 5, 1952, the Social Credit Party garnered 56 per cent of the popular vote and 53 out of a total of 61 seats in a newly expanded Legislative Assembly of Alberta.‡[197] Once again, Manning was re-elected in the multi-Member constituency of Edmonton.[198]

It was at this time that Manning faced the only serious challenge to his Government's integrity. Throughout 1954 and 1955, Leader of the Official Opposition J. Harper Prowse directed charges of misconduct, conflict of interest and corruption at the Social Credit Cabinet and members of the government caucus.[199] Due partially to the Opposition's charges, the Social Credit Party dropped 10 per cent in popular support in the 1955 election and lost 16 seats.[200] Following the election, Manning appointed a royal commission to investigate specific allegations levelled at the Social Credit caucus related to conflicts of interest and the inappropriate issuing of loans by the Alberta Treasury Branch to members of the government caucus.[201] The commission ultimately exonerated the Government of any wrongdoing or of influencing Treasury Branch loan policies for the benefit of its members.[202]

---

* Ancillary to *The City Act*, the Government also passed *The Town and Village Act* in 1952. *The Town and Village Act, 1952*, S.A. 1952, c. 97.

† Inscriptions were placed at the entrances to both Jubilee Auditoriums in honour of Alberta's earliest settlers. They read: "May this structure endure as a monument to the Alberta pioneer. In these stones is our tribute to those who formed our province. Dedicated in the year 1955—the fiftieth year of the Province of Alberta." Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Province of Alberta: Jubilee Auditoriums* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1954), p. 1. See also the Background section *Special Events*.

‡ The Legislative Assembly of Alberta had been expanded by four seats since the 1948 provincial election. *An Act to amend The Legislative Assembly Act*, S.A. 1950, c. 36, s. 1.

The Opposition claimed that the outcome of the 1955 election may also have figured in the Social Credit Government's controversial decision in 1956 to abolish the preferential ballot system,[*] which had been in place since 1924, and to re-introduce the 'first-past-the-post' voting system.[†][203] It charged that the Government's amendments were a response to Social Credit's loss of several seats under the preferential voting system. The Government, however, denied such partisan motives and instead argued that the number of spoiled ballots under the preferential system was 'effectively disenfranchising' Albertans.[204] In 1956, the Manning Government enacted an amendment to *The Election Act*, which legislated the 'first-past-the-post' voting system for provincial general elections.[205] After the abolishment of multi-Member constituencies, following these revisions to *The Election Act*, Manning ran and was re-elected in the constituency of Strathcona-East in the provincial general election of June 18, 1959.[206]

---

[*] Also called the single transferable voting system, according to this electoral system, voters ranked the candidates listed on their ballots in order of their preference, marking '1' for their first choice, '2' for their second choice, and so on. In single-Member constituencies, the vote was tallied according to the first preference indicated on the ballot. If no candidate received an absolute majority, then the candidate with the fewest votes would be eliminated and all ballots for the eliminated candidate were redistributed according to the voter's second preference. This process was repeated until one candidate emerged with more than 50 per cent of the vote. Brian O'Neal, *Electoral Systems*, Background Paper BP-334E (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, Research Branch, 1993), p. 4. In multi-Member constituencies, such as Edmonton and Calgary, the votes were tallied according to the first choice indicated on each ballot. The proportion of votes necessary to win a seat varied depending on the number of seats available. After the results were tallied based on the first preference vote, any candidate who had received the required proportion of votes was deemed to have won a seat in the Legislative Assembly. At this point, an elected candidate's surplus votes (i.e. those in excess of the number needed to win a seat) were distributed to the other candidates in the same proportion as each candidate had been selected as the second choice on all of the elected candidate's ballots. Once the votes had been recounted, any remaining candidates who had now received the required proportion of the vote also won a seat in the Legislative Assembly. This process continued until all of the available seats in the constituency were filled. John D. Hunt, "A Key to P.R.: Being an Explanation of the Transferable Ballot, and of Proportional Representation as Adopted by The Alberta Election Act, with Full Disclosure for the Counting of Ballots," in *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 193, 195.

[†] Since the provincial general election of 1959, Alberta has used this electoral system. *An Act to amend The Election Act*, S.A. 1957, c. 21; "Proclamation," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 55, no. 9, 15 May 1959, p. 785. Also called the 'X' voting system, this method requires that the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes within a constituency is declared the winner even if that candidate has received less than half of the votes cast. John McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics: A Guide to Important Terms and Concepts*, 3rd ed. (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), p. 112.

Premier E.C. Manning escorts Lieutenant Governor J.P. Page to the Chamber before Speech from the Throne (n.d.).

From the mid-1950s onward, the Manning Government continued to spend monies accrued from oil revenues on infrastructure, an area that had been neglected during the Great Depression and the Second World War. This action was urgently required because of a rapidly expanding population, which was a result, in part, of the baby boom.[207] Oil revenues, in fact, proved sufficient in both 1958 and 1959 to permit the Manning Government the opportunity to distribute amongst eligible* Albertans a total of $20,596,496 in royalty dividends,[208] and fulfill, at least in part, Premier Aberhart's 1935 election promise to issue $25 dividends to all Alberta citizens.[209]

Beginning in the 1950s, and continuing through the 1960s, the Government supported the development of school districts and new school construction. *The School Act, 1952* established, amongst other things, public school districts, boards of trustees, school taxes and student transportation guidelines, and also standardized the school year throughout the province.[210] *The School Borrowing Assistance Act* made interest-free capital loans available to school boards with a 50-per-cent remission rate.[211] *The School Buildings Assistance Act* provided school districts with the opportunity to apply for grants or loans for the construction of new school buildings.[212] In addition, post-secondary educational opportunities were expanded through *The Agricultural and Vocational Colleges Act*.[213]

As the 1960s progressed, the Manning Government established regulatory frameworks for the collection and administration of provincial revenue. *The Mines and Minerals Act, 1962*, for example, consolidated the Government's control over "all mines and minerals and related natural resources vested in or belonging to the Crown in right of Alberta ..."[214] An influential piece of legislation of the period was *The Financial Administration Act* of 1968, which detailed procedures for the efficient administration and audit of public funds. The Act provided for the organization of the Treasury Board, public disbursements by appropriation, the standardization and annual publication of public accounts, the use of budget estimates and the management of public debt.[215]

The two decades between 1948 and 1968 were also characterized by progressive social legislation providing for institutions and programs to better support Albertans' attempts at self-reliance. *The Retirement Annuities Act* encouraged citizens to deposit funds to a publicly administered annuity for withdrawal after age 60.[216] Family courts were established in 1952 to adjudicate cases related to deserted wives, truancy, child or spousal abuse and vagrancy.[*][217] Affordable housing for seniors was mandated under *The Homes for the Aged Act.*[218] In 1963, the Government established the Northern Alberta Development Council to make recommendations regarding, amongst other things, northern industrial development, transportation, agriculture and educational facilities.[219] *The Alberta Housing Act, 1968* provided a framework for intergovernmental public-housing projects.[220]

---

* According to the stipulations of *The Oil and Gas Royalties Dividend Act* (1957), an individual was considered to be an 'eligible citizen' if he or she: was a Canadian citizen or British subject; was a person of the age of majority (21); had been an Alberta resident for the preceding two years and for not less than a total of 10 years; and had not been convicted of an offence under the said Act. *The Oil and Gas Royalties Dividend Act*, S.A. 1957, c. 64, s. 8.

In addition to municipalities, schools and industrial development, the Manning Government gave high priority to the agriculture sector. The Government supported farmers through the creation of the Alberta Crop Insurance Corporation.[221] *The Farm Purchase Credit Act, 1963* made 'low cost long term credit' available for the purchase of farms.[222]

By the mid-1960s, the Manning Government had been in power for over 20 years and had established a reputation for sound financial management and the development of conservative economic and social policies. Moreover, Ernest Manning continued to maintain his fundamental religious and political belief in the importance of individualism, as advocated by William Aberhart so many years before. In March 1967, those beliefs formed the philosophical basis of the *White Paper on Human Resources Development*, which outlined specific principles and values that Manning believed should guide future Government policy. The White Paper listed the following 'value judgments':[223]

- Human Resources will be treated as being intrinsically more important than physical resources.

- Prior consideration will be given to human beings individually (persons), rather than to human beings collectively (society). …

- A free enterprise economy, in which all individuals have maximum opportunity to participate, will be regarded as more desirable than a state regimented economy.

- A supporting function, rather than a domineering function, will be ascribed to the state relative to resources development.[224]

In 1967, the Government also established the Human Resources Development Authority to "encourage and help individuals and communities develop their human resources to their fullest possible potential …"[†][225]

---

[*] Other Acts of the period that supported families included *The Widow's Pensions Act* and *The Mothers Allowance Act, 1958*. The latter Act supported mothers who were widows, wives of mental health or tuberculosis patients, inmates' wives, deserted wives or divorced or legally separated wives unable to obtain support through legal action. *The Widows' Pensions Act*, S.A. 1952, c. 105; *The Mothers Allowance Act, 1958*, S.A. 1958, c. 45, ss. 3–4.

[†] Soon after the establishment of the Human Resources Development Authority, the Manning Government enacted *The Alberta Human Resources Research Council Act*. This Act established a council to "undertake educational, social, economic and other research relating to and affecting the development and conservation of human resources in Alberta …" *The Alberta Human Resources Research Council Act*, S.A. 1967, c. 36, s. 3.

The same year, Manning explained his ideas regarding the state's duty to advance individualism through the publication of *Political Realignment: A Challenge to Thoughtful Canadians.*[226] The book was an introduction to a "new ideology," which Manning called the "Social Conservative Position."[227] The social conservative ideal would be realized, Manning argued, when humanitarian concerns are reconciled with "the economic persuasions of those with a firm conviction in the value of freedom of economic activity and enlightened private enterprise."[228]

As Premier, Ernest Manning welcomed many distinguished visitors to Alberta and, in turn, travelled internationally as the province's representative. In October 1951, Premier and Mrs. Manning welcomed Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip to Edmonton.[229] Fewer than two years later, on June 2, 1953, the Mannings attended the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.[230] Princess Margaret visited Calgary and Banff in 1958,[231] and the following year, Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip returned to Alberta.[232] During the summer of 1963, Manning visited Israel.[233] In May 1966, the Premier travelled to Asia to meet with Japanese Premier Eisaku Sato and to strengthen Alberta-Japan trade relations.[234] In 1967, Premier Manning received Princess Alexandra and her husband, Angus Ogilvy (Sir Angus Ogilvy as of 1989).[235]

On New Year's Eve 1966, in anticipation and recognition of Canada's Centennial, Manning ignited the 'Eternal Flame,' which was installed on the south lawn of the Legislature Grounds. Representing one of a number of Centennial projects planned by the province, the natural gas flame burns perpetually in celebration of Canada's first century.[236] Perhaps the Alberta Government's most notable project honouring this milestone was the establishment of the Provincial Museum and Archives.* Opened to the public in 1967, the institution was completed at a cost of about $8 million, of which the federal government contributed $2.5 million.[237] Other projects commemorating Canada's 100 years of nationhood included the Federal-Provincial Centennial Grants Program, which provided financial support for municipalities in executing their plans for community improvement, and the Alberta Performing Arts on Tour, which travelled to and performed for Alberta's smaller communities during the Centennial year.[238] Early in 1968, it was reported in the Legislative Assembly by Provincial Secretary Ambrose Holowach that the total value of the Centennial projects was about $12 million and that Albertans now enjoyed 140 more recreation parks, 63 more community halls, 35 more skating rinks, 23 more libraries, 12 more museums, 10 more swimming pools and nine more history books.[239] Later that year, the Alberta Government, under Premier Manning, adopted its provincial flag.[240]

## Later Career

Believing Alberta's Government was ready for 'other and younger hands,'[241] on September 27, 1968, after 33 years of service as a Member of the Legislative Assembly, Ernest C. Manning publicly announced his intention to resign as Premier as soon as the Social Credit League chose his successor.[242] At a Social Credit Party leadership convention held in December of that year, Harry E. Strom was selected as the leader of the Party and, consequently, would serve as the province's next Premier (1968–1971).[243] Manning officially resigned as Premier on December 12, 1968.[244] Shortly thereafter, on December 30, 1968, he relinquished his seat in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.[245] Manning subsequently entered into a consulting partnership with his son, Preston, serving as chair of M and M Systems Research Ltd.[246] He also served on the board of directors of a number of major companies, including the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce,[247] Burns Foods, Canadian Pacific Airlines, Manufacturers Life Insurance Company, OPI Ltd., Stelco, Fluor Canada, Melcor Developments, the Canada West Foundation, the Ernest C. Manning Awards Foundation* and the Sawridge Band Trust.[248] On October 7, 1970, Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau (1968–1979, 1980–1984) appointed Ernest Manning to the Senate, a position Manning held until September 20, 1983, that date being his 75th birthday and the mandatory age of retirement.[249] While a Senator, Manning supported Senate reform and was one of the chief proponents of the 'Triple-E' Senate concept—'Effective, Equal, and Elected.'†[250] The Mannings subsequently enjoyed "years of sunny retirement in Phoenix, Arizona."[251]

---

* Up until 1963, the Provincial Library, known as the Legislature Library since 1974, functioned as the Provincial Archives as well as a parliamentary library for Members of the Legislative Assembly and a general reference library for the civil service.

### Community Activities and Personal Interests

Ernest Manning was the driving force behind the *Back to the Bible Hour* from William Aberhart's death in 1943 until 1996. He also operated a dairy farm east of Edmonton throughout "most of his years in government."[252]

### Honours and Awards

Ernest C. Manning's dedication to Alberta has been honoured in a variety of ways. As a testament to his popularity, more than 1,500 Albertans gathered at Edmonton's Jubilee Auditorium in 1958 to celebrate the Premier's 50th birthday.[253] Honourary doctoral degrees were conferred upon Manning by the University of Alberta (Doctor of Laws, 1948),[254] McGill University (Doctor of Letters, 1967),[255] the University of Calgary (Doctor of the University of Calgary, 1967),[256] the University of Lethbridge (Doctor of Laws, 1972)[257] and Athabasca University (Doctor of Athabasca University, 1985).[258] In 1951, Manning was made Honourary Chief 'Bull Shield' of the Blood Nation. In 1953, he was invited to the United Kingdom to deliver the 'Lothian Lectures' before the English Speaking Union of the Commonwealth.[259] He was named to the Queen's Privy Council for Canada in 1967, becoming the Honourable Ernest C. Manning,[260] and was appointed a Companion of the Order of Canada in 1969.[261] In 1981, Manning was the inaugural honouree of the Alberta Order of Excellence.[262] In 1982, the former Premier received B'nai B'rith of Canada's National Humanitarian Award and, in 1998, was featured on a commemorative series of postage stamps.[263]

---

* The Ernest C. Manning Awards Foundation is a national non-profit organization which was incorporated in 1980. Since 1982, the Foundation has annually presented the Manning Innovation Awards to deserving individuals in any field who are judged to demonstrate "intellectual achievement, uniqueness and originality, development, degree of commercialization, and economic and social benefits or potential benefits to Canada or society in general." "About the Foundation," *Manning Innovation Awards*, [Internet], (Calgary: Manning Awards Foundation), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.manningawards.ca/foundation.htm

† Preston Manning, in addressing the House of Commons in 1998, attributed the first use of the phrase 'Triple E Senate' to *Alberta Report* publisher and columnist Ted Byfield. Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debates, 36th Parliament, 1st Session*, 20 April 1998, p. 5813.

In 1947, residents of the town of Aurora in the Peace River region renamed their municipality 'Manning,' Alberta.[264] Manning Avenue is located in the Village of Heisler, Alberta, which is known as the 'Premier Village' because its streets are named in honour of former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[265] Edmonton's Manning Freeway (later renamed 'Manning Drive') was named in his honour,[266] as are Calgary's Ernest Manning High School and the Honourable Ernest C. Manning Building, located in St. Catharines, Ontario.*[267] Several annual awards are presented in Manning's honour, including the Ernest C. Manning Innovation Award for groundbreaking Canadian achievements.[268] In 2002, the Northern Alberta Institute of Alberta (NAIT) posthumously bestowed an honourary diploma upon the late Premier. The following year, NAIT awarded the first Ernest Manning Leadership Medallion for outstanding leadership shown by a NAIT employee.[269]

## Death

On February 19, 1996, at the age of 87 years, Ernest C. Manning died of cancer at his home in Calgary, Alberta. The next day, the Legislative Assembly of Alberta observed a moment of silence in honour of Alberta's longest-serving Premier.[270] The Manning family declined the provincial Government's offer of a state funeral,[271] choosing instead to celebrate Manning's life in a service held at Calgary's First Alliance Church on February 23, 1996.[272] Approximately 1,300 people gathered to pay tribute to the devout Christian who had led the Government of Alberta for over a quarter of a century.[273] Honourary pallbearers included Manning's successors, former Alberta Premiers E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985) and Donald R. Getty (1985–1992), and Premier Ralph P. Klein (1992– ), as well as former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Arthur J. Dixon (1963–1972).[274] Former Alberta Lieutenant Governor J .W. Grant MacEwan (1966–1974) also attended the service.[275] Ernest C. Manning is buried in the Garden of Christus in Eden Brook Memorial Gardens, located in southwest Calgary.[276]

## Fonds

Records related to Ernest Manning's years in the provincial Cabinet and as Premier are housed at the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton. Documentation related to the Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute is located at the Glenbow Archives in Calgary.

---

* The Honourable Ernest C. Manning Building houses the Canadian headquarters of the Global Outreach Mission. The Mission produces *Canada's National Bible Hour*, the successor to William Aberhart and Ernest Manning's *Back to the Bible Hour*. The title of the radio program was changed from the *Back to the Bible Hour* to *Canada's National Bible Hour* in 1978. E-mail from James O. Blackwood, Director, Canada's National Bible Hour, 13 May 2005; "Canada's National Bible Hour," Ministry Divisions, *Global Outreach Mission*, [Internet], (St. Catharines, ON: Global Outreach Mission), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.globaloutreachmission.org/ministries.php

### Tributes

Reverend James Blackwood eulogized Ernest Manning as a 'true Christian statesman.'[277] Leader of the Official Opposition (1994–1998) D. Grant Mitchell remembered, "He always brought dignity and grace and respect in the way he dealt with the people of this province."[278] Former Premier Peter Lougheed said of Manning:

> When I was young and new in politics and became leader of the opposition, (Manning) always treated me with such respect and courtesy—we had a decorum in the legislature that continued to this day.[279]

Former Leader of the Opposition (1959) and former Lieutenant Governor J. W. Grant MacEwan said of Manning, "He proved that a man could be a statesman and a successful political operator, too."[280] Premier Klein praised Manning as "a humble, patient and pragmatic Premier, a man whose successful policies helped create the energy industry that continues to be a world leader."[281] In his eulogy for his father, Preston Manning described the motivation behind the late Premier's many years of public service:

> It is important to remember that what really motivated him to enter public life in the first place were social concerns: the poverty, despair, the human tragedies of the Great Depression. Economic reform, balanced budgets, private enterprise, sound government—for him all of these were important means to a more important end. And that more important end was the betterment of the lives and living conditions of hundreds of thousands of lives.[282]

### Publications

Over the course of his career, Ernest Manning authored the following publications:

*Social Credit in a Nut Shell.* Edmonton: Alberta Social Credit League, [195?]. 10 pp.

"Liberty, Unity and Prosperity: An Address." In *The Empire Club of Canada: Addresses 1966–1967.* N.p.: The Empire Club of Canada, 1967. pp. 54–64.

*Political Realignment: A Challenge to Thoughtful Canadians.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967. 94 pp.

## Notes

[1] Thomas Flanagan and Martha Lee, "From Social Credit to Social Conservatism: The Evolution of an Ideology," in *Riel to Reform: A History of Protest in Western Canada, ed.* George Melnyk (Saskatoon: Fifth House Publishers, 1992), p. 182.

[2] "William Pitt 'The Younger' 1783–1801 and 1804–1806, Tory," PMs in History, *10 Downing Street,* [Internet], (Prime Ministers' Office), accessed 1 July 2006, available from http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/page161.asp; "Senator The Honourable Ernest Charles Manning, C.C., P.C.," Members, *The Alberta Order of Excellence,* [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2003), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.lieutenantgovernor.ab.ca/aoe/manning.cfm

[3] Ernest Charles Manning: September 20, 1908 – February 19, 1996, 23 February 1996, [Funeral Program], Alberta Legislature Library, Edmonton; *A Stake in the West: Carnduff and District* (Carnduff, SK: Carnduff & District Historical Society, 1979), pp. 708–709.

[4] John J. Barr, *The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), p. 41; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Amos Manning Household, 1891 British Census, County of Suffolk, district no. 5, Bury St. Edmunds, Civil Parish of St. Mary, folio 83, p. 22, household 141, Public Records Office Reference RG12, piece 1450, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 17 September 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Bessie Dixon Record, 1901 British Census, London, district no. 5, St. George Hanover Square, Mayfair and Knightsbridge, folio 7, p. 5, household 62, Public Records Office Reference RG13, piece 82, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 17 September 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com

[5] Pierre G. Normandin, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1982–1983 ed. (Ottawa: Pierre G. Normandin, 1983), p. 180; United Kingdom. General Register Office, "Elizabeth Mara Dixon," Woolwich, County of Kent, Charlton, 19 January 1871, no. 182, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 19 September 2005; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 41; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Bessie Dixon Record, 1901 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Henry Manning Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Saskatchewan, district no. 211, Moose Jaw, sub-district 72, schedule 1, p. 3, household 61, microfilm T-20454, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 10 July 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html

[6] United Kingdom. General Register Office, "George Henry Manning," Cosford, County of Suffolk, Hadleigh, 6 November 1872, no. 383, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 12 August 2005; "Beloved Pioneer Passes," *Rosetown Eagle* (Rosetown, SK), 2 February 1956, p. 8.

[7] United Kingdom. General Register Office, "George Henry Manning," [Certified Copy of Birth Registration].

[8] Frank Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1997), p. 7; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Robert Manning Household, 1861 British Census, County of Suffolk, district no. 10, Cosford, Lavenham, folio 112, p. 2, household 10, Public Records Office Reference RG9, piece 1133, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 28 June 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Amos Manning Record, 1871 British Census, County of Suffolk, district no. 12, Cosford, Lavenham, folio 11, p. 15, household 92b, Public Records Office Reference RG10, piece 1721, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 28 June 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Robert Manning Household, 1871 British Census, County of Suffolk, district no. 18, Cosford District, Lavenham, Civil Parish of Preston, folio 77, p. 15, household 72, Public Records Office Reference RG10, piece 1721, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 18 October 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Amos Manning Household, 1881 British Census, Suffolk County, district no. 10, Sudbury, Hartest, Civil Parish of Shimpling, folio 156, p. 11, household 59, Public Records Office Reference RG11, piece 1831, Ancestry.com, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 18 October 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Amos Manning Household, 1891 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service].

[9] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Robert Manning Household, 1861 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Robert Manning Household, 1871 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; Steve Harvey, Descendants of Robert Manning, 19 September 2005, [Genealogy Chart], [GEDCOM file]; United Kingdom. General Register Office, "Robert Manning," Cosford, County of Suffolk, Hadleigh, 21 June 1879, no. 425, [Certified Copy of Death Registration], reproduced 22 September 2005.

[10] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Robert Manning Household, 1861 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Robert Manning Household, 1871 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; Harvey, Descendants of Robert Manning, [Genealogy Chart]; United Kingdom. General Register Office, "Susannah Manning," Cosford, County of Suffolk, Hadleigh, 17 January 1879, no. 313, [Certified Copy of Death Registration], reproduced 22 September 2005.

[11] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Robert Manning Household, 1871 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service].

[12] Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 7; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Amos Manning Household, 1881 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Amos Manning Household, 1891 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Amos Manning Household, 1901 British Census, County of Suffolk, district no. 19, Bury St. Edmunds, folio 75, p. 1, household 4, Public Records Office Reference RG13, piece 1756, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 19 October 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com

[13] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Amos Manning Household, 1891 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, pp. 5, 7.

[14] Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 7.

[15] Ibid.; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Manning Record, 1901 Census of Canada, Manitoba, district no. 11, District of Selkirk, sub-district h-1, Rockwood, schedule 1, p. 6, household 50, microfilm T-6435, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 16 September 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html. According to the 1911 Census returns, George immigrated to Canada in 1894. Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Henry Manning Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet]. This is also the year of immigration mentioned in his obituary. "Beloved Pioneer Passes," p. 8. Biographer Frank Dabbs, however, claims that George immigrated in 1899. Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 7.

[16] Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 7; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, George Manning Record, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[17] Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, pp. 7–8.

[18] United Kingdom. General Register Office, "Elizabeth Mara Dixon," [Certified Copy of Birth Registration]; "Mrs. Geo. H. Manning is Laid to Rest," *Rosetown Eagle* (Rosetown, SK), 1 December 1949, p. 1.

[19] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Bessie Dixon Record, 1901 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service].

[20] United Kingdom. General Register Office, "Elizabeth Mara Dixon," [Certified Copy of Birth Registration]; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, William A. Dixon Household, 1881 British Census, district no. 12, Woolwich, Woolwich Dockyard, folio 82, pp. 37–38, household 197, Public Records Office Reference RG11, piece 0744, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 15 September 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com

[21] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Bessie Dixon Record, 1891 British Census, County of London, district no. 28, Kensington, Brompton, folio 139, p. 1, household 7, Public Records Office Reference RG12, piece 34, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 15 September 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com

[22] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Burdett Coutts Record, 1901 British Census, County of London, district no. 5, St. George Hanover Square, Mayfair and Knightsbridge, folio 6, p. 4, household 1, Public Records Office Reference RG13, piece 82, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 14 September 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Bessie Dixon Record, 1901 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service].

[23] Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, pp. 7–8; Tony Cashman, *Ernest C. Manning* (Edmonton: Alberta Social Credit League, 1958), p. 4; "Mrs. Geo. H. Manning is Laid to Rest," p. 1.

[24] *A Stake in the West*, pp. 708–709; Cashman, *Ernest C. Manning*, pp. 4–5; Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for George Henry Manning, no. 1909622, for SE 22 29 15 W3, Saskatchewan Archives Board, Regina.

[25] Cashman, *Ernest C. Manning*, p. 5; Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 9.

[26] "Who'll Be Alberta Premier?" *Lethbridge Herald*, 28 May 1943, p. 6.

[27] T. C. Byrne, *Alberta's Revolutionary Leaders* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1991), pp. 136–137.

[28] William Aberhart, *Aberhart: Outpourings and Replies*, ed. David R. Elliot (Calgary: Historical Society of Alberta, 1991), p. ix.

[29] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 40; J. V. McAree, "Ghost of Social Credit," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 9 October 1953, p. 6; Aberhart, *Aberhart: Outpourings and Replies*, p. 14; Alvin Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon in Alberta* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 142.

[30] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, p. 136; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 47.

[31] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, pp. 136–137; *Budget Speech of The Hon. Ernest C. Manning, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered on March 4th, 1949, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: A. Shnitka, King's Printer, 1949), pp. 18–19.

[32] "No Conflict in Dual Role - Manning," *Edmonton Journal*, 6 November 1958, p. 7.

[33] Andrew Snaddon, "Alberta's Manning: Solidarity and Success," *Saturday Night* vol. 68, no. 17 (31 January 1953): p. 21.

[34] Carlo Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta, 1935–1971," in *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers*, ed. Carlo Caldarola (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979), pp. 33, 35–38.

[35] Bob Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), p. 33.

[36] Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 51–52, 74.

[37] Ibid., pp. 72, 71–72; David R. Elliott and Iris Miller, *Bible Bill: A Biography of William Aberhart* (Edmonton: Reidmore Books, 1987), pp. 166–168.

[38] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 49.

[39] Ernest C. Manning, Provincial Secretary, 3 September 1935, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; Ernest C. Manning, Minister of Trade and Industry, 19 October 1935, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[40] *The Male Minimum Wage Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 76.

[41] *The Labour Disputes Act Amendment Act, 1936*, S.A. 1936, c. 78.

[42] *The Hours of Work Act*, S.A. 1936 (2nd Sess.), c. 5.

[43] *The Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act*, S.A. 1938, c. 57.

[44] *The Provincial Industries Development Act*, S.A. 1936, c. 71.

[45] *The Alberta Insurance Act, 1926, Amendment Act, 1936*, S.A. 1936, c. 72.

[46] *The Credit Union Act*, S.A. 1938, c. 22.

[47] *The Vehicles and Highway Traffic Act, 1941*, S.A. 1941, c. 5.

[48] Lloyd Mackey, *Like Father, Like Son: Ernest Manning and Preston Manning* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1997), p. 62.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Gordon McCallum, "Alberta Success Story," *Maclean's* vol. 57, no. 20 (15 October 1944): pp. 46–47.

[51] Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 89, 88–89.

[52] Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 23.

[53] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 56.

[54] "Premier Gives Lovely Bride in Marriage to Provincial Secretary," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 15 April 1934, p. 20; A. Léopold Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1940 ed. (Hull: Labour Exchange, 1940), p. 389; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 52–57; "Taylor, [Rev. Roy C.]," [Obituary], *Calgary Herald*, 24 June 1963, p. 27.

[55] "Premier Gives Lovely Bride," p. 20.

[56] Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 22; "Premier Gives Lovely Bride," p. 20.

[57] "Manning, Muriel Aileen," [Obituary], *Edmonton Journal*, 25 April 2006, p. B7.

[58] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Preston Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Saskatchewan, district no. 216, Saskatoon, sub-district 33, Ward 3, schedule 1, p. 21, household 187, microfilm T-20459, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 28 September 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html

[59] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Mary Ann Hutchinson," County of North Ontario, Brock, 13 March 1875, no. 014243, [Birth Registration]; "Mother-in-Law of Premier Dies," *Albertan* (Calgary), 4 February 1964, p. 2.

[60] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Preston Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Mary Ann Hutchinson," [Birth Registration]; "Premier Gives Lovely Bride," p. 20. The surname 'Hutchison' has also been recorded in many sources as 'Hutchinson.'

[61] Fax from Gwynedd Cannan, Trinity Church Archivist, New York, NY, 4 December 2004.

[62] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Preston Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Cashman, *Ernest C. Manning*, pp. 10–11.

[63] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Preston Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[64] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, David Hutchison Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 119, Victoria North, sub-district c-2, Carden, schedule 1, p. 1, household 4, microfilm T-6501, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 10 July 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Hutchison, David," County of Victoria, Eldon, 14 July 1911, no. 030583, p. 235, [Death Registration].

[65] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, David Hutchinson Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 133, Ontario North, sub-district e-1, Brock Township, schedule 1, pp. 5–6, household 23, microfilm C-13245, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Hutchison, Christina," County of Victoria, Carden, 2 July 1901, no. 027204, [Death Registration].

[66] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Mary Ann Hutchinson," [Birth Registration]; "Mother-in-Law of Premier Dies," p. 2; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, David Hutchinson Household, 1881 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, David Hutchison Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[67] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, David Hutchinson Household, 1881 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, David Hutchison Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Preston Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, pp. 14–15.

[68] "Manning, Muriel Aileen," [Obituary], p. B7.

[69] "Mother-in-Law of Premier Dies," p. 2.

[70] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, David Hutchison Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; "Mother-in-Law of Premier Dies," p. 2.

[71] "Manning, Muriel Aileen," [Obituary], p. B7.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 154.

[74] "Manning, Muriel Aileen," [Obituary], p. B7.

[75] Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, pp. 15–16.

[76] "Premier Gives Lovely Bride," p. 20; Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 22.

[77] Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 24.

[78] Canada. Library of Parliament, "Manning, Ernest Preston," House of Commons - Historical Information, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 30 October 2005, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp

[79] "Ernest Charles Manning," [Obituary], *Calgary Herald*, 21 February 1996, p. C16; "Wins Promotion: Hon. Ernest Manning," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 7 July 1943, p. 1.

[80] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 208; Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 118–119.

[81] "Caucus Reaffirm Policy," *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 3 June 1943, pp. 1–2.

[82] Ernest C. Manning, President of the Council, 31 May 1943, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; "Caucus Reaffirm Policy," pp. 1–2.

[83] "Manning Heads New Alberta Government," *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 3 June 1943, p. 1.

[84] "Premier Manning," *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 3 June 1943, p. 3.

[85] "Outstanding Provincial Convention Held: 200 Delegates Attend Annual Meet Premier Manning Chosen Leader," *Today and Tomorrow* (Edmonton), 16 December 1943, pp. 1–2.

[86] J. R. Mallory, *Social Credit and the Federal Power in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1954), pp. 154–155; Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," pp. 42–43.

[87] Mallory, *Social Credit and the Federal Power in Canada*, p. 167.

[88] "Manning Will Forward Policies of Aberhart," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 1 June 1943, p. 15.

[89] "Hon. Ernest Manning is Premier of Alberta," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 31 May 1943, p. 1.

[90] *The Alberta Banking Powers Act*, S.A. 1944, c. 7, s. 2.

[91] *The Wartime Moratorium Act*, S.A. 1944, c. 14, ss. 3, 4.

[92] "Asks Banks Surrender Their Hidden Reserves," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 6 May 1944, p. 9; *Budget Speech Delivered by The Hon. Ernest C. Manning, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, March 9th, 1945, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: A. Shnitka, King's Printer, 1945), pp. 18, 22; "Premier Says Bank of Canada Must Solve Debt Problem," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 7 March 1944, p. 15.

[93] "4 Per Cent Offer Re: Alberta Bonds Is 'Unacceptable'," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 19 April 1944, p. 18.

[94] *The Provincial Debt Reorganization Act*, S.A. 1945 (2nd Sess.), c. 1.

[95] Gundy & Company Wood, Ltd., "To Holders of Province of Alberta Debentures," [Advertisement], *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 1 August 1945, p. 14; Alberta Bondholders Committee, "Province of Alberta Debt Reorganization Offer," [Advertisement], *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 22 August 1945, p. 16; Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 125–126.

[96] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 94; Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta for the Year Ending March 31, 1936* (Edmonton: A. Shnitka, King's Printer, 1936), p. 20.

[97] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 125.

[98] Ibid., p. 126.

[99] *Budget Speech*, 1945, pp. 22, 20–22.

[100] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 126.

[101] "2 Thousand Honor Late Premier at Memorial Service," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 31 May 1943, p. 16; *Budget Speech, 1945*, pp. 22–23; *Budget Speech, 1949*, pp. 18–19.

[102] *The Department of Public Welfare Act*, S.A. 1944, c. 6.

[103] *The Child Welfare Act*, S.A. 1944, c. 8.

[104] *The Maternity Hospitalization Act*, S.A. 1944, c. 9.

[105] James Struthers, *No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State 1914–1941* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), p. ix.

[106] "Premier Reiterates S.C. Principles in Brilliant Closing Statement," *Canadian Social Crediter* (Edmonton), 3 April 1947, pp. 1–2.

[107] Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 43; Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 121–123; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 211.

[108] C. B. Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 206.

[109] Ibid., pp. 206–207; Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 43.

[110] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 206; "Be Warned, Social Crediters," [Editorial], *Canadian Social Crediter* (Edmonton), 23 January 1947, p. 8.

[111] Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 56.

[112] William Aberhart, President and Dean, Calgary Prophetic Bible Institute, to J. H. Coldwell, Kathryn, AB, 29 March 1933, [Letter], Walter Norman and Amelia Turner Smith Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M1157/30.

[113] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, pp. 136–137; Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 206–211; Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 206.

[114] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 207; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 122–123.

[115] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 14.

[116] "Socred Victory Dooms C.C.F. State Socialism, Premier Manning Sure," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 10 August 1944, p. 3.

[117] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, p. 229.

[118] "Manning Sets Alberta Vote for August 8," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 8 July 1944, p. 13; Saskatchewan. Chief Electoral Officer, "Historical Provincial Vote Summaries," *Elections Saskatchewan*, [Internet], accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.elections.sk.ca/history.php

[119] *The Post-War Reconstruction Act*, S.A. 1943, c. 8; *The Department of Economic Affairs Act*, S.A. 1945, c. 2, s. 10.

[120] *The Department of Economic Affairs Act*, S.A. 1945, c. 2, s. 6.

[121] "Premier Ernest Manning Promises to Continue Unrelenting Battle for Permanent Economic Security," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 12 June 1943, pp. 1, 3.

[122] Bill no. 76, *An Act Respecting the Rights of Alberta Citizens*, 10th Legislature, 3rd Session, Alberta, 1946.

[123] "'Bill of Rights' No Idle Gesture, Manning States," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 26 March 1946, p. 7.

[124] Bill no. 76, *An Act Respecting the Rights of Alberta Citizens*, 10th Legislature, 3rd Session, Alberta, 1946, ss. 3–13, 15–27.

[125] "Premier Ernest Manning Promises to Continue Unrelenting Battle," pp. 1, 3.

[126] *The Alberta Bill of Rights Act*, S.A. 1946, c. 11, Preamble.

[127] *The Alberta Bill of Rights Act*, S.A. 1946, c. 11, ss. 15(a), 20(2); Homer Ramage, "Liberty Profile Ernest Manning," *Liberty: Canada's Young Family Magazine* (2 March 1946): p. 23; "Alberta Reacts," [Editorial], *Globe* (Toronto), 23 August 1935, p. 4.

[128] *The Alberta Bill of Rights Act*, S.A. 1946, c. 11, ss. 15(b), 16.

[129] *The Alberta Bill of Rights Act*, S.A. 1946, c. 11. ss. 15(a), 17, 20(2).

[130] *The Alberta Bill of Rights Act*, S.A. 1946, c. 11, ss. 2(b-d, f), 9–12.

[131] *Reference Re: Alberta Bill of Rights*, [1947] 2. W.W.R. 401, 4 D.L.R. 1 (J.C.P.C.); Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 208–209.

[132] Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 126, 130; Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 44.

[133] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 129.

[134] Alberta. Social Credit Board, *Annual Report of the Social Credit Board for the Year Ending December 1946, Presented to the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta at its Ordinary Session, 1947* (Edmonton: A. Shnitka, King's Printer, 1947), pp. 3–7, 14–17, 19–21; "Majority Rule Not Democracy Says Social Credit Board," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 March 1947, p. 9; "Secret Ballot, Party System Under Attack," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 20 March 1947, p. 9; Flanagan and Lee, "From Social Credit to Social Conservatism," p. 191.

[135] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 211–212.

[136] Ibid., pp. 210–211; "Calls S.C. Report 'Absurd, Menace'," *Edmonton Journal*, 28 March 1947, p. 13; C. H. Douglas, *Social Credit* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1933), p. 29.

[137] "Premier Reiterates S.C. Principles," pp. 1, 2; Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, pp. 210–211.

[138] "Manning Charges Plot against Social Crediters," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 12 November 1947, p. 9.

[139] "Premier Reiterates S.C. Principles," p. 1.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," p. 44.

[142] Macpherson, *Democracy in Alberta*, p. 211.

[143] Byrne, *Alberta's Revolutionary Leaders*, p. 159.

[144] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 130.

[145] Ibid.; Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, p. 105.

[146] C. H. Douglas, "Social Credit in Alberta (1948)," *The Social Crediter: For Political and Economic Realism* vol. 21, no. 2 (11 September 1948): p. 2.

[147] *The Alberta Industrial Corporation Act*, S.A. 1946, c. 7, ss. 5, 7.

[148] *The Industrial Development Act*, S.A. 1952, c. 39, ss. 3, 4, 6.

[149] *The Alberta Commercial Services Act*, S.A. 1964, c. 12, ss. 5, 8.

[150] *The Mineral Taxation Act, 1947*, S.A. 1947, c. 10.

[151] *The Right of Entry Arbitration Act, 1952*, S.A. 1952, c. 79, ss. 4, 8, 10.

[152] David H. Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry and the Conservation Board* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1993), p. 256.

[153] John Richards and Larry Pratt, *Prairie Capitalism: Power and Influence in the New West*, Canada in Transition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), pp. 72, 71–73.

[154] Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry*, p. 256.

[155] Ibid., pp. 256–257.

[156] "Manning Criticises Eastern Capital as Overcautious," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 18 March 1952, p. 3.

[157] "Manning Predicts Possible Power Shortage by '51," *Calgary Herald*, 13 August 1948, p. 2; Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry*, p. 283; "Upsurging Oil Lifts Alberta High," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 18 September 1950, p. 28.

[158] Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry*, pp. 256–258; Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 139–140.

[159] Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry*, pp. 281–282.

[160] Paul Wright, "Nathan Eldon Tanner Facing Major Hurdle in His Career: This Former School-Teacher, Store Clerk and Politician Fights His Biggest Battle," *Western Business and Industry* vol. 30, no. 5 (May 1956): p. 17.

[161] Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry*, pp. 281–282.

[162] Ibid., pp. 333–334.

[163] Ibid., p. 334.

[164] *The Gas Resources Preservation Act*, S.A. 1949 (2nd Sess.), c. 2, ss. 3, 2(a), 4.

[165] Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry*, pp. 255, 262, 252–268.

[166] Peter Elliot, "Bright Future: Alberta Looks Forward to a Big Boom as Oil and Coal Bring New Industries," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 28 October 1947, p. 17; "Upsurging Oil Lifts Alberta High," p. 28; Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, p. 100.

[167] *Budget Speech, 1949*, pp. 17–18.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry*, p. 284.

[170] Richards and Pratt, *Prairie Capitalism*, pp. 59, 57–59.

[171] "Member Claims True Social Credit is Dead in Alberta," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 27 February 1947, p. 14.

[172] Hesketh, *Major Douglas and Alberta Social Credit*, pp. 222–223, 232–234.

[173] "Premier Reiterates S.C. Principles," p. 2.

[174] "Finance at Large," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto) 6 June 1947, p. 26.

[175] *The Alberta Investment Fund Act, 1965*, S.A. 1965, c. 42, ss. 3(1), 2.

[176] "House Approves Investment Fund," *Edmonton Journal*, 9 April 1965, p. 34; "Fund Response 'Encouraging'," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 February 1966, p. 6.

[177] "Manning Predicts Possible Power Shortage by '51," pp. 1, 2; "Now It's Alberta's Turn," [Editorial], *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 13 August 1948, p. 6.

[178] "Manning Predicts Possible Power Shortage by '51," p. 2.

[179] "The Alberta Melee," [Editorial], *Globe* (Toronto), 23 July 1935, p. 4.

[180] "Now It's Alberta's Turn," p. 6.

[181] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 14.

[182] Breen, *Alberta's Petroleum Industry*, p. 285.

[183] Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 132–133.

[184] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta for the Year Ended March 31, 1968* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 74.

[185] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 133.

[186] *The City Act*, S.A. 1951, c. 9, ss. 3, 92–578, 622–712.

[187] *The Municipal Assistance Act*, S.A. 1951, c. 54, ss. 3–5, 8–12.

[188] *The Municipal Capital Expenditure Loans Act*, S.A. 1953, c. 81, s. 4(3).

[189] *The Alberta Municipal Financing Corporation Act*, S.A. 1956, c. 3, s. 3.

[190] *The New Towns Act*, S.A. 1956, c. 39, ss. 3–4.

[191] *The Libraries Act*, S.A. 1956, c. 27, ss. 3, 16–35.

[192] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Province of Alberta: Jubilee Auditoriums* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1954), p. 1.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Ibid., p. 65.

[195] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, p. 139.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 15. This source erroneously indicates that there was a total 60 seats in the Legislative Assembly in 1952. In fact, there were 61, as Edmonton returned seven—not six—Members to the House.

[198] Ibid., p. 72.

[199] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, pp. 130–132; Alberta. Royal Commission Appointed under the Public Inquiries Act to Investigate the Conduct of the Business of Government, *Report of the Alberta Royal Commission Appointed under the Public Inquiries Act Chapter 139, Revised Statutes of Alberta 1942* (6 June 1956), pp. 228–229.

[200] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, pp. 129–130; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 15.

[201] Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, p. 130; Alberta. Royal Commission Appointed under the Public Inquiries Act to Investigate the Conduct of the Business of Government, *Report of the Alberta Royal Commission Appointed under the Public Inquiries Act*, p. 228.

[202] Alberta. Royal Commission Appointed under the Public Inquiries Act to Investigate the Conduct of the Business of Government, *Report of the Alberta Royal Commission Appointed under the Public Inquiries Act*, p. 228–229; Finkel, *The Social Credit Phenomenon*, pp. 130–131.

[203] Bob Hesketh, "The Abolition of Preferential Voting in Alberta," *Prairie Forum* vol. 12, no. 1 (Spring 1987): p. 123.

[204] Ibid., pp. 123, 124.

[205] *The Election Act*, S.A. 1956, c. 15, s. 89.

[206] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 86.

[207] Kenneth Norrie, Douglas Owram and J. C. Herbert Emery, *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 3rd ed. (Scarborough: Thomson Nelson, 2002), p. 380.

[208] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta for the Year Ended March 31, 1958* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1958), p. 214; Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta for the Year Ended March 31, 1959* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1959), p. 212; *The Oil and Gas Royalties Dividend Act,* S.A. 1957, c. 64, s. 3.

[209] "Alberta's Dividends," [Editorial], *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 4 March 1957, p. 6; "Alberta Reacts," p. 4.

[210] *The School Act, 1952,* S.A. 1952, c. 80.

[211] *The School Borrowing Assistance Act*, S.A. 1950, c. 65, s. 7(2).

[212] *The School Buildings Assistance Act*, S.A. 1952, c. 81, ss. 6–7.

[213] *The Agricultural and Vocational Colleges Act*, S.A. 1967, c. 3, s. 3.

[214] *The Mines and Minerals Act, 1962*, S.A. 1962, c. 49, s. 3(a).

[215] *The Financial Administration Act*, S.A. 1968, c. 30, ss. 4–7, 29–31, 49, 53–56, 68–87.

[216] *The Retirement Annuities Act*, S.A. 1951, c. 4, ss. 3–4, 10, 18, 20–21.

[217] *The Family Court Act*, S.A. 1952, c. 32, ss. 3–4.

[218] *The Homes for the Aged Act*, S.A. 1959, c. 29, ss. 3–4.

[219] *The Northern Alberta Development Council Act*, S.A. 1963, c. 41, s. 4.

[220] *The Alberta Housing Act, 1968*, S.A. 1968, c. 44, ss. 3, 7–8, 21.

[221] *The Alberta Crop Insurance Act*, S.A. 1964, c. 17, ss. 3, 5–6.

[222] *The Farm Purchase Credit Act, 1963*, S.A. 1963, c. 17, s. 3.

[223] Ernest C. Manning, *A White Paper on Human Resources Development* (Edmonton: Queen's Printer, March 1967), p. 17.

[224] Ibid.

[225] *The Human Resources Development Authority Act*, S.A. 1967, c. 35, ss. 2, 3(1).

[226] E. C. Manning, *Political Realignment: A Challenge to Thoughtful Canadians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967).

[227] Ibid., p. 63.

[228] Ibid.

[229] "200,000 to Welcome Royal Visitors Today," *Edmonton Journal*, 27 October 1951, p. 2; "200,000 Welcome Royalty," *Albertan* (Calgary), 29 October 1951, p. 2.

[230] "Coronation Report," *Within Our Borders* vol. 6, no. 1 (15 June 1953): pp. 1, 4.

[231] "Private and Official Visits since 1953: Her Royal Highness The Princess Margaret, Countess of Snowdon," Royal Visits to Canada, *Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols Promotion*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/fr-rf/visit_e.cfm#08

[232] "Private and Official Visits since 1953: Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh," Royal Visits to Canada, *Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols Promotion*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/fr-rf/visit_e.cfm#01

[233] "Manning Salutes Israeli 'Belief'," *Edmonton Journal*, 5 March 1964, p. 5.

[234] "The Provinces Lead the Way: More Trade with Japan," *Albertan* (Calgary), June 9 1966, p. 5; "Manning Sees Sato," *Albertan* (Calgary), 28 May 1966, p. 1.

[235] "Private and Official Visits since 1953: Her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra, The Honourable Lady Ogilvy," Royal Visits to Canada, *Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols Promotion*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/fr-rf/visit_e.cfm#16; Dona Harvey, "Princess Alexandra Faces Busy Schedule in City Visit," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 May 1967, p. 29; Ruth Bowen, "Captivating Princess Alex Shares Night to Remember," *Edmonton Journal*, 27 May 1967, p. 1.

[236] "Manning to Kindle Eternal Flame," *Edmonton Journal*, 23 December 1966, p. 3.

[237] *Budget Speech of The Hon. A. O. Aalborg, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered at the Fifth Session of the Fifteenth Legislature of the Province of Alberta, 1967, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1967), p. 11.

[238] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 15th Legislature, 5th Session*, vol. LXXIII, 9 February 1967, pp. 2–3; *Budget Speech of The Hon. A. O. Aalborg, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered at the Third Session of the Fifteenth Legislature of the Province of Alberta, 1966, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1966), p. 9.

[239] "Centennial Outlined," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 March 1968, p. 39.

[240] *The Flag Act*, S.A. 1968, c. 31.

[241] "Why I'm Going - By Manning," *Albertan* (Calgary), 23 October 1968, p. 9.

[242] "Premier Manning Plans to Quit as Soon as Successor is Selected," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 28 September 1968, p. 13.

[243] "Socred Convention: Strom Plans to Capitalize on Renewed Political Interest," *Edmonton Journal*, 7 December 1968, p. 8; "Election Dims Hope for Tories - Notley," *Edmonton Journal*, 7 December 1968, p. 8.

[244] "Manning Steps Down Today," *Albertan* (Calgary), 12 December 1968, p. 1.

[245] "Ex-Premier Resigns Seat," *Edmonton Journal*, 31 December 1968, p. 1.

[246] Dabbs, *Preston Manning: The Roots of Reform*, p. 78; "M and M Consultants to Business," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 March 1969, p. 10.

[247] "Manning Director of Bank," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 February 1969, p. 61.

[248] "Manning, Ernest Charles," [Obituary], *Calgary Herald*, 21 February 1996, p. C16.

[249] Canada. Library of Parliament, "Manning, The Hon. Charles E.," House of Commons - Historical Information, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp; "Former Alberta Premier Leaves Senate," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 21 September 1983, p. 8.

[250] "Manning, Ernest Charles," [Obituary], *Edmonton Journal*, 21 February 1996, p. B4; Peter McCormick, Ernest C. Manning and Gordon Gibson, *Regional Representation: The Canadian Partnership* (Calgary: Canada West Foundation, 1981); Gordon Gibson, "Ernest Manning and the Drive for a Better Senate," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 27 February 1996, p. A23.

[251] "Manning, Muriel Aileen," [Obituary], p. B7.

[252] Ibid.

[253] "1,500 Attend Birthday Party Honoring Premier Manning," *Edmonton Journal*, 1 October 1958, p. 53.

[254] University of Alberta. Office of the Registrar and Students Awards, "Honorary Degree Recipients," *2006–2007 University of Alberta Calendar*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2006), accessed 23 July 2006, available from
http://www.registrar.ualberta.ca/calendar/University-Staff/Honorary-Degree-Recipients/243.html

[255] McGill University, Conferring the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws, 11 October 1967, McGill University Convocation Programme, McGill University Archives, Montreal, QC.

[256] "U of C Bestows Honors, Diplomas," *Albertan* (Calgary), 31 May 1967, p. 11; University of Calgary, "Honorary Degree Recipients (1966 to 2003)," Who's Who, *University of Calgary Calendar 2006–2007*, [Internet], (Calgary: University of Calgary, 2006), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.ucalgary.ca/pubs/calendar/2006/who/HonoraryDegreeRecipients2.htm

[257] Fax from Linda Sebastian, Timetable and Convocation Officer, Registrar's Office and Student Services, University of Lethbridge, 24 November 2004.

[258] Letter from Ferne Kvill, Executive Assistant to the President, Athabasca University, Office of the President, 24 November 2004.

[259] Hugh A. Dempsey, *Tribal Honors: A History of the Kainai Chieftainship* (Calgary: Kainai Chieftainship, 1997), pp. 62, 117, 142; "Alberta's Premier Honored," *Edmonton Journal*, 16 April 1953, p. 4.

[260] "Manning, Ernest Charles," Members of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada: Historical Alphabetical List Since 1867, *Privy Council Office: Information Resources*, [Internet], (Government of Canada), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.pco-bcp.gc.ca/default.asp?Language=E&Page=informationresources&Sub=PrivyCouncilMembers&doc=PCMembersHIstList-A-E_e.htm

[261] Canada. Governor General, "Ernest C. Manning," Honours: Order of Canada Membership List, *Governor General of Canada*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Governor General of Canada, 2005), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.gg.ca/honours/search-recherche/index_e.asp

[262] "Senator The Honourable Ernest Charles Manning, C.C., P.C.," [Internet]; "Ernest Charles Manning," [Obituary], p. C16; "Manning the First Recipient of Award," *Edmonton Journal*, 1 December 1981, p. B2.

[263] "Manning, Ernest Charles," [Obituary], p. B4; Canada Post, Provincial Premiers Featured on Stamps, 11 February 1998, [News Release], Ottawa.

[264] Ken Chernuka, "Town of Manning, Alberta," Visitors Guide, *Discover the Peace Country* (Grande Prairie, AB: Grande Prairie Daily Herald Tribune, 2003), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.discoverthepeacecountry.com/htmlpages/manning.html; Merrily K. Aubrey, ed., *Northern Alberta*, vol. 4, *Place Names Of Alberta* (Calgary: Alberta Community Development, Friends of Geographical Names of Alberta Society, and University of Calgary Press, 1996), s.v. "Manning."

[265] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; *Welcome to The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

[266] Edmonton Historical Board. Heritage Sites Committee, *Naming Edmonton: From Ada to Zoie* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2004), p. 207.

[267] "School Profiles: Ernest Manning High School," Schools and Areas, *Calgary Board of Education*, [Internet], (Calgary: Calgary Board of Education, 2005), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.cbe.ab.ca/schools/view.asp?id=236; Mackey, *Like Father, Like Son*, p. 218.

[268] *Manning Innovation Awards*, [Internet], (Calgary: Manning Awards Foundation), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.manningawards.ca; "Manning, Ernest Charles," [Obituary], p. B4.

[269] "Inaugural Ernest Manning Leadership Medallion Presented," NAIT Newsroom: 2003 News Releases, *Northern Alberta Institute of Technology*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Northern Alberta Institute of Technology, 2003), accessed 1 October 2005, available from http://www.nait.ab.ca/news/may2003/manning.htm

[270] "Manning, Ernest Charles," [Obituary], p. B4; Ernest Charles Manning: September 20, 1908–February 19, 1996, [Funeral Program]; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 23rd Legislature, 4th Session,* vol. CIV, 20 February 1996, p. 22.

[271] Larry Johnsrude, "No State Funeral for Modest Former Premier," *Edmonton Journal,* 21 February 1996, p. A3.

[272] "Manning, Ernest Charles," [Obituary], p. B4; Ernest Charles Manning: September 20, 1908 – February 19, 1996, [Funeral Program].

[273] Sheldon Alberts, "Albertans Bid Final Farewell," *Calgary Herald*, 24 February 1996, p. A1.

[274] Ernest Charles Manning: September 20, 1908 – February 19, 1996, [Funeral Program].

[275] Alberts, "Albertans Bid Final Farewell," p. A1.

[276] Fax from Eden Brook Memorial Gardens Cemetery and Cremation Centre, Calgary, 10 November 2004.

[277] Alberts, "Albertans Bid Final Farewell," pp. A1–A2.

[278] Johnsrude, "No State Funeral for Modest Former Premier," p. A3.

[279] Alex Frazer-Harrison, "Lougheed Recalls Help from Mentor," *Calgary Sun*, 20 February 1996, p. 4.

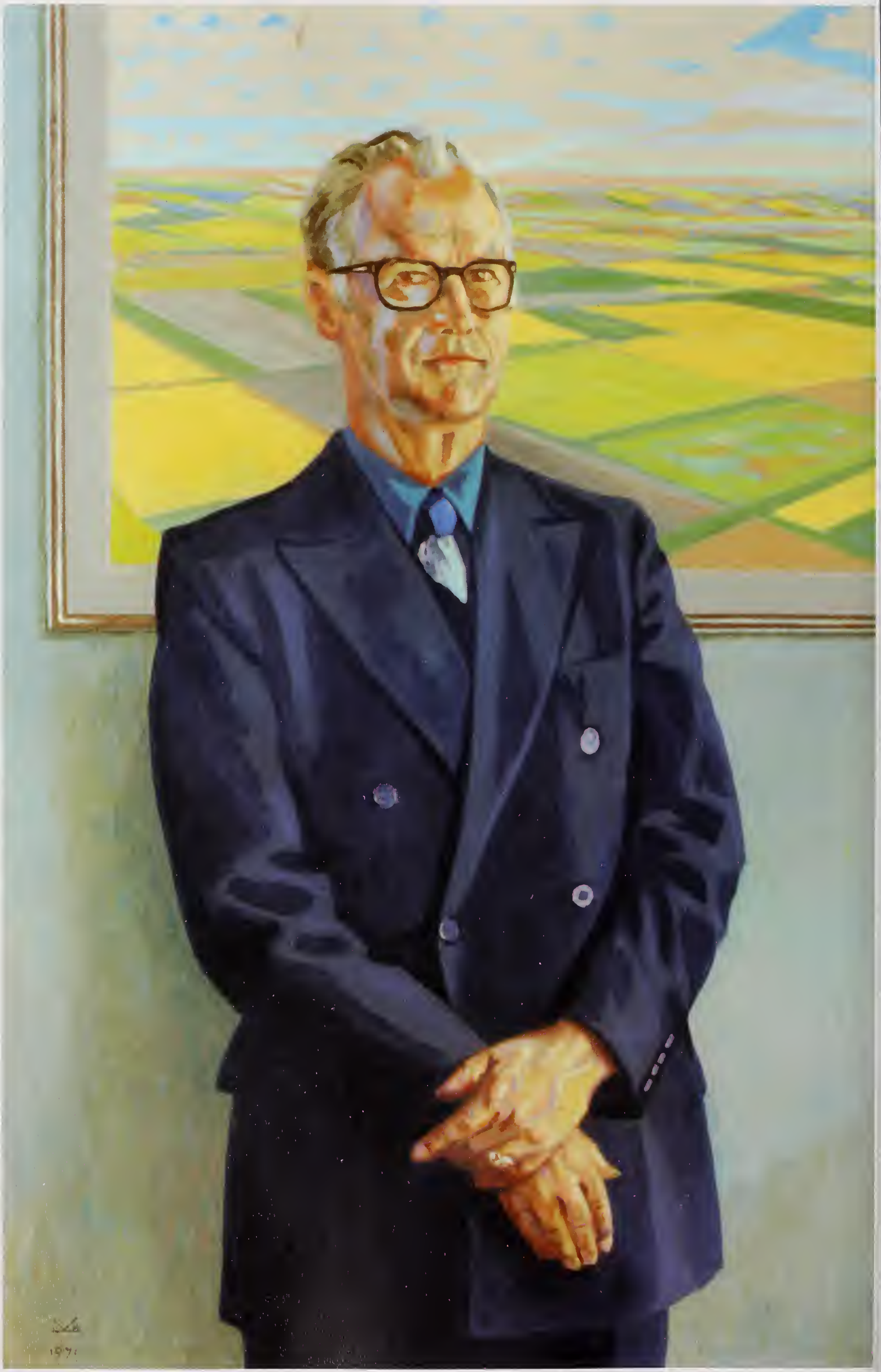
[280] Alberts, "Albertans Bid Final Farewell," pp. A1–A2.

[281] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 23rd Legislature, 4th Session*, 20 February 1996, p. 76.

[282] "A Son's Eulogy," *Calgary Herald*, 24 February 1996, p. B5; *Ernest Manning Funeral* (Burlington, ON: Crossroads Family of Ministries, 23 February 1996), [Videocassette].

*Graceful in defeat, a man of much humour and good nature, self-effacing, compassionate, and, above all, concerned with the welfare of the ordinary Albertan, he did his province proud*

# Strom *1968–1971*



# HARRY EDWIN STROM

Harry Edwin Strom was the province's first Alberta-born Premier. Having made his living as a grain and livestock farmer in the southern part of the province, Strom served as both Minister of Agriculture (1962–1968) and Minister of Municipal Affairs (1968) under Premier Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) before being appointed Alberta's ninth Premier. His administration had to contend with a period of industrial, social and political change in the province, and his policy development approaches and his legislative program were a reflection of this reality. In an effort to fulfill his vision for social development, Strom assigned to government the role of creating an environment wherein individuals enjoyed opportunities "to grow according to their potential as socially responsible and economically productive members of society."[1] Strom's administration was the last Social Credit Government in Alberta in the 20th century. His 33-month tenure coincided in part with the term of Lieutenant Governor J. W. Grant MacEwan (1966–1974). At the time of his appointment as Premier, Strom was 54 years of age.

## Family History

Harry Edwin Strom was born on July 7, 1914, on the family farm near Burdett, Alberta,[2] the sixth of the 11 children* of Nils Hjalmar Strom and Elna Maria Olivia Ekensteen.[3] Nils Strom (1877–1928),[4] born in the south of Sweden,[5] immigrated to the United States in 1897 and worked for a short time in Chicago, Illinois.[6] However, by June 1900, he was living in the village of Evansville, Douglas County, Minnesota, where he was employed as a day labourer.[7] While residing in Evansville, he met Elna Ekensteen.[8] Nils and Elna were married at the home of their minister in Evansville, on April 5, 1904.[9]

Elna (1883–1969)[10] was born in Stockholm, Sweden, the eldest of the 10 children of Olof Jonsson and Augusta Hoffsted.[11] Elna and her sister Olofina Christine Ekensteen, both teenagers at the time, left Gothenburg, Sweden, sailing on the S.S. *Ultonia* out of Liverpool, England, arriving in Boston in May 1901. Their final destination was the home of their aunt and uncle Sophia and Lars Jonsson (Johnson), in Evansville.[12] Eventually, Elna's other eight siblings left Sweden and immigrated either to the United States or to Canada.[13] Elna's father, Olof Jonsson (1856–1927), was the brother of Lars Jonsson but had changed his name to Ekensteen.[14]

---

* Agda Theresa (b. 1905, d. 1976) [Rev. Bengt 'Ben' Reinhold Hallgren (1904–1985)]; Edla L. (1906–1986) [F. Herbert Carlson (1907–1982)]; Dagny (b. 1909); Wallace (1910–1999); Arthur Clarence (1911–1999); Harry Edwin (1914–1984); Walter (1916); Alice; Verner 'Vern'; Agnes [Sigvart 'Sig' Odlund] and Wilfred (b. ca. 1927). Edla (Strom) Carlson, "Strom, Nils H. (1877–1928)," in *Burdett Prairie Trails* (Burdett, AB: Burdett History Book Committee, 1981), pp. 483, 486; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Hjelmer Strom Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Alberta, district no. 4, Medicine Hat, sub-district 21, schedule 1, p. 14, household 151, microfilm T-20327, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 25 April 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003–100.01-e.html; "[Ancestors of Harry Strom]," Ancestry World Tree Project, *Ancestry.com*, [GEDCOM file], [Internet Subscription Service], (MyFamily.com), accessed 28 April 2006, available from http://awt.ancestry.com

Olof was a master blacksmith, tinsmith, pipefitter and clockmaker,*[15] and his wife, Augusta (1862–1911), the only child of C. G. Hoffstedt and Mina Jonsson, was a dressmaker.[16]

In 1908, Nils Strom, Lars Jonsson and Elna's brother Johan Victor Ekensteen arrived in the Medicine Hat area of Alberta with the intention of making entry for homesteads.[17] Nils prepared the homestead near Burdett for the arrival of his family; Elna arrived in the spring of 1909 with their three children, after a long journey by train.[18] Nils and Elna Strom were Lutheran.[19]

Nils Strom was active in community life, serving as a councillor of the Municipal District of Forty Mile No. 64 (1920–1924) and as the first trustee of the Ballman School District No. 2421.[20] His family relocated to Calgary in November 1927, but in October of the following year, Nils died.[21] Three years later, 17-year-old Harry accompanied his mother back to Burdett and subsequently resumed work on the family farm.[22] Harry's younger brother Walter, in addition to assisting with the management of the farm, served as mayor of Bow Island, Alberta.[23] Several of Nils and Elna's children and grandchildren joined Christian missions to China, the Quadra Islands, Japan, Zimbabwe and the Philippines as both laity and ordained clergy.[24] The Stroms were members of the Evangelical Free Church in Bow Island.[25]

## Education

Harry Strom completed his early education at Ballman School, located in Ballman School District No. 2421, Alberta, and at Burdett School in Burdett.[26] Subsequently, he attended East Calgary High School† until 1927.[27] In October 1929, Harry enrolled in a Motor Mechanics course at the Provincial Institute of Technology and Art (PITA)‡ in Calgary, from which he received a certificate in March 1931.[28]

---

* Olof made and serviced church clocks and had been apprenticed to C. G. Hoffstedt in Otland, Sweden. "[Ancestors of Harry Strom]," [Internet Subscription Service].

† Built in 1912, the school is now an elementary school called Colonel Walker Community School and is named after Colonel James Walker, who donated the land on which the school is built. "School Profiles: Colonel Walker Community High School," Schools and Areas, *Calgary Board of Education*, [Internet], (Calgary: Calgary Board of Education, 2005), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.cbe.ab.ca/schools/view.asp?id=60; "School Profiles: H. D. Cartwright Junior High School," Schools and Areas, *Calgary Board of Education*, [Internet], (Calgary: Calgary Board of Education, 2005), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.cbe.ab.ca/schools/view.asp?id=249

‡ In 1960, PITA was renamed the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology (SAIT), by which name it continues to be known. "About SAIT: History," *Southern Alberta Institute of Technology*, [Internet], (Calgary: SAIT), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.sait.ab.ca/corporategeneral/history.htm

### Early Career

While still in his twenties and assisting with the management of the family farm in Burdett, Harry Strom became active in public life in rural Alberta. Encouraged by members of his community to seek public office in the Municipal District of Forty Mile, he was elected as a municipal councillor in 1943, in which position he served until 1949.[29] He also became a school trustee for the divisional school board, a member of the Burdett Home and School Association, director of the Forty Mile Rural Electrification Association and president of the Agricultural Improvement Association of Burdett.[30] Always active in the life of his church, Strom served as Deacon on the first Church Board of the Bow Island Evangelical Free Church, which was established on October 1, 1947, and on the church's building committee in 1958, when the congregation outgrew its facilities.[31] Strom developed the farm in Burdett, which grew to cover more than 970 hectares and on which he raised 'beef cattle, grain and sugar beets.'[32]

### Marriage and Family

On October 27, 1938,[33] Harry Edwin Strom married Ruth Dorothy Johnson, of Bow Island, the elder of the two children* of Charles Elmer Johnson (b. ca. 1872, d. 1948[34]) and Emma Christina Nielson (b. ca. 1880, d. 1964[35]).[36] In 1907, Swedish-born Charles Johnson homesteaded in the Bow Island district.[37] Some years later, while visiting his sister in New York City, he met Emma Nielson, whom he married in New York in 1916 and with whom he returned to his homestead in Alberta.[38] In the early 1920s, Charles Johnson relocated to the town of Bow Island to establish the town's grocery and butcher shop, which he ran until 1942, when he retired to Medicine Hat.[39] Ruth, who was born on the farm, later worked in her father's store.[40] Ruth and Harry Strom had six children: Howard, Faith [Barry Pritchard], Beverly [Ken Bygrave], Brian, Ronald and Arlene.[41]

### Political Career

By 1955, Harry Strom, who had already 'established himself as a successful farmer,'[42] was 'nearly out of [public life],' his wife having urged him to relinquish the various offices he held at the local level.[43] However, when it was suggested to him that he contest the Social Credit nomination for Cypress, Strom decided to allow his name to stand and won the nomination.[44] Now poised to enter provincial politics, Strom successfully contested the June 29, 1955 provincial general election as the Social Credit candidate for the constituency of Cypress, defeating Liberal candidate John Flaig by 1,463 votes.[45]

At the time of Strom's election to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, Social Credit administrations had already been in power in the province for 20 years. During its early years, the Social Credit Party, under the leadership of Premier William Aberhart (1935–1943), advocated novel economic theories and monetary policies and was at that time considered by some a 'radical' party.[46] Aberhart believed that the implementation of social credit theory would provide a remedy to the economic, social and psychological devastation caused by the Great Depression.[47] Following Aberhart's untimely death in 1943, Ernest C. Manning was appointed

---

* Ruth Dorothy and Esther Charlotte.

Premier, and under his direction, by the 1950s, Albertans were experiencing "a governmental era characterized by centrism, pragmatism, and caution."[48]

During his years as a Private Member, Strom played a noteworthy legislative role. On March 27, 1956, Strom was one of eight Members appointed by Premier Manning to a Special Committee to review *The Liquor Control Act* (1953) and to make recommendations for its amendment.[49] On February 19 of the following year, during the Third Session of the 13th Legislature, the Committee presented its report, which outlined 51 recommendations for the Act's amendment, to the Legislative Assembly.[50] Accordingly, at the end of that Session, legislation was passed, namely *An Act to amend The Liquor Control Act* (1957), which incorporated a number of the Committee's proposals.[51] Early in the First Session of the 14th Legislature, in February 1960, Strom introduced a motion calling for the amendment of the legislation relating to rural telephone service and to the loans available to rural telephone companies. The motion, which emphasized the importance of telephone service to the rural population, carried, and *The Rural Telephone Revolving Fund Act* (1957) was duly amended to broaden the provisions governing the availability and repayment of loans for rural telephone companies.[52] During the same Session, Strom presented another motion that, in noting the value of the cattle industry to the provincial economy, called for the Government to consider the establishment of a beef-cattle breeding program. The motion was carried unanimously.[53]

Harry E. Strom was re-elected in a decisive victory as the Member for Cypress in the provincial general election of June 18, 1959, receiving more than 79 per cent of the total votes cast.[54] He continued his service as a Private Member, but on October 15, 1962, after seven years of such service, Strom was sworn in as a member of Premier Manning's Cabinet, holding the Agriculture portfolio,[55] a ministerial position that was considered "traditionally one of the most important in Alberta because of its strong agrarian base."[56] At the time of his appointment, the *Calgary Herald* noted that "Strom brings to the agriculture portfolio the experience of the practical farmer and some of the idealism he has retained through nearly 30 years of [public] service …"[57] Strom knew only too well the challenges facing Alberta's farmers, including access to capital and the need for management and technical training.[58] Upon assuming the portfolio, Strom made the following statement: "The day of the uneducated farmer belongs to the past … farming is a business and a competitive one. The farmer who makes out is the farmer who can produce goods cheaper than the other."[59] He also expressed his intention, as Minister of Agriculture, to "set up policies to help the farmer help himself."[60]

In the early 1960s, as was true throughout Alberta's history, agriculture was a staple of the provincial economy.[61] However, farming was becoming 'highly scientific' and was emerging as a modern business enterprise.[62] In order to remain competitive, farmers were compelled to acquire new machinery and property and were also faced with production costs that often exceeded the returns that they received for their products.[63] Strom understood the need for individual farms to adapt their business methods to an increasingly complex agricultural industry. He directed departmental initiatives towards the assessment of farmers' emergent needs and the practical means of meeting them.[64] He also proposed ongoing technical and management education for farm operators.[65] Determined that the Government continue to assist farmers who were faced with increased costs, Strom introduced, during the Fifth Session of the 14th Legislature—his first Session as Minister of Agriculture—a revised version of *The Farm Purchase Credit Act* (1957).[66] According to the stipulations of the new Act, the purpose of which was "to provide means whereby low cost long term credit may be made available to farmers for the purchase of farm lands," the provincial government would assume from the municipalities a considerable share of the administration of the Act.[67] *The Farm Purchase Credit Act, 1963* received Royal Assent on March 29, 1963.[68]

During his tenure as Minister of Agriculture, Strom also strove to address issues related to drought, irrigation and the development and protection of Alberta's water resources. For example, in 1963, Strom advocated long-term water conservation measures.[69] Two consecutive years of drought in southern Alberta had increased public awareness of the need for irrigation; Strom noted that the requirement for 'upstream storage' was becoming particularly apparent.[70] The next year, Strom's efforts were directed towards guarding the province's water rights. Remarking that "[f]uture generations are not going to thank me if I give away something which should have been protected," the Minister stated that while the Government was willing to work with the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba in studying water supplies and uses, it would not support the establishment of a regulatory board by its provincial or federal counterparts that would 'dictate water usage' in Alberta.[71] In 1966, Strom outlined his Department's plans for the development of the province's water resources based on the concept of diverting water from northern regions to the south, where the need for irrigation was most keenly felt.[72]

As Minister, Strom dedicated himself to strengthening the viability of the agricultural industry through such measures as *The Alberta Crop Insurance Act* of 1964.[73] This Act established the Alberta Crop Insurance Corporation, which was empowered to administer a province-wide risk-insurance program.[74] Responding to the business imperative of marketing agricultural products, Strom proposed amendments to the *Marketing of Agricultural Products Act*[75] and stressed the scientific aspects of modern agriculture.[76] On October 13, 1965, Strom presided over the opening of the Veterinary Diagnostic Laboratory in Lethbridge.[77] By 1966, the Department of Agriculture had established the Alberta Agricultural Research Trust, whose goal was the expansion of academic research through the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of Alberta.*[78] True to his vision, and that of his party, of government support for individual advancement, Strom inaugurated the Department's Economics Division, which offered farm management courses and seminars to 7,000 Alberta farmers. Many Economic Division services embraced new technologies, permitting computer analysis of farm records and enabling statistical analysis and research projects, including those involving water conservation, crop development and dairy operations.[79] Statutory support for agricultural education in the form of *The Agricultural and Vocational Colleges Act*[80] was legislated in 1967 as an integrated effort of the Departments of Agriculture and Education.[81] In general, Strom supported self-sufficiency for Alberta's farmers and viewed his portfolio as a 'service department.'[82]

---

* Research programs funded under the Alberta Agricultural Research Trust included computerized benefit analysis of rail-line abandonment, tractor accident surveys, crop yield and soil quality research and pesticide residue assessments. Honourable Harry E. Strom, Minister of Agriculture, [Speech to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta], 24 February 1967, p. 7.

In both the 1963 and 1967 provincial general elections, Strom was returned to the Legislative Assembly as the Member for Cypress, his constituents voting overwhelmingly in his favour on both occasions.[83] In 1967, Strom supported Premier Manning's new emphasis on human resources development and served as the first chair of the Alberta Human Resources Development Authority.[84] The next year, Strom was appointed as Minister of Municipal Affairs.[85] According to one historian, during Strom's brief tenure in this position, he "dealt fairly and creditably with the cities."[86]

On September 27, 1968, Premier Manning announced his intention to retire from public office upon the Social Credit Party's selecting a new provincial leader.[87] Manning "had never cultivated a successor, and there was no one obvious candidate when he retired."[88] The Social Credit Party was therefore compelled to hold the first leadership convention in its history.[89] After being approached to contest the leadership by a group of youthful party members, including Premier Manning's son Preston, Strom announced his candidacy on October 9, 1968.[90] Although Premier Manning did not publicly endorse any of the candidates for the party leadership, it was believed that Strom had his 'tacit support.'[91]

Recognizing that the winner of the party leadership contest would become the province's next Premier, and realizing that the provincial electorate was generally more urbanized and youthful than it had been in the past, his campaign team was anxious to portray Strom to the party membership "as a man who would responsibly modernize the party and get the government back in touch with alienated voters in the cities, in the middle class, and among youth."[92] However, there were indications that this process of modernization would be carried out gradually in order not to alienate seniors and staunch Social Credit supporters.[93] As one historian explained:

> In practical political terms, [Strom] had been around Social Credit long enough to be acceptable to the old-timers without having been around long enough to be thought of as an old-timer himself. He was a compromise candidate, the kind of man likely to be acceptable to many factions.[94]

Encapsulating this image of Strom as being both modern and traditional was his leadership campaign slogan: 'a new era on a solid foundation.'[95] His campaign team also emphasized the merit of Strom's personal qualities, including the strength of his religious convictions. The campaign brochure read in part: "[Strom's] faith is exhibited in the honesty and integrity he brings to public office, the genuine concern and compassion he shows toward all people and the stability he maintains in times of stress ..."[96]

During the leadership campaign, Strom identified several issues that would receive his attention as party leader. In doing so, he was also identifying what, in his view, his priorities would be as provincial Premier. Regarding urbanization, Strom "spoke with concern about the deteriorating quality of life in North America's larger cities and the need to commence bold urban planning to prevent urban deterioration in Alberta."[97] Strom also proposed reforming the provincial welfare system, claiming that current welfare services "were traditionally custodial and maintenance programs which were economically unproductive and psychologically damaging."[98]

As part of an attempt to reorient welfare services away from providing hand-outs and towards offering "rehabilitation and development"—and therefore independence—Strom planned to change the name of the Department of Welfare to the Department of Social Development.*[99] The redefined ministry "would emphasize job training, adult education and work activity."[100] Additionally, during his campaign, Strom outlined a strategy for the development of northern Alberta, focusing on transportation, mineral development and opportunities for the area's Aboriginal population.[101] Furthermore, Strom vowed that, as leader, he would endeavour to have the "under-represented" western provinces, particularly Alberta, "considered as full and equal partners in national decision making," and to bring about "a new and more positive relationship with the federal government."[102]

Although considered a 'front runner' in the leadership race, Strom met some noteworthy opponents.†[103] Nevertheless, on the evening of December 6, 1968, to the strains of 'Happy Days are Here Again,'[104] Social Credit leadership delegates endorsed Strom as the candidate of continuity and of compromise.[105] The following day, reporting on Strom's victory, the *Edmonton Journal* editorialized, somewhat forebodingly:

> Yet the future is cloudier at the moment than it has been for some time. Revenues are declining in relation to expanding costs. There are great needs in almost every field of government operation. Mr. Strom will not be long in office before he finds himself sternly tested.[106]

### As Premier

Harry Edwin Strom was sworn in as Premier by Lieutenant Governor J. W. Grant MacEwan on December 12, 1968.[107] One of Strom's first duties upon taking office was to attend the Federal-Provincial Constitutional Conference, in Ottawa, in February 1969.[108] At the conference, Strom articulated what was, in his view, Alberta's position regarding "a real lack of understanding and appreciation of [western] regional interests and problems and aspirations in other parts of this country."[109] Strom's address to the Conference, *A Case for the West*, was an exercise in plain-speaking diplomacy. According to Strom, there existed "profound dissatisfaction" amongst Albertans as a consequence of the federal government's

H.E. Strom being sworn in as Premier by Lieutenant Governor J.W.G. MacEwan (Dec. 12, 1968). Cropped photo.

---

* The name of the Department was changed in 1969 to the Department of Social Development. *The Department of Social Development Act*, S.A. 1969, c. 101, s. 6.

† Harry E. Strom defeated Gordon E. Taylor and Dr. Walter Buck on the second ballot of the December 6, 1968 Social Credit Leadership Convention held at Edmonton's Jubilee Auditorium. Other candidates had included: Alfred J. Hooke, Raymond 'Ray' Reierson and Edgar H. Gerhart. John J. Barr, *The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), pp. 182–184.

apparent “economic discrimination against the West.”[110] Grievances mentioned in the Premier’s speech included regional inequities, transportation deficiencies and trade tariffs. Strom also highlighted opportunities to advance economic growth in the West, calling for the initiation of trade with the Pacific region, the development of northern Alberta and the need for tax reforms.[111] The speech also called for the encouragement of domestic capital investment in the West and for the pursuit of a “national fiscal and monetary policy” that recognized the “uniqueness” of the West and of other regions.[112] Alluding to an empathy with Quebec’s struggle for amendments to Confederation, Strom spoke of a pressing need for other Canadians and the federal government first to understand then to address western concerns:

> For the sake of Canadian unity, it is time certain things were said frankly and without prejudice about the need to cope with increasing feelings of alienation in the West, and inequalities in the situation of the West.[113]

Strom’s performance at the conference earned the new Premier approval from the Alberta press.[114] Nevertheless, Strom was criticized ‘from some quarters’ for prioritizing fiscal matters over official bilingualism, and the depth of his commitment to national unity was questioned.[115]

Immediately following the conclusion of the constitutional conference, Strom returned to Alberta for the opening of the Second Session of the 16th Legislature. The first Speech from the Throne of Strom’s premiership, delivered by Lieutenant Governor MacEwan on February 13, 1969, conveyed a sense of optimism to the Legislative Assembly and to Albertans: “My government is proud of the advances made during the past year in human and physical resources development. … There is good reason for confidence in the future development and prosperity of Alberta and opportunity for all our citizens.”[116] The Speech highlighted the Government’s plans for the upcoming Session, focusing on, amongst other things, the Strom administration’s intentions regarding the “modern business of agriculture,” the need for improved educational opportunities for the province’s rural population, the “expansion of Alberta’s resource-based industries” and the “creation and distribution of job opportunities.”[117]

From the beginning of Strom’s tenure as Premier, there was considerable speculation about the possibility of an early election. The new Premier, it was argued by Opposition Members, had no mandate from the people of Alberta, the last election having been won under the leadership of Premier Manning.[118] However, having easily defeated a no-confidence motion put forward on February 17, 1969 by E. Peter Lougheed, Leader of the Official Opposition (1968–1971),*[119] Strom rejected the notion of a quick election and reminded the Opposition of the dangers of placing “political expediency”[120] over “the best interests of the people of this Province.”[121] Strom chose instead to focus on commencing negotiations with Ottawa regarding measures to strengthen and expand the National Oil Policy (NOP).*[122] Calling Canada's oil industry 'vital' to the nation's prosperity and security, Strom outlined several challenges to the NOP's effectiveness.[123] According to the Premier, the NOP required "strengthening in application and broadening of scope" in order to address the threat to Alberta's oil markets.[124] Strom argued that oil from other sources, such as new discoveries in the Canadian Arctic and Atlantic off-shore oil reserves, should not be permitted to penetrate Canadian markets west of the Ottawa River, markets set aside for Alberta oil and gas.[125] He maintained that expansion of the NOP into a 'North American Oil Policy,'[126] developed in cooperation with the Government of the United States, would support Canadian oil self-sufficiency and expand markets for Alberta oil in that country.[127]

---

* Lougheed later became Alberta’s 10th Premier, serving from 1971 to 1985.

Meanwhile, provincial finances provided cause for concern for the new Premier. Ever-increasing demands for social services throughout the 1950s and 1960s had resulted in provincial expenditures that were soon to be greater than provincial revenues. In the spring of 1969, in the first Budget Speech delivered by the Strom administration, Provincial Treasurer Anders O. Aalborg expressed the need for financial restraint in light of these budgetary trends:

> [T]hese trends must also be heeded as a clear and stern warning that if the rate of acceleration of these expenditures is not sharply curtailed during the next decade their growing magnitude will quickly outstrip all revenues available to the Province from present and potential sources.[128]

Throughout Strom's first Session, Leader of the Opposition E. Peter Lougheed took advantage of every opportunity to level criticism at, or to demand disclosure from, the Government. In anticipation of a meeting between Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau (1968–1979, 1980–1984) and President of the United States Richard M. Nixon (1969–1974), at which American markets for Canadian oil exports would be discussed, Lougheed urged the Strom Government to actively voice and promote Alberta's interests in the international marketing of its oil rather than relying "on the federal authority to handle negotiations and to keep [Albertans] informed."[129] He also warned the Legislative Assembly that, in order to make itself a more "meaningful institution" to its electorate, it "must modernize [its] legislative processes … and get in tune with the world."[130] In March 1969, Lougheed demanded that the Strom administration provide more information to Members of the Legislative Assembly on its $6 million proposal for the construction of a dam, remarking that if the Premier wanted the Opposition to approve the project prior to its being privy to the details of the proposal and thus knowing whether or not the project was in the interests of Albertans, then he did not "have a proper appreciation of parliamentary procedures."[131] The Strom Government, through Provincial Treasurer Anders Aalborg, responded by saying that

---

* Beginning in 1961, federal energy regulation was conducted under the NOP, first introduced by Progressive Conservative Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker (1957–1963). The NOP had aimed to protect Alberta's developing oil industry by setting the domestic price of oil higher than the world price and establishing a guaranteed Canadian market for Alberta oil west of the Ottawa Valley. Refineries in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces were supplied with the less expensive Venezuelan or Middle Eastern crude to preserve the competitiveness of Canada's manufacturing industry east of the Ottawa River. Kenneth Norrie, Douglas Owram and J. C. Herbert Emery, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Scarborough: Thomson Nelson, 2002), p. 382.

"the Cabinet is responsible to all members of the house for its decision, and the Bighorn agreement will come before the assembly for approval, a procedure as old as Parliament itself."[132]

Despite persistent efforts by members of the Opposition to highlight what they perceived as the Strom Government's shortcomings, there were a number of noteworthy accomplishments by the new administration during the 1969 Spring Session. For example, a comprehensive review of Alberta's mental health services was initiated, in light of the recommendations made in the Blair Report on Mental Health,* which was submitted to the Government in April 1969.[133] On May 1, 1969, Strom put forward a motion that the Blair Report be prioritized and carefully considered "with the objective of implementing at the earliest feasible time those recommendations considered most urgent."[134] This motion was carried, and the Government began its reform of mental health services in Alberta.[135] In addition, in 1969, the Legislative Assembly of Alberta passed *The Colleges Act*, creating the Alberta Colleges Commission, whose purpose was to assist in the establishment, development and regulation of a provincial public college system in Alberta that was "fully adequate to the needs of society."[136] The Act also provided a process by which private junior colleges could become provincially funded public colleges.[137] Another noteworthy achievement in the field of education was the establishment of the Commission of Educational Planning. The Commission, headed by Dr. Walter H. Worth,† was "charged with the responsibility of identifying and projecting social and economic trends in the Province and, against this backdrop, assessing the educational needs of the Province in all phases of public education."[138] The final report of the Commission, called *A Choice of Futures*, was the result of input by "thousands of Albertans" and was intended "to build a basis for understanding and action that equates the future and education."[139]

In December 1969, in preparation for a constitutional conference, Strom issued a position paper outlining Alberta's views on federal-provincial relations.[140] In it, Strom encouraged consideration of Senate reform[141] and improved cooperation between federal and provincial jurisdictions, and proposed the development of "formal intergovernmental machinery [to] undertake the analysis of Federal legislation" and its effects on the provinces.[142] As Strom explained,

> Part of the difficulty which we are experiencing now in going into the question of spending power, taxing power, regional disparity, and related problems, is at least partially a result of an overall failure in Canadian government to develop workable and effective means of intergovernmental relations and of understanding the inter-relatedness and interdependence of all major policies.[143]

---

* Officially entitled *Mental Health in Alberta: A Report on the Alberta Mental Health Study*, 1968, the Report was authored by the head of the Department of Psychology at the University of Calgary, Dr. W. R. N. Blair. Blair had conducted a year-long study of mental health services in the province. The study was announced in November 1967 by Premier Manning and Minister of Health Dr. J. Donovan Ross. The report on the study included a list of 189 recommendations for the improvement of mental health services in Alberta. Alberta. Executive Council. Human Resources Research and Development, *Mental Health in Alberta: A Report on the Alberta Mental Health Study*, 1968 (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, April 1969), pp. i, 1, 321–338.

† Worth was the first vice-president for Planning and Development (1967–1969) and Dean of the Faculty of Education (1976–1983) at the University of Alberta.

At the beginning of the new year, the Strom Government promised to introduce "social and economic innovations" in an attempt to "accept the challenge of rapidly changing conditions."[144] In the Speech from the Throne, delivered at the opening of the Third Session of the 16th Legislature, on January 29, 1970, Lieutenant Governor J. W. Grant MacEwan declared:

> In the decade ahead, my Government will be even more open to innovation, to reorganization, and to acting on both the problems and the opportunities of urbanization. Recognizing the need for improved citizen-government communication, measures will be undertaken to increase and expand communication channels. My Government appreciates the need to ensure a proper and healthy environment.[145]

Amongst the issues identified in the Speech from the Throne as deserving special attention were: federal-provincial relations, urban life, social development, health services, educational development and conservation of the environment.[146] Of particular note was the announcement that a fourth university* would soon be established in the province, "specializing in the social sciences, humanities and education."[147] On June 25, 1970, Athabasca University was created, to be housed on a site provided by the Government near the town of St. Albert.†[148] Significantly, the institution would offer the first post-secondary distance-education programs in the province. Also reported during the 1970 Spring Session was the inception of the Calgary branch of the Premier's Office. During the debate on the Speech from the Throne, Strom remarked: "We hear a lot about the fact that government should establish better communication with the people."[149] He then announced that in response, the Government had opened an office in Calgary, creating a place where citizens could meet Cabinet Ministers and even the Premier. Strom indicated that this would create "a much better opportunity for people to dialogue directly with the government."[150]

In the Budget Speech of 1970, it was reported that "it [had] not been possible for the Government to follow [its] long standing pay as you go policy," which had characterized the financial philosophy of Manning's premiership.[151] Once again, Provincial Treasurer Aalborg voiced his concern:

> It is a rather strange paradox that while our revenues are generally more buoyant than ever before, and our proposed expenditures have reached levels undreamed of a few years ago, pressures and demands for additional funds for a constantly growing variety of purposes are louder and more insistent than at any previous time in our history.[152]

---

* The three other universities already in existence were the University of Alberta, the University of Calgary and the University of Lethbridge.

† In 1984, the University of Athabasca relocated to the town of Athabasca. "History of Athabasca University," About AU, *Athabasca University*, [Internet], (Athabasca, AB: Public Affairs & Communications, 2005), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.athabascau.ca/aboutAU/history.php; David G. Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1985), p. 99.

Although Strom believed in running a fiscally responsible province, he was unwilling to compromise his "humanitarian" ideals or "to ignore those who truly needed help."[153] Indeed, many of the Strom Government's legislative accomplishments over the next two years reflected these ideals.

In 1970, the Government enacted two statutes providing for research to be conducted for the benefit of the province and its citizens. The first of these was *The Alberta Agricultural Research Trust Act*, which established a corporation whose objectives were to obtain "property of every nature and description" and to "hold, use and administer it for the purpose of provincial expansion of applied and fundamental agricultural research."[154] The second was *The Medical Services Research Foundation Act*, which likewise established a corporation whose goal was to obtain property, which according to the stipulations of this Act, was to be used "for the purpose of fostering and supporting research into any aspect of the provision of medical and allied health services and the promoting of matters of health in the interest of the people of Alberta."[155]

The Strom administration was also responsible for the introduction of a number of pieces of legislation of social import. For example, in 1970, the Legislative Assembly passed *The Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Act*, which established the Alberta Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Commission (AADAC).[156] The Commission was empowered, amongst other things, to operate and equip hospitals, clinics and centres for the observation, diagnosis, treatment and care of alcoholics and drug addicts; to provide current and former alcoholics and illicit drug users, through these institutions, with "counselling and follow-up services"; to financially assist those "conducting programs for the treatment or rehabilitation" of substance abusers; to support "studies, investigations and research on alcoholism and drug abuse"; and to arrange for the "dissemination of information respecting alcoholism and drug abuse and to stimulate academic education and professional orientation respecting the recognition of, and effective response to, the treatment and care of alcoholics and drug users."[157]

Another significant law enacted in the 1970 Spring Session was *The Social Development Act*, which empowered the Minister of Social Development to use provincial funds "for the purpose of ensuring that no person within Alberta will lack the goods and services essential to health and well-being" and which legislated the administration of welfare programs in the province and in the municipalities.[158] In 1971, an Act was passed establishing the Department of Health and Social Development.[159] Formerly the Department of Health, the reconstituted ministry sought to promote a more efficient use of the province's costly health services and, to this end, pursued "an integrated approach to preventive, as well as active and rehabilitative health and social services at the community level."[160] In addition, coming under the auspices of the new Department were 'adult correctional services and probation.'[161] The same year, legislation was enacted which established the Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation.[162] This new ministry incorporated programs formerly operating under the Department of Youth and the Department of the Provincial Secretary[163] and represented the first manifestation of a department devoted to the promotion of culture in Alberta. In the Department's first annual report, it was stated:

> In Alberta, the creation of one unified Department—working in the realm of recreation, youth, our rich heritage resources and the creative artistic talents inherent within man—makes it possible to provide better, more coordinated programs and services dedicated to enhancing the lives of all our citizens.[164]

Furthermore, in support of the province's cultural heritage, the Legislative Assembly passed *The Alberta Heritage Act* (1970), the purpose of which was to establish operational guidelines for the management of the recently founded Provincial Museum and Archives.*[165] The legislation was also intended "to preserve and to promote appreciation and knowledge of the heritage of Alberta" and to provide for research into and the publication of information about historic sites within the province.[166] Yet another example of Strom's vision for social development was his Government's cooperation with the legal profession in establishing a civil legal aid pilot in 1969, providing access to legal services for low-income litigants.†[167]

During Strom's tenure, the Government of Alberta became more environmentally conscious, as evidenced by the introduction of a series of laws designed to protect the province's natural environment. In 1970, the Legislative Assembly enacted *The Environment Conservation Act*, the purpose of which was related, amongst other things, to: "the conservation, management and utilization of natural resources; the prevention and control of pollution of natural resources; … [and] any operations or activities … that destroy, disturb, pollute, alter or make use of a natural resource or are likely to do so."[168] The Act also established the Environment Conservation Authority, an important function of which was to "conduct a continuing review of policies and programs of the Government and government agencies on matters pertaining to environment conservation."[169] Significantly, in 1971, Alberta became one of the first provinces in Canada to establish a Department of the Environment.[170] The same year, several other environment-related Acts came into force. Amongst these was *The Clean Air Act*, which regulated "maximum permissible levels of density of any air contaminant for all or any part of Alberta" and prohibited the construction, without the Department's prior approval, of any manufacturing plant likely to produce air pollutants.[171] Similarly, *The Clean Water Act* regulated the concentration of water contaminants permitted in the province's water supplies and required prior approval to be

---

* The Provincial Museum and Archives had been established during Premier Manning's tenure and was opened to the public in 1967 as Alberta's major project for Canada's Centennial. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 15th Legislature, 5th Session*, 9 February 1967, p. 2; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 16th Legislature, 1st Session*, 15 February 1968, p. 4. Up until 1963, the Provincial Library, known since 1974 as the Legislature Library, functioned as the Provincial Archives as well as a parliamentary library for Members of the Legislative Assembly and a general reference library for the civil service.

† Eventually, legal aid for both criminal and civil cases was established on July 1, 1970 by an agreement between the Law Society of Alberta and Alberta's Attorney General, Edgar H. Gerhart, Member for Edmonton North West. The Legal Aid Society of Alberta was incorporated on May 24, 1973. The Legal Aid Society of Alberta developed from this successful pilot project as implemented by the Strom Government in 1969. The Legal Aid Society of Alberta Annual Report indicates that over 120,000 Albertans benefited from the program in 2005. "Legal Aid Program Starts Operation," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 March 1969, p. 48; *Legal Aid Society of Alberta 2005 Annual Report* (n.p.: Legal Aid Society of Alberta, 2005), p. 35.

obtained for the construction of any structure that might produce water contaminants.[172] *The Wilderness Areas Act* provided for the protection of certain areas of "natural beauty and primeval character" from industrial development, and for the safeguarding of "wilderness areas for the benefit and enjoyment of the present and future generations."[173]

In addition, *The Alberta Environmental Research Trust Act* established a corporation whose purpose was to acquire property and to use it for "provincial expansion of applied and fundamental research relative to environmental improvement."[174] Furthermore, in 1971, the Strom administration brought in *The Energy Resources Conservation Act*, the purpose of which was not only to determine the "productive capacity of energy resources and energy in Alberta" and to ensure "the observance of safe and efficient practices" of oil exploration and processing, but also to conserve Alberta's energy resources and "to control pollution and ensure environmental conservation" during their exploitation.[175]

The Strom Government also fostered industrial and economic development in Alberta. For example, *The Industrial Development Incentives Act* (1971) established a fund from which payments could be made to industries as 'incentive loans.' The fund itself would draw from the Province's General Revenue Fund.[176] Similarly, *The Northern Development Act* (1971) established a fund to be used to promote the development of northern Alberta.[177] In particular, the Act listed the following areas toward which monies might be directed: "industrial development; transportation facilities; agricultural improvement and diversification; Métis social and economic development; health, educational and social services; [and] local administration."[178]

The Strom Government's program addressed the wide-ranging social problems and challenges of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Nevertheless, Opposition Members decried—perhaps ironically since Strom had long been a champion of the province's agricultural sector—the emphasis on urban issues to the detriment of Alberta's farmers.[179] Leader of the Opposition Peter Lougheed similarly indicted the Government's 17-per-cent spending increase in the budget brought down in February 1970 as contributing to rising inflation.[180] Soon, the Strom administration would seek the renewal of its mandate with the hope that, despite a young and vocal Opposition and a changing provincial demographic, it could secure the support of the Alberta electorate on the strength of Social Credit's long record and recent achievements.[181] This would prove challenging, largely because "[a] whole generation of newcomers—young people and immigrants—presented Social Credit with an increasingly impassive and unresponsive audience," much of which "felt no identification with the government."[182] Moreover, Social Credit's voter base had been shaken by the departure of Premier Manning and was affected by the lowering of the age of majority to 18.* Social Credit support was further eroded by redistribution of electoral districts, which had increased the number of seats in the cities, where the Progressive Conservatives had greater support.[183]

As the August 1971 provincial general election approached, the Strom administration adopted the campaign slogan 'Albertans Building Together.'[184] There were some encouraging signs for the Social Credit Party. It was reported that as many as 40 of 75 Social Credit candidates were first-time candidates, and that many were “among the new breed—youthful conservatives—who want[ed] changes in the party.”[185] Nevertheless, despite his dedication to social development and his Government’s sound record of legislative achievement, it was felt that Strom had failed to spur the Social Credit Party towards renewal. By contrast, Lougheed’s Progressive Conservative Party was gaining momentum and predicting a new, confident era for Alberta as a full partner in the Canadian Confederation. Leading up to the provincial general election of 1967, the national press had expressed doubt that Albertans would witness “the miracle of Conservative ascendance to power.”[186] Yet just over four years later, on August 30, 1971, Albertans chose a new direction and elected E. Peter Lougheed as the 10th Premier of Alberta, at the head of a Progressive Conservative majority government.[187] Strom officially resigned as Premier on September 10, 1971, the same day that Lougheed was sworn in.[188]

---

* The age of majority had previously been 21 years of age.

## Later Career

Following Social Credit’s defeat at the polls, Strom, who had been re-elected in his own constituency of Cypress, became Leader of the Official Opposition, the first former Premier of Alberta to serve in this position. Then, on October 25, 1972, during the fall sitting of the First Session of the 17th Legislature, Harry E. Strom announced that he was resigning as Leader of the Opposition at the end of that Session, directly attributing his decision to the 1971 election outcome.[189] Strom left office carrying with him the esteem of his colleagues and the goodwill of his party and, from a personal perspective, no regrets, saying that “[b]eing spiritually and morally right is more important than making it in the political or the business world.”[190] Following Strom’s resignation as Leader of the Opposition, the Alberta Social Credit Party held a leadership convention in February 1973, and Werner Schmidt became the Party’s new leader.[191] However, Strom continued to serve as a Member of the Legislative Assembly until the end of the 17th Legislature. He did not stand for re-election in the provincial general election of March 26, 1975.

## Community Activities and Personal Interests

Upon retiring from politics, Strom returned to farming and continued his work with the Evangelical Free Church. Before his appointment to Cabinet in 1962, Strom and his family had attended the Evangelical Free Church in Bow Island. There Strom had served, at various times, as a Sunday school teacher, deacon and chair of the Board. He also served as chair of the Evangelical Free Church of Canada Board from 1974 to 1978.[192] Strom was deeply committed to the Overseas Missions Board, on which he served for 20 years.[193] He also devoted a great deal of time to the Ministry of the Hope Mission in Edmonton, serving on its Board of Directors. In the final years of his life, Strom served as chair of the Hope Mission’s* Building Committee.[194]

---

* First opened in 1929, Hope Mission operated as a soup kitchen throughout the Great Depression. In 1957, it was incorporated under the *Society Act*. It currently provides services through several centres and programs including: the Herb Jamieson Centre emergency men’s shelter, the Women’s Centre, the R.W. Tegler Youth Sports Centre, the Kids in Action activity and hot-meal program for local elementary schools and the Brightwood Ranch and summer camp for underprivileged youth and children. “About Us,” *Hope Mission*, [Internet], (Edmonton: HOPEmission, 2005), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.hopemission.com/about.htm

## Honours and Awards

In recognition of his service to the Province of Alberta, Harry E. Strom received Honourary Doctor of Laws degrees from the University of Calgary (1969),* from the University of Lethbridge (1979) and from the University of Alberta (1982).[195] The Provincial Building in Bow Island is named in his honour.[196] In 1985, Harry Strom was inducted posthumously into the Alberta Agriculture Hall of Fame.[197] Strom Street is located in the Village of Heisler, Alberta, which is known as the 'Premier Village' because its streets are named in honour of former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[198]

## Death

On October 2, 1984, at the age of 70 years, Harry Edwin Strom died peacefully in Edmonton with his family at his side, having succumbed to cancer, which had been diagnosed five years earlier.[199] Strom was buried at Chapel Lawn Cemetery in Medicine Hat, Alberta.[200]

## Fonds

Records relating to Harry Strom's years in Cabinet and as Premier are housed at the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton.

## Tributes

Of Strom's premiership, one historian has noted: "In terms of legislation, it was a very successful administration with solid accomplishments to its credit. … In terms of good legislation, good social policy, innovation in government programs, the Strom administration was productive and successful."[201]

At the time of Strom's death, the following comments about the former Premier appeared in the *Medicine Hat News*: "Graceful in defeat, a man of much humor and good nature, self-effacing, compassionate, and, above all, concerned with the welfare of the ordinary Albertan, Harry Strom did his province proud and will live on in our memories."[202] Premier E. Peter Lougheed remarked that "in so many ways Harry Strom reflected what was best about the Legislative Assembly of this province: the decorum—the good manners and respect for others—that has been the reputation of this particular Chamber."[203]

---

* At this time, University of Calgary honourary degree recipients were awarded a Doctor of the University of Calgary (DUC) degree. Later, individual recipients were given the option of having the designation of their respective degrees changed to a Doctor of Laws (LLD) degree. In 1982, Strom chose to do so.

Assistant Deputy Minister of Municipal Affairs Tom Forgrave wrote in a tribute to the former Premier:

> As minister of agriculture, minister of municipal affairs and as Premier, Harry Strom bore the title 'Honourable' with dignity because as a person he really was an honourable gentleman. The lives of all he touched are better for the touching because, as Premier Lougheed said, he was 'a man of such character and integrity.'[204]

Former pastor at Hope Mission Edwin Enarson said of Strom: "He loved the Lord. He loved people, he was compassionate, approachable, humane, modest, practical and full of common sense."[205] W. Grant Notley, leader of the New Democrat Party in Alberta at the time of Strom's death, said of the former Premier: "He was not a pretentious man. He was a person who never lost touch with the average person in Alberta."[206] Notley also said that "[Strom] didn't have the style of a popular leader but he had the substance of a competent premier."[207]

## Notes

[1] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Social Development: A Position Paper Arising out of the White Paper on Human Resources Development* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1969), p. 5.

[2] Pierre G. Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1970 ed. (Ottawa: Pierre G. Normandin, 1970), p. 484; "Strom - Quiet Man," *Albertan* (Calgary), 7 December 1968, p. 3.

[3] "Strom - Quiet Man," p. 3; Edla (Strom) Carlson, "Strom, Nils H. (1877 – 1928)," in *Burdett Prairie Trails* (Burdett, AB: Burdett History Book Committee, 1981), pp. 483, 486; "[Ancestors of Harry Strom]," Ancestry World Tree Project, Ancestry.ca, [GEDCOM file], [Internet Subscription Service], (MyFamily.com), accessed 28 April 2006, available from http://awt.ancestry.com. Variations on the name of Nils Hjalmar include: Nels Hjalmar, Nels Hjalmer, Hjalmar and Hjelmer. "Strom, [Nels Hjalmar]," [Obituary], *Calgary Daily Herald*, 16 October 1928, p. 2; *Encyclopedia Canadiana* (Toronto: Grolier of Canada, 1975), s.v. "Strom, Harry Edwin"; United States. Census Office, Hjalmar Strom Record, 1900 U.S. Census, Minnesota, district no. 7, County of Douglas, sub-district 34, Evansville Township, p. 203, household 1, microfilm T623, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C., accessed 27 April 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.com; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Hjelmer Strom Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Alberta, district no. 4, Medicine Hat, sub-district 21, schedule 1, p. 14, household 151, microfilm T-20327, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 25 April 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html; Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Nels Hjalmar Strom, no. 1627130, for NW 36 8 12 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2812, 1970.313. Elna has also been indicated as 'Elenor.' United States. Minnesota. General Register Office, "N. W. Strom - Elenor O. Ekensten," Minnesota, Douglas County, Evansville, 5 April 1904, p. 508, [Certified Copy of Marriage Certificate], reproduced 24 October 2005, Douglas County Court House, Alexandria, MN; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Hjelmer Strom Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet]. An alternate spelling of the surname Ekensteen is 'Ekensten.' United States. Minnesota. General Register Office, "N. W. Strom - Elenor O. Ekensten," [Certified Copy of Marriage Certificate].

[4] Carlson, "Strom, Nils H. (1877–1928)," pp. 483, 486; United States. Census Office, Hjalmar Strom Record, 1900 U.S. Census [Internet Subscription Service]; "Strom, [Nels Hjalmar]," [Obituary], p. 2; "Strom, Nels H.," ed. Judie Riddell, *AFHS Digital Library, Volume I: A Collection of Cemetery Records from (Southern) Alberta*, [CD-ROM], (Calgary: Alberta Family Histories Society, 2001). The following source identifies Nils' birth year as 1876. "[Ancestors of Harry Strom]," [Internet Subscription Service].

[5] Carlson, “Strom, Nils H. (1877–1928),” p. 483; United States. Census Office, Hjalmar Strom Record, 1900 U.S. Census [Internet Subscription Service].

[6] United States. Census Office, Hjalmar Strom Record, 1900 U.S. Census, [Internet Subscription Service]; Carlson, “Strom, Nils H. (1877–1928),” p. 483.

[7] United States. Census Office, Hjalmar Strom Record, 1900 U.S. Census, [Internet Subscription Service].

[8] *Burdett Prairie Trails* (Burdett, AB: Burdett History Book Committee, 1981), p. 195; Carlson, “Strom, Nils H. (1877–1928),”p. 483.

[9] United States. Minnesota. General Register Office, “N. W. Strom - Elenor O. Ekensten,” [Certified Copy of Marriage Certificate]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Hjelmer Strom Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[10] “Premier Strom’s Mother Dies Here at Age 86,” *Calgary Herald*, 21 April 1969, p. 25; “Strom, Elna Maria Olivia,” ed. Judie Riddell, *AFHS Digital Library, Volume I: A Collection of Cemetery Records from (Southern) Alberta*, [CD-ROM], (Calgary: Alberta Family Histories Society, 2001).

[11] “[Ancestors of Harry Strom],” [Internet Subscription Service].

[12] *Burdett Prairie Trails*, p. 195; Carlson, “Strom, Nils H. (1877–1928),” p. 483; United States. Office of the Commissioner of Immigration, “S.S. Ultonia, 17 May 1901, Elna Ekensten,” Boston Passenger Lists, 1891–1943, *Ancestry.com*, [Internet Subscription Service], (Provo, UT: MyFamily.com, 2005), accessed 29 June 2005, available from http://www.ancestry.com

[13] *Burdett Prairie Trails*, p. 195.

[14] “[Ancestors of Harry Strom],” [Internet Subscription Service].

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid. Augusta spelled her surname ‘Hoffsted,’ while her father spelled it ‘Hoffstedt.’

[17] Carlson, “Strom, Nils H. (1877–1928),” pp. 483–484; Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Nels Hjalmar Strom, no. 1627130, for NW 36 8 12 W4; Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Lars Johnson, no. 1627128, for NE 36 8 12 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2812, 1970.313; Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Johan Victor Ekensteen, no. 1627126, for SE 36 8 12 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2812, 1970.313.

[18] Carlson, “Strom, Nils H. (1877–1928),” pp. 483–484.

[19] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Hjelmer Strom Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[20] *Story of Rural Municipal Government in Alberta: 1909 to 1983* (Edmonton: Alberta Association of Municipal Districts and Counties, 1983), p. 131; “Government Notices,” *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 7, no. 9, 15 May 1911, p. 235.

[21] Carlson, “Strom, Nils H. (1877–1928),” p. 486.

[22] Marie Dillenbeck, “Strom, Harry E.,” in *Burdett Prairie Trails* (Burdett, AB: Burdett History Book Committee, 1981), p. 488.

[23] *Burdett Prairie Trails*, p. 489.

[24] Carlson, “Strom, Nils H. (1877–1928),” p. 486; Clarence Strom, “Strom, Clarence,” in *Burdett Prairie Trails* (Burdett, AB: Burdett History Book Committee, 1981), p. 488; *Burdett Prairie Trails*, p. 489.

[25] Pierre G. Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1972 ed. (Ottawa: Pierre G. Normandin, 1972), pp. 501–502; Letter from Tenaya Johnson, Administrative Assistant, Evangelical Free Church of Canada, Langley, B.C., 2 November 2004; "Harry Strom: Ex-Premier of Alberta Headed Social Credit," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 4 October 1984, p. M07; Dorothy Weir, et al., "Evangelical Free Church," in *A History of Bow Island and Area: Sage Brush to Pivots* (Bow Island, AB: Bow Island History Book Group, 2004), pp. 31–32.

[26] *Burdett Prairie Trails*, pp. 23–26; Carlson, "Strom, Nils H. (1877–1928)," p. 486; Dillenbeck, "Strom, Harry E.," p. 488.

[27] Dillenbeck, "Strom, Harry E.," p. 488; Letter from Marla Pearce, Coordinator, Communication, Southern Institute of Technology (SAIT) Alumni Relations and Student Awards, Calgary, 5 November 2004.

[28] Letter from Pearce, 5 November 2004.

[29] *Story of Rural Municipal Government in Alberta: 1909 to 1983*, p. 131; Brian Brennan, "Reluctant Politician Led Alberta," *Calgary Herald*, 14 January 1995, p. B2.

[30] Alan Hyland, "Hyland Hi-lites," *40-Mile County Commentator*, 14 November 1984, p. 14; Brennan, "Reluctant Politician Led Alberta," p. B2; Dillenbeck, "Strom, Harry E.," p. 488.

[31] Weir et al., "Evangelical Free Church," p. 32.

[32] "'I'm an Average Farmer,' Says Agriculture Minister," *Calgary Herald*, 16 October 1962, p. 1.

[33] *The Canadian Who's Who 1967–1969*, vol. 11 (Toronto: Who's Who Canadian Publications, 1969), p. 1063.

[34] "Johnson [Emma Christine]," [Obituary], *Medicine Hat News*, 21 September 1964, p. 10.

[35] "Johnson [Emma Christine]," [Obituary], *Edmonton Journal*, 21 September 1964, p. 28.

[36] Bow Island Lions Club Book Committee, *Silver Sage*, comp. Jack Thomas (Bow Island, AB: Bow Island Lions Club, 1972), p. 508.

[37] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Homestead Records for Charles Elmer Johnson, no. 1678298, for SW 27 11 10 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2825, 1970.313; Bow Island Lions Club Book Committee, *Silver Sage*, p. 508.

[38] Bow Island Lions Club Book Committee, *Silver Sage*, p. 508.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid.

[41] "Strom, Dr. Harry Edwin," [Obituary], *Edmonton Journal*, 4 October 1984, p. D6; Bow Island Lions Club Book Committee, *Silver Sage*, p. 508.

[42] "Harry Edwin Strom (7 July 1914– )," *Alberta 75, 1905–1980* vol. 6 (1980): p. 8.

[43] "'I'm an Average Farmer'," p. 1.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 78.

[46] "The Alberta Melee," [Editorial], *Globe* (Toronto), 23 July 1935, p. 4; Carlo Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta, 1935–1971," in *Society and Politics in Alberta: Research Papers*, ed. Carlo Caldarola (Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1979), pp. 37–38.

[47] Caldarola, "The Social Credit in Alberta," pp. 37–38.

[48] Ibid., p. 44.

[49] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 13th Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. LX, 27 March 1956, pp. 116–117.

[50] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 13th Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. LXI, 19 February 1957, p. 18; Alberta. Legislative Assembly. Special Committee Appointed to Review the Provisions of the Liquor Control Act, *Report of the Special Committee Appointed March 27th, 1956 for the Purpose of Reviewing the Provisions of The Liquor Control Act and Recommending Amendments Thereto* (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1957), pp. 42–49.

[51] Alberta. Legislative Assembly. Special Committee Appointed to Review the Provisions of the Liquor Control Act, *Report of the Committee*, pp. 42–49; *An Act to amend The Liquor Control Act*, S.A. 1957, c. 43.

[52] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 14th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LXIV, 18 February 1960, p. 24; Ibid., 23 February 1960, p. 30; *An Act to amend The Rural Telephone Revolving Fund Act*, S.A. 1960, c. 90.

[53] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 14th Legislature, 1st Session*, 3 March 1960, pp. 47–48.

[54] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 84.

[55] Harry E. Strom, Minister of Agriculture, 15 October 1962, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[56] "Harry Edwin Strom (7 July 1914 –    )," p. 8.

[57] "'I'm an Average Farmer'," p. 1.

[58] "Water Scheme Urged," *Edmonton Journal*, 7 March 1963, p. 13.

[59] "'I'm an Average Farmer'," p. 1.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Honourable Harry E. Strom, Minister of Agriculture, [Speech to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta], 23 February 1967, [Transcript], p. 1.

[62] Honourable Harry E. Strom, Minister of Agriculture, Member for Cypress, [Speech to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta], 15 March 1965, [Transcript], p. 242.

[63] Ibid., pp. 240–242.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Strom, [Speech to the Assembly], 23 February 1967, p. 3.

[66] *The Farm Purchase Credit Act, 1963*, S.A. 1963, c. 17, s. 38; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 14th Legislature, 5th Session*, vol. LXVIII, 18 March 1963, p. 74.

[67] *The Farm Purchase Credit Act, 1963*, S.A. 1963, c. 17, s. 3; "Gov't Assuming Administration of Credit Act," *Calgary Herald*, 27 February 1963, [p. ?].

[68] *The Farm Purchase Credit Act, 1963*, S.A. 1963, c. 17.

[69] "Water Conservation Scheme Considered by Government," *Calgary Herald*, 7 March 1963, p. 16.

[70] Ibid.

[71] "Alberta Will Guard Its Water Rights," *Edmonton Journal*, 28 February 1964, p. 27.

[72] "Water Policy: Alberta Interests Come First," *Edmonton Journal*, 10 March 1966, p. 16.

[73] *The Alberta Crop Insurance Act*, S.A. 1964, c. 17.

[74] *The Alberta Crop Insurance Act*, S.A. 1964, c. 17, ss. 3, 5; Strom, [Speech to the Assembly], 15 March 1965, pp. 250–251.

[75] Strom, [Speech to the Assembly], 15 March 1965, p. 251; *An Act to amend The Marketing of Agricultural Products Act*, S.A. 1965, c. 51; *An Act to amend The Marketing of Agricultural Products Act*, S.A. 1967, c. 49.

[76] Strom, [Speech to the Assembly], 15 March 1965, p. 242.

[77] Alberta. Dept. of Agriculture, *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture of the Province of Alberta for the Year 1965* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1966), p. 190.

[78] Alberta. Dept. of Agriculture, *Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture of the Province of Alberta for the Year 1966* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1967), p. 190.

[79] Strom, [Speech to the Assembly], 23 February 1967, pp. 10–11.

[80] *The Agricultural and Vocational Colleges Act*, S.A. 1967, c. 3.

[81] *The Agricultural and Vocational Colleges Act*, S.A. 1967, c. 3, ss. 7.1(a-e), 14.

[82] Honourable Harry E. Strom, Minister of Agriculture, [Speech to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta], 5 March 1968, [Transcript], p. 4.

[83] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 89, 94.

[84] *Encyclopedia Canadiana*, s.v. "Strom, Harry Edwin"; John J. Barr, *The Dynasty: The Rise and Fall of Social Credit in Alberta* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974), pp. 146–148.

[85] Harry E. Strom, Minister of Municipal Affairs, 16 July 1968, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[86] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 171.

[87] "Premier Manning Plans to Quit as Soon as Successor is Selected," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 28 September 1968, p. 13.

[88] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 169.

[89] Ibid., p. 181; Normandin, ed., *CPG 1970*, p. 484.

[90] Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 170–172, 175.

[91] Douglas Sagi, "Strom Replaces Manning: To Take Over Next Week," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 7 December 1968, p. 1; Douglas Sagi, "Alberta's Man at the Top Must Win the Old Guard," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 9 December 1968, p. 11; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 171.

[92] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 174.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid., p. 172.

[95] "Socred Convention: Strom Plans to Capitalize on Renewed Political Interest," *Edmonton Journal*, 7 December 1968, p. 8.

[96] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 175.

[97] Ibid., p. 179.

[98] "Strom Vows Welfare Shift to Personal Development," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 November 1968, p. 23.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] John J. Barr, "The Catch-Strom Movement Has Trouble Getting Started," *Edmonton Journal*, 6 December 1968, p. 4.

[104] "Socred Convention: Strom Plans," p. 8; "Election Dims Hope for Tories - Notley," *Edmonton Journal*, 7 December 1968, p. 8.

[105] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 172.

[106] Andrew Snaddon, "Premier-Elect Strom and the Future," [Editorial], *Edmonton Journal*, 7 December 1968, p. 4.

[107] Harry E. Strom, President of the Council, 12 December 1968, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[108] Harry E. Strom, *A Case for the West: An Address to the Federal-Provincial Constitutional Conference, February, 1969 by the Hon. Harry E. Strom, Premier of Alberta* (n.p., 1969); "Strom, PM Raise Hopes of Progress at Ottawa Talks," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 10 February 1969, p. 1.

[109] Strom, *A Case for the West*, p. 8.

[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid., pp. 9–14, 18–19.

[112] Ibid., pp. 14, 14–15.

[113] Ibid., p. 8.

[114] Ibid., p. 2.

[115] "Strom 'Tired' of Unity Allegations," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 February 1969, p. 17.

[116] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 16th Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. LXXV, 13 February 1969, p. 2.

[117] Ibid., pp. 3–5.

[118] Honourable Harry E. Strom, Premier, [Speech to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta], 26 February 1969, [Transcript], p. 3.

[119] "Non-Confidence Test for Strom Easily Survived," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 February 1969, p. 17.

[120] Strom, [Speech to the Assembly], 26 February 1969, p. 4.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Views of the Government of Alberta Concerning the Canadian Oil Industry: A Submission to the Government of Canada, March 14, 1969* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1969), p. i.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid., pp. i–ii.

[126] Ibid., pp. ii–iii.

[127] Ibid.

[128] *Budget Speech of The Hon. A. O. Aalborg, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered at the Second Session of the Sixteenth Legislature of the Province of Alberta, 1969, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1969), p. 4.

[129] "Canadian Oil Exports: Alberta Must Be Heard," *Edmonton Journal*, 5 March 1969, p. 4.

[130] "'Get in Tune with World' - Lougheed," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 February 1969, p. 23.

[131] Dan Powers, "Tory Demands More Information on Dam," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 March 1969, p. 1; Dan Powers, "Province Will Study Bighorn Project," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 March 1969, p. 1.

[132] Powers, "Tory Demands More Information on Dam," p. 2.

[133] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 16th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 1 May 1969, p. 172; Alberta. Executive Council. Human Resources Research and Development, *Mental Health in Alberta: A Report on the Alberta Mental Health Study, 1968* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, April 1969); Karen Harding, "Province May Act on Mental Study This Year," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 April 1969, p. 1.

[134] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 16th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 1 May 1969, p. 172.

[135] Ibid.; "Province Gradually Adopting the Blair Report - Henderson," *Edmonton Journal*, 20 March 1970, p. 78.

[136] *The Colleges Act*, S.A. 1968, c. 14, ss. 8, 3.

[137] *The Colleges Act*, S.A. 1968, c. 14, s. 19; Alberta. Dept. of Education, *Education '69: The Sixty-Fourth Annual Report* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 94.

[138] Alberta. Dept. of Education, *1969 Annual Report*, p. 9; Alberta. Dept. of Education, *Ed·u·ca·tion: The Sixty-Fifth Annual Report of the Alberta Department of Education* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1971), p. 8.

[139] Walter H. Worth, "Introduction," in *A Choice of Futures: A Future of Choices: Report of the Alberta Commission on Education Planning* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1972).

[140] Alberta. Office of the Premier, F*ederal-Provincial Relations and Constitutional Reform: A Position Paper Prepared for the Federal - Provincial Constitutional Conference, December 1969, by the Hon. Harry E. Strom, Premier of Alberta* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1969).

[141] Ibid., p. 18.

[142] Ibid., pp. 9–10; Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Intergovernmental Liaison* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, June 1970), p. 3.

[143] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Federal-Provincial Relations and Constitutional Reform: A Position Paper*, p. 10.

[144] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 16th Legislature, 3rd Session*, vol. LXXVI, 29 January 1970, pp. 2–3.

[145] Ibid., p. 3.

[146] Ibid., pp. 3–6.

[147] Ibid., pp. 5–6.

[148] "O.C. 1206/70, (T*he Universities Act*)," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 66, no. 13, 15 July 1970, pp. 1322–1323.

[149] Honourable Harry E. Strom, Premier, [Speech to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta], 6 February 1970, [Transcript], p. 4.

[150] Ibid.

[151] *Budget Speech of The Hon. A. O. Aalborg, Treasurer of the Province of Alberta, Delivered at the Third Session of the Sixteenth Legislature of the Province of Alberta, 1970, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1970), p. 3.

[152] Ibid., p. 4.

[153] Brian Brennan, *Building a Province: 60 Alberta Lives* (Calgary: Fifth House, 2000), p. 129.

[154] *The Alberta Agricultural Research Trust Act,* S.A. 1970, c. 4, ss. 3–4.

[155] *The Medical Services Research Foundation Act*, S.A. 1970, c. 74, ss. 2–3.

[156] *The Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Act*, S.A. 1970, c. 10, s. 3.

[157] *The Alcoholism and Drug Abuse Act*, S.A. 1970, c. 10, s. 16.

[158] *The Social Development Act*, S.A. 1970, c. 104, ss. 3, 4–23.

[159] *The Department of Health and Social Development Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 25.

[160] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 16th Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. LXXVII, 11 February 1971, p. 8.

[161] Ibid.

[162] *The Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 23.

[163] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 16th Legislature, 4th Session*, 11 February 1971, p. 10.

[164] Youth and Recreation Alberta. Dept. of Culture, *First Annual Report: Department of Culture, Youth and Recreation, for the Calendar Year 1971* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1972), p. 6.

[165] *The Alberta Heritage Act,* S.A. 1970, c. 7; Bill no. 111, *An Act respecting the Provincial Museum and Archives, Historical Sites and other matters,* 16th Legislature, 3rd Session, Alberta, 1970.

[166] *The Alberta Heritage Act*, S.A. 1970, c. 7, ss. 3, 8.

[167] "Legal Aid Program Starts Operation," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 March 1969, p. 48; *The Legal Aid Society of Alberta 2000 Annual Report* (n.p.: Legal Aid Society of Alberta, 2000), p. 5.

[168] *The Environment Conservation Act,* S.A. 1970, c. 36, s. 3.

[169] *The Environment Conservation Act*, S.A. 1970, c. 36, ss. 4, 7.

[170] *The Department of the Environment Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 24; Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 187.

[171] *The Clean Air Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 16, ss. 3–4.

[172] *The Clean Water Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 17, ss. 3–4.

[173] *The Wilderness Areas Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 114, Preamble.

[174] *The Alberta Environmental Research Trust Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 31, ss. 2–3.

[175] *The Energy Resources Conservation Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 30, s. 2.

[176] *The Industrial Development Incentives Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 52, ss. 10–11.

[177] *The Northern Development Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 81, s. 7.

[178] *The Northern Development Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 81, s. 7.

[179] "Throne Speech Fails the Farmer: Opposition," *Edmonton Journal*, 30 January 1970, p. 35.

[180] "'Socred Budget is Inflationary'," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 February 1970, p. 27.

[181] Barr, *The Dynasty*, pp. 187–188, 215–216.

[182] Ibid., p. 163.

[183] Ben Tierney, "Talk is of a Strom Defeat," *Calgary Herald*, 27 February 1971, p. 5.

[184] Alberta Social Credit League of Alberta, "For the Good of Alberta Vote Social Credit," [Election Campaign Advertisement], *Edmonton Journal*, 28 August 1971, p. 8.

[185] Reg Vickers, "Alberta: Question Marks for the Socreds," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 7 August 1971, p. 8.

[186] George MacFarlane, "Alberta's Election: Contest or Formality?" *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 20 May 1967, p. 7.

[187] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 17, 102.

[188] Normandin, ed., *CPG 1972*, p. 480.

[189] "Strom Stepping Down as Leader," *Edmonton Journal*, 26 October 1972, p. 1.

[190] Ibid.

[191] "Voting Produced Political Drama," *Albertan* (Calgary), 5 February 1973, pp. 1–2.

[192] Letter from Johnson, 2 November 2004.

[193] "Harry Strom: Ex-Premier of Alberta," p. M07.

[194] Hyland, "Hyland Hi-lites," p. 14; "Harry Strom: Ex-Premier of Alberta," p. M07.

[195] Letter from Brenda J. Tweedie, Executive Officer of the Senate, University of Calgary, Office of the Senate, Chancellor and Ceremonies, Calgary, 26 October 2004; Letter from Linda Sebastian, Timetable and Convocation Officer, Registrar's Office and Student Services, University of Lethbridge, 21 October 2004; University of Alberta. Office of the Registrar and Students Awards, "Honorary Degree Recipients," *2006–2007 University of Alberta Calendar*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2006), accessed 23 July 2006, available from http://www.registrar.ualberta.ca/calendar/University-Staff/Honorary-Degree-Recipients/243.html

[196] Hyland, "Hyland Hi-lites," p. 14.

[197] "Strom, Harry - 1985 Hall of Fame Inductee," Alberta Agriculture Hall of Fame Inductees, *Ropin' The Web: Agriculture, Food and Rural Development*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Dept. of Agriculture, Food and Rural Development, 19 October 2001), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www1.agric.gov.ab.ca/$Department/deptdocs.nsf/all/info2064?opendocument

[198] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; *Welcome to The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

[199] "Strom, Dr. Harry Edwin," [Obituary], p. D6; "Harry Strom: Ex-Premier of Alberta," p. M07.

[200] "Strom, Dr. Harry Edwin," [Obituary], p. D6.

[201] Barr, *The Dynasty*, p. 187.

[202] "Harry Strom," [Editorial], *Medicine Hat News*, 6 October 1984, p. 4.

[203] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 20th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 17 October 1984, p. 1166.

[204] Tom Forgrave, "An Honourable Gentleman: A Tribute to Harry Strom," *Municipal Counsellor* vol. 29, no. 6 (November/December 1984): p. 19.

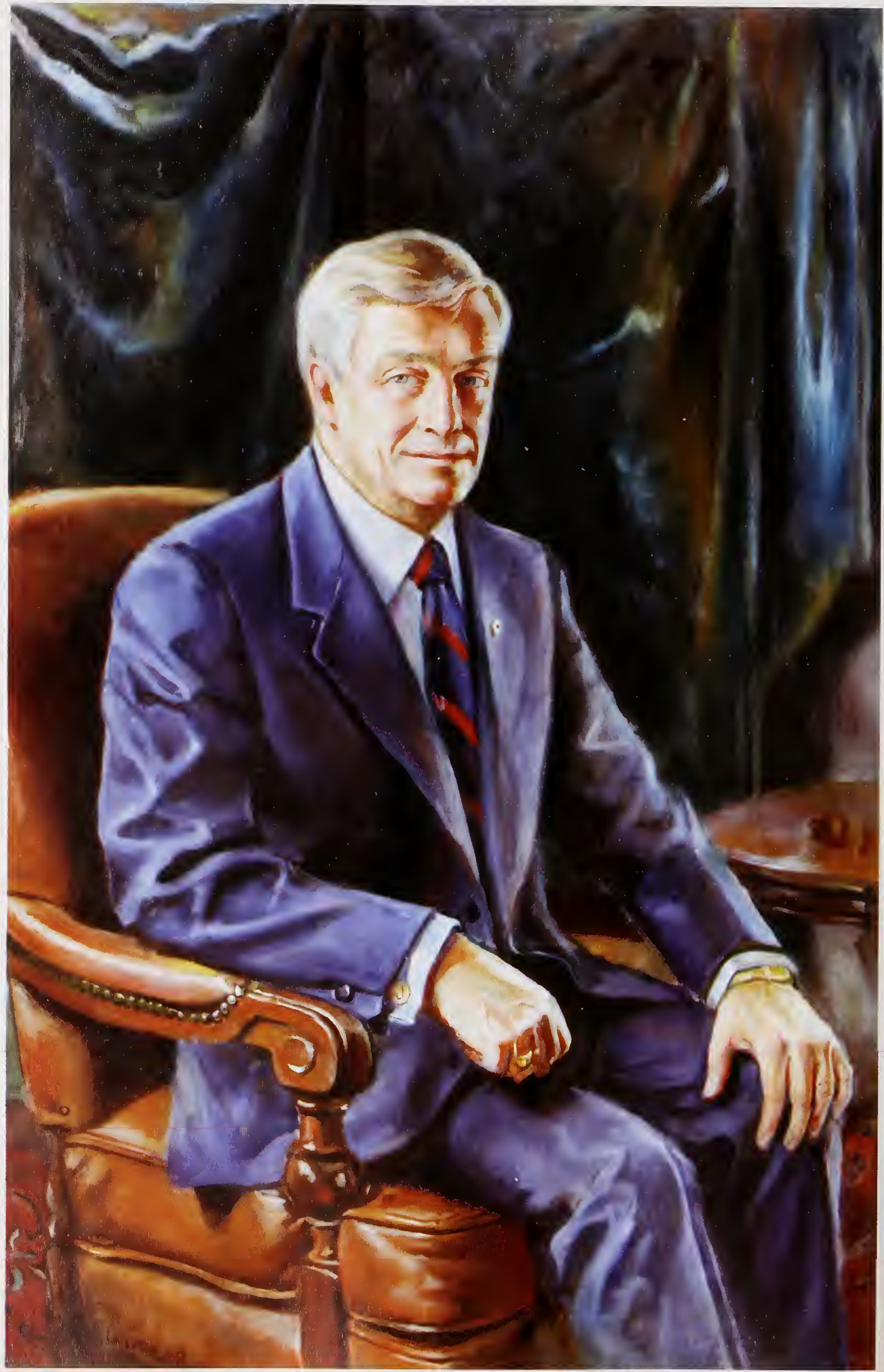
[205] Philippa Dean and Stephen Weatherbe, "End of a Life of Service: Ex-Premier Harry Strom," *Alberta Report* vol. 11, no. 43 (15 October 1984): p. 13.

[206] Mark Lisac, "Former Premier Dies at Age 70," *Medicine Hat News*, 4 October 1984, p. 1.

[207] Bill Sass, "Harry Strom: Man of Integrity and Compassion," *Edmonton Journal*, 4 October 1984, p. 1.

*He has been a great leader for Alberta and he's provided enlightened leadership for Western Canada and for the entire nation. He's been a national leader in the best sense of the word*

# Lougheed 1971–1985



# EDGAR PETER LOUGHEED

During his tenure as Alberta Premier, E. Peter Lougheed emerged as one of Canada's most prominent statesmen. Economic diversification, intergovernmental energy negotiations and constitutional reform are amongst the defining and interrelated aspects of Lougheed's premiership, although his term in office is also remembered as a period during which many significant contributions were made to culture and the arts in Alberta. While in office as Premier, Lougheed endeavoured to diversify and stabilize Alberta's economy to secure lasting prosperity for a province heavily dependent upon non-renewable oil and gas reserves. Premier Lougheed's tenure, which is the second-longest in Alberta's history to date, coincided in part with the terms of four Lieutenant Governors: J. W. Grant MacEwan (1966–1974), Ralph G. Steinhauer (1974–1979), Frank C. Lynch-Staunton (1979–1985) and W. Helen Hunley (1985–1991). E. Peter Lougheed was sworn in as Alberta's 10th Premier by Lieutenant Governor MacEwan on September 10, 1971.[1] At the time of his appointment, Lougheed was 43 years of age.

## Family History

Edgar Peter Lougheed was born in Calgary, Alberta, on July 26, 1928, into a family of parliamentary distinction, the second of the three children of Edgar Donald and Edna Alexandria Lougheed.[2] His grandfather James Alexander Lougheed had served both in the Senate and in the Cabinets of Conservative Prime Ministers Sir Robert L. Borden (1911–1920) and Arthur Meighen (1920–1921, 1926).*[3] On June 3, 1916, during the reign of King George V, Senator Lougheed was created Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George.†[4] James A. Lougheed, born in 1854 in Peel County, Canada West (Ontario), was of Scottish ancestry.[5] He married Isabella 'Belle' Clark Hardisty (b. ca. 1860, d. 1936)[6] on September 16, 1884, at the Calgary Methodist Church.[7] Belle was the daughter of Hudson's Bay Company Chief Factor William Lucas Hardisty, who was of English, Scottish and Native origin, and Mary Anne Allen, who was of Métis heritage.[8] Belle was a niece of both Lord

---

* James A. Lougheed served in the Borden Government as Minister without Portfolio (1911–1918) and Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment (1918–1920), and in the Meighen Government as Minister of Mines (1920–1921), Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (1920–1921). As a Senator (1889–1925), he was an early and strong proponent of provincial control of natural resources. He served as Leader of the Opposition in the Senate (1906–1911, 1922–1925), and Leader of the Government in the Senate (1911–1921). Canada. Library of Parliament, "Lougheed, Sir James Alexander, P.C.," Senate – Historical Information, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 14 June 2006, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp

† Sir James A. Lougheed is thought to be the only Albertan to have received a knighthood. "The Honourable Peter Lougheed, C.C., P.C., Q.C.," Members, *The Alberta Order of Excellence*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2003), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.lieutenantgovernor.ab.ca/aoe/lougheed.cfm; Allan Hustak, *Peter Lougheed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), p. 19.

SELF SUFFICIENCY
BY 1990

Strathcona* and the District of Alberta's first Senator and Inspecting Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Richard Hardisty, with whom she resided in Calgary, North-West Territories (Alberta), following the death of her father, in 1881.[9] James and Belle Lougheed built 'Beaulieu,'† "Calgary's most prestigious mansion."‡[10] Having been admitted to the Bar of the North-West Territories in 1886 and the Bar of Alberta in 1907, James Lougheed became one of Calgary's first lawyers.[11] Belle Lougheed was prominent in Calgary's philanthropic circles and was active in the Children's Aid Society, the Victorian Order of Nurses (VON), the National Council of Women and the Colonel Macleod Chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE).[12]

Edgar Donald Lougheed (1893–1951) was born in Calgary, the third of the six children§ of James and Belle Lougheed.[13] During the First World War, Edgar served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF), and in 1923, after graduating from Dalhousie University with a Bachelor of Laws degree, he was admitted to the Bar of Alberta.[14] It was while studying in Halifax that Edgar met the woman who would become his wife. On June 2, 1924, at Christ Church in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, Edgar Donald Lougheed married Edna Alexandria Bauld

---

* Scottish-born Donald A. Smith (1820–1914), 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal (Lord Strathcona), became a very prominent Canadian before he was elevated to the peerage in 1897. Initially a fur trader, Smith worked for the Hudson's Bay Company for over 50 years, becoming Governor of the Company in 1889, a position he held until his death in 1914. In 1896, he was appointed Canadian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom and also served in this capacity until his death. He accrued considerable wealth as a principal shareholder in the Hudson's Bay Company, as a railroad financier and as president of the Bank of Montreal. During the South African (Boer) War, he personally recruited and financed a regiment of mounted riflemen that was later named Lord Strathcona's Horse (Royal Canadians). D. M. L. Farr, "Smith, Donald Alexander, 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

† Following the death of Sir James A. Lougheed in November 1925, his son Edgar struggled unsuccessfully during the Great Depression to prevent the financial failure of his late father's extensive real estate portfolio. In 1934, Beaulieu was forfeited to the City of Calgary because of unpaid property taxes. Belle Lougheed, however, continued to reside at Beaulieu until her death in March of 1936. On August 24 and 25, 1938, auctioneers liquidated the estate, its assets and effects. On May 1, 2005, after a 16-year restoration, Beaulieu was opened to the public as 'Lougheed House.' Peter Lougheed was actively involved in the restoration of his grandparents' home. "Last Tribute Paid to Leading Canadian," *Globe* (Toronto), 4 November 1925, p. 10; Hustak, *Peter Lougheed*, p. 22; "The Early Years," Past and Present, *Beaulieu: The Historic Lougheed House*, [Internet], (Calgary: Lougheed House Conservation Society), accessed 18 January 2006, available from http://www.lougheedhouse.com/history.php; "[Important Auction Sale at the Lougheed Residence]," [Advertisement], *Calgary Herald*, 22 August 1938, p. 10; John Gilchrist, "Lougheed House Puts History on the Menu," *Calgary Herald*, 1 May 2005, p. E8; Fax from Trudy Cowan, Executive Director, Lougheed House Conservation Society, 13 September 2004.

‡ Royal guests to Beaulieu included the Duke and Duchess of Connaught and Princess Patricia (1912). The Prince of Wales (later King Edward VIII) visited in 1919, 1923 and 1928. Prince Erik of Denmark was also entertained at Beaulieu in 1928. "The Early Years," [Internet].

§ Clarence Hardisty (1885–1933), Norman Alexander (1889–1963), Edgar Donald (1893–1951), Dorothy Isabel (1898–1958), Douglas Gordon (1901–1931) and Marjorie Yolanda (1904–1917). Jopie Loughead et al., "Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia: Toronto Township, Peel County, Ontario," [Unpublished Manuscript], pp. 21–28.

(1901–1972), daughter of Halifax merchant William Christie Bauld and his wife, Bessie Wilson Bliss.[15] The newlyweds settled in Calgary, where Edgar practised law, while Edna dedicated herself to her young family. Edgar and Edna Lougheed had two sons, Donald Douglas (b. 1925) and Edgar Peter (1928).[16] In 1940, the Lougheeds had a stillborn child, whom they named Edna Bliss. Soon after, the couple adopted infant daughter Barbara Jean (b. 1940).[17]

## Education

Peter Lougheed began his early education at the Strathcona School for Boys in Calgary.[18] He later attended Earl Grey and Rideau Park Schools in Calgary and graduated from Central Collegiate Institute[*] in 1947,[19] after founding the Students' Union and serving as its first president.[20] Lougheed then enrolled at the University of Alberta (U of A) in the Faculty of Arts and was elected Students' Union president in his final year (1951–1952).[21] While an undergraduate, Lougheed played football both for the U of A Golden Bears (1947–1948) and, professionally, for the Edmonton Eskimos Football Club (1949–1950).[22] Lougheed's university years were active ones as he also earned a commission in the Canadian Officers' Training Corps (COTC), received the Law Faculty's Joseph Dolson Oliver Mothersill award, served as chapter president of the Delta Upsilon Fraternity[†][23] and edited the sports page of the university's newspaper, *The Gateway*.[24] In 1952, having completed a Bachelor of Arts degree (1951) and a Bachelor of Laws degree (1952), Lougheed left the U of A to pursue graduate work.[25] Two years later, in 1954, Lougheed earned a Master of Business Administration (MBA) degree from Harvard University.[26]

During the course of his graduate education, Lougheed took a summer job with Gulf Oil in Tulsa, which proved to be a seminal experience for him. There he witnessed a community whose prosperity depended heavily on the oil industry and whose oil-producing potential had reached maturity. It had become, in Lougheed's words, "a community in decline," and by his own admission, it "really worried" him with respect to Alberta's future.[27]

---

[*] The school's name has changed several times over the years. Although the school was officially called 'Calgary Collegiate Institute' when it opened in 1908, by the 1920s, it had come to be known as 'Central High School.' The yearbook for 1947, Lougheed's graduating year, bears the name 'Central Collegiate Institute.' It is now called 'Central Memorial High School.' Jennifer Bobrovitz, "Cornerstones: Central High School," Local History: A Virtual Tour of Historic Calgary, *Calgary Public Library*, [Internet], (Calgary: Calgary Public Library), accessed 4 June 2006, available from: http://calgarypubliclibrary.com/calgary/historic_tours/corner/chs.htm; "Central Memorial High School," School Profiles, *Calgary Board of Education*, [Internet], (Calgary: Calgary Board of Education, 2005), accessed 18 January 2006, available from http://www.cbe.ab.ca/schools/view.asp?id=200; *Analecta '47* vol. 32, no. 1 (Calgary: Students of Central Collegiate Institute, June 1947).

[†] Between 1940 and 1969, members of the University of Alberta's Delta Upsilon Fraternity resided at Rutherford House, a mansion that Alexander C. Rutherford, Alberta's first Premier (1905–1910), had had constructed in 1911. As a member of the fraternity, Peter Lougheed lived for four years in the residence, which is today an historic site. Email from Jason Tobias, Chapter President, Delta Upsilon Fraternity, University of Alberta, 23 September 2004; D. R. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona* (Calgary: Friends of Rutherford House and University of Calgary Press, 1989), pp. 111, 112; E. Peter Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

### Marriage and Family

On June 21, 1952, Peter Lougheed and Jeanne Estelle Rogers of Edmonton, Alberta, were married in a candlelight ceremony at Edmonton's Metropolitan United Church.[28] Jeanne, herself a U of A alumna (Bachelor of Arts, Music Major, 1951[29]), was born October 27, 1928, in Forestburg, Alberta, the youngest of the three children of Dr. Lawrence Morrison Rogers (1891–1968) of Grey County, Ontario, and Estella Christina Gunston (1895–1991) of Tacoma, Washington.*[30] Jeanne, who grew up in Camrose, Alberta, is of Irish ancestry on her father's side and of French and English descent on her mother's.[31] Peter and Jeanne Lougheed have four children: Stephen Rogers, Andrea Gaye, Pamela Sue [Frank Stack] and Joseph Peter.†[32]

### Early Career

Following Peter's graduation from Harvard, the couple travelled to Europe before returning to Calgary.[33] Peter Lougheed was called to the Bar of Alberta in 1955[34] and began his legal career with the firm of Fenerty, Fenerty, McGillivray, Prowse and Brennan.[35] In 1956, Lougheed joined the Mannix Corporation, a prominent construction firm, as general counsel. In 1962, he resigned as Mannix's general counsel, vice-president and director[36] and returned to private practice as a founding partner in the firm of Lougheed, Ballem and McDill.[37] During this time, Lougheed became well-known in the community through his work with the Calgary Stampeders' Booster Club, on the Calgary Exhibition and Stampede Board and with the Calgary Olympic Development Association, which at the time was working towards securing the 1968 Winter Olympics for Calgary. When Calgary's bid proved unsuccessful, Lougheed agreed to work on a committee established to promote Banff as the site for the 1972 Olympics.[38] In 1967, Lougheed joined the law firm of MacDonald, Moore, Atkinson, McMahon and Tingle.[39] Lougheed was appointed Queen's Counsel (QC) in 1971.[40]

### Political Career

Lougheed's interest in politics began during his boyhood, when he "became intrigued with his [grandfather's] … life."[41] Although Sir James Lougheed had died before his grandson was born, Peter's fascination with his grandfather's having spent many months of the year in Ottawa fulfilling his duties as a Senator "gave [him] an interest … in politics and what was involved in it."[42] This interest continued into his years at university, during which period he began to seriously consider pursuing a career in politics.[43] Years later, Lougheed made the following remarks regarding his decision to enter the political field: "The one area … where you can make a contribution, difficult and competitive as it is … is the political arena … In terms of contribution to my province and all the advantages I had growing up in … Alberta, I wanted to give something back of my life."[44]

---

* The other two children of Lawrence and Estella Rogers are Lorene Annette and Samuel Robert. *Yesterday and Years Ago: A History of Forestburg and District* (Forestburg, AB: Forestburg & District Historical Book Committee, 1983), p. vii; Estella Rogers, "Dr. L. M. Rogers," in *Yesterday and Years Ago: A History of Forestburg and District* (Forestburg, AB: Forestburg & District Historical Book Committee, 1983), pp. 770–771.

† Joseph P. Lougheed represents the fourth generation of the Lougheed family to practise law in Calgary and is a partner with the firm of Fraser Milner Casgrain LLP. "Joseph P. Lougheed," Our Team: Lawyers, *FMC: Fraser Milner Casgrain*, [Internet], (Calgary: Fraser Milner Casgrain), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.fmc-law.com/scripts/index_.asp

Having become well-established in his law career, Lougheed deliberated carefully before agreeing to contest the leadership of the faltering Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta.[45] On March 18, 1965, at the age of 36, he was elected party leader[46] and immediately began to rebuild the party at the 'constituency level.'[47] Between 1965 and the 1967 provincial general election, Lougheed worked towards the goal of returning the party to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.* He challenged the status quo represented by the Social Credit Government, which had been in power since 1935, and, in 1967, characterized the philosophy of the Government as one better suited to "yesterday's bureaucrats, not tomorrow's builders."[48] Lougheed was laying the foundations for long-term growth:

> We're looking for people who have something unusual going for them. They are probably fairly young and probably have never been in politics before, but are well-respected in their communities and are looking for the big challenge.[49]

Lougheed sought out "candidates who could be terrific ministers in a government that [he] hoped to form," who possessed the essential qualities of "talent and leadership" and who were prominent individuals in their constituencies.[†50] In the May 23, 1967 election, the Progressive Conservative Party fielded 47 candidates in 65 constituencies, 14 more than had contested the 1963 election.[51] In the 15th Legislature, out of a total of 63 Members, the Social Credit Party, under the leadership of long-term Premier Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968), had held an overwhelming majority, with 60 seats.[52] Faced with entrenched Social Credit support amongst Alberta voters, Lougheed focused his efforts on forming a strong opposition.[53] In the week preceding the election, the *Edmonton Journal* applauded the Progressive Conservatives' "new breath of life and vigour," remarking that Lougheed was "not afraid of work" and made decisions "quickly and easily."[54] The *Globe and Mail*, meanwhile, labelled Lougheed as "hard-headed and hard-working," and as "a man who identifies with urban realities and the changing age pattern of his province with its shift toward youth."[55] For Lougheed, it was a gruelling period of incessant work. "I've never worked harder at anything in my life," Lougheed asserted, "I'll admit I'll be terribly disappointed if we don't get some results."[56]

---

* At the time of the provincial general election, the Progressive Conservative Party of Alberta had no Members in the Legislative Assembly. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 16–17.

† One of the candidates personally recruited by Lougheed at this time was Donald R. Getty, who was not only one of the original six Progressive Conservative Members elected in 1967, but who was also chosen as one of Lougheed's Cabinet Ministers in 1971. Getty served as Minister of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs (1971–1975) and Minister of Energy and Natural Resources (1975–1979) and succeeded Lougheed as Premier of Alberta (1985–1992). Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

Lougheed's strategy proved successful. On May 23, 1967, the Progressive Conservatives garnered 26 per cent of the popular vote and six seats to form the Official Opposition, and Lougheed was elected as the Member of the Legislative Assembly for the constituency of Calgary-West.[57] For Lougheed and his party, the results constituted a triumph; indeed, according to Lougheed, "Anything more" would have been "a smashing victory."[58] On the day following the election, the *Edmonton Journal* remarked that the "respectable representation" earned by the Progressive Conservatives afforded Albertans "for the first time in years … a responsible, credible alternative to the government in power."[59] With the election over, Lougheed now turned to providing effective opposition to the Social Credit caucus in the Legislative Assembly.

At the opening of the First Session of the 16th Legislature on February 15, 1968, E. Peter Lougheed took his seat opposite Premier Ernest C. Manning in the Legislative Assembly.[60] On that day, observed one journalist, Alberta became "the only province with a small-c conservative Government and a large-C Conservative opposition."[61]

As Leader of the Opposition (1968–1971),* Lougheed "created an appearance of responsible, attractive, informed strength."[62] He called for the efficient management of the public purse[63] and advocated effective intergovernmental relations. Lougheed criticized the Government's "attitude" towards the federal government in Ottawa, warning that the resulting "antagonism … [did] a disservice to the people of Alberta."[64] Lougheed demanded longer, more comprehensive legislative debates,[65] recommended a four-week Fall Session of the Legislature in addition to the annual Spring Session[†66] and deemed the Social Credit Government's 1968/1969 deficit budget a "disappointment in its failure to recognize the need for new directions" in Alberta.[67]

In the Speech from the Throne delivered on February 11, 1971, Lieutenant Governor J. W. Grant MacEwan outlined the plans of the Social Credit Government, under Premier Harry E. Strom (1968–1971), for a structural re-organization of government departments.[68] The Speech elicited an innovative form of criticism of the Strom Government from the Official Opposition. Appearing in the *Edmonton Journal* that same day was Lougheed's alternative throne speech, outlining Progressive Conservative priorities, including specific recommendations for environmental protection, a public utilities inquiry, housing initiatives, the addressing of seniors' issues, budget controls and the modernization of government departments.[‡69]

---

* During his years as Leader of the Opposition, Lougheed served as a member of two Select Standing Committees: *Public Accounts* (1968–1969) and *Public Affairs, Agriculture and Education* (1968–1971).

[†] During the Manning administration, it was customary for the Legislative Assembly of Alberta to hold a single annual Session beginning in February of each year with prorogation occurring in either late March or early to mid-April.

[‡] The device of an alternative throne speech was later employed by the New Democrat Opposition on several occasions including: "Promoting Fairness and Renewing Opportunities: An Alternate Throne Speech" (1987), "Positive Alternatives for a Fairer Alberta" (1988) and "A Healthy Future for Alberta" (1990). Alberta. Legislative Assembly, "Promoting Fairness and Renewing Opportunities: An Alternative Throne Speech," Sessional Paper, no. 504/87, 2 March 1987; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, "Positive Alternatives for a Fairer Alberta," Sessional Paper, no. 501/88, 15 March 1988; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, "A Healthy Future for Alberta," Sessional Paper, no. 502/90, 12 March 1990.

As the 1971 provincial general election approached, the Progressive Conservative Opposition was poised to potentially make significant gains, aided in part by changes to Alberta's demographic and political landscape, including a larger urban population;[70] 10 new constituencies resulting from a redistribution of electoral boundaries;[71] and a lower voting age of 18,[*] brought about by the *Age of Majority Act*.[72] Most significantly, the December 12, 1968 resignation of Premier Manning[73] afforded the Progressive Conservatives an opportunity to attract conservative voters with less loyalty to the Social Credit Party than to Ernest C. Manning personally. On the campaign trail, Lougheed redoubled his efforts in Social Credit strongholds, tactfully acknowledging the Social Credit Government's achievements[†] while stressing "the idea that [the] Conservatives offer[ed] 'alternative government' not opposition."[74] Travelling province-wide, Lougheed and his campaign team adopted a "meet-and-greet technique," hoping to "put the emphasis on the leader's personality and to try his charm on rural Socred country as much as possible."[75] On May 23, 1967, the Progressive Conservatives had won six seats to form Alberta's Official Opposition.[76] Just over four years later, on August 30, 1971, the Progressive Conservatives garnered 46.4 per cent of the popular vote and prevailed in 49 out of Alberta's 75 constituencies,[77] and Lougheed, who was re-elected in the constituency of Calgary-West, formed the first of four consecutive majority Governments under his leadership.[‡78]

## As Premier

On September 10, 1971, E. Peter Lougheed was sworn in as Premier by Lieutenant Governor J. W. Grant MacEwan.[§79] After 36 years of Social Credit administrations, the Lougheed Government "set about the task of charting a new course for 'Alberta in the Seventies'."[80] As part of this new direction, Premier Lougheed wished to increase contact between Albertans and their representatives; his agenda was thus aimed at heightening the accessibility, visibility and accountability of the Legislative Assembly. Hence, one of the first things that the Lougheed Government did upon taking office was to arrange for the introduction of modern telecommunications into the processes of the Legislative Assembly. In the Speech from the Throne of March 2, 1972, Lieutenant Governor MacEwan articulated the Lougheed

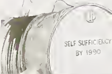
---

[*] The age of majority had previously been 21 years of age.

[†] During this period of campaigning, the Progressive Conservatives did not verbally attack their opponents directly, but chose instead to communicate to Albertans that it was 'time for a change.' Later reflecting on this campaign tactic, Lougheed deemed this "the most crucial decision" made by the party and pointed out that "because we didn't get elected by tearing the other people down, it became really hard for the opposition parties to go after us." Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[‡] Lougheed's moment of political success, however, was later overshadowed by personal loss. Edna Lougheed, an ardent supporter of her son's career, died at the age of 70, one week prior to the start of the Legislative Session. "Premier's Mother Dies after Lengthy Illness," *Calgary Herald*, 24 February 1972, p. 35.

[§] Also sworn in that day as Minister without Portfolio was W. Helen Hunley, who, in 1973, became the first woman in Alberta to hold full Ministerial status. (M. Irene Parlby had become the first female Cabinet Minister in Alberta when she was appointed Minister without Portfolio in 1921, a position she held until 1935.) Hunley served as Solicitor General (1973–1975) and Minister of Social Services and Community Health (1975–1979) in the Lougheed Government. She later became Alberta's 12th Lieutenant Governor, the first woman to hold that position.



administration's commitment to "the principle of open government."[81] In this vein, he revealed the Government's intention "to provide a continuous and easily available written record of the business proceedings of the Assembly."[82] Less than a week later, on March 8, 1972, *Hansard* officially became part of Alberta's legislative tradition.[83] Also announced during the Speech from the Throne was that the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta would soon be regularly televised.[84] It was hoped that with the introduction of broadcast proceedings, "Alberta citizens … [would] be able to better understand and add their voices to the discussion of issues that [were] being debated and considered."[85] Accordingly, on March 15, 1972, the Legislative Assembly of Alberta introduced regularly televised live coverage of its proceedings, making it the first amongst its federal and provincial counterparts in Canada to do so.*[86]

Between 1971 and 1985, Premier Lougheed governed a 'province in transition.'[87] Under Lougheed's leadership, governance policies and initiatives were realigned towards the fulfillment of Alberta's economic, cultural and social potential as a full partner in Confederation. Economic diversification formed an overarching, long-term policy designed to mitigate Alberta's dependence upon declining oil and gas revenue.†

Premier E.P. Lougheed speaks in the Chamber (Mar. 28, 1972).

In late 1973, sharp increases in world oil prices substantially increased Alberta's resource revenue, producing the potential to realize Alberta's long-term economic diversification. Energy policy ultimately dominated 14 years of Alberta-federal relations and developed into a protracted conflict primarily involving two dynamic leaders: Premier Peter Lougheed and Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau (1968–1979, 1980–1984).[88]

Beginning in 1971, and continuing throughout the whole of his term as Premier, Lougheed advanced economic diversification as vital to the future prosperity of Alberta. Diversification would be achieved in part, Lougheed explained, through encouraging investment from extra-provincial sources, through Government support for local business and through the development of a skilled workforce.[89] During 1974 and 1975, the Progressive Conservative Government supported economic diversification by means of legislation such as the *Northeast Alberta Regional Commission Act*[90] and through the establishment of new government departments, created pursuant to the *Department of Business Development and Tourism Act*,[91] the *Department of Energy and Natural Resources Act*,[92] the *Department of Government Services Act*[93] and the *Department of Transportation Act*.[94]

---

* The next jurisdiction to have regular broadcasting of proceedings was the federal House of Commons, which began 'gavel-to-gavel' broadcasting in 1977. Prior to that time, only special occasions and events had been broadcast.

† The urgency attached to lessening Alberta's economic dependence on oil revenue through economic diversification was supported by contemporary estimates that, barring new discoveries, Alberta's oil reserves would be exhausted before 1988. Thomas Kennedy, "Alberta Oil Reserves Drop to 13 Years' Supply," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 14 June 1975, p. B1.

To achieve its goal of economic diversification, the Government explored an interventionist fiscal policy, including direct public ownership and investment.[95] Although Lougheed envisioned a self-sufficient Alberta, developed primarily through resource revenue and private enterprise, and although the fundamental tenet of his Government's economic policies was to resist public involvement in the private sector, he viewed interventionism as a necessary means of achieving greater economic diversification within a resource-dependent province.[96] Because "oil and gas are resources whose peculiar characteristics in many ways compel state intervention and regulation,"[97] an interventionist approach was considered justified. Moreover, government involvement was seen as necessary to foster industrial development and to offset the province's vulnerability "to the vagaries of an economy mainly dependent on natural resources."[98] Government support was therefore made available for those ventures vital to achieving economic diversification in the areas of the agriculture, petrochemical and transportation industries left unexploited by the private sector.[99] One example of public investment made under this policy was the Government's 1974 purchase of Pacific Western Airlines (PWA), for approximately $37.3 million.[100] This purchase was viewed as useful to develop air freight opportunities, support tourism and protect Alberta's role as the 'staging area for northern development.'[101] PWA, in Lougheed's opinion, represented a "significant tool in achieving [the Government's] goal of economic diversification"[102] in order to "capitalize upon [Alberta's] geography as the 'gateway Province to the north'."[103]

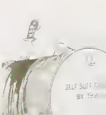
As diversification efforts continued, Alberta's oil-producing economy remained largely tethered to unstable energy prices. Despite a call in August 1973 by provincial Premiers for a collaborative approach to energy management,[104] Ottawa opted to unilaterally amend energy policy in support of federal anti-stagflation* initiatives. On September 4, 1973, Prime Minister Trudeau's Government announced commodity subsidies, price controls and comprehensive changes to the National Oil Policy (NOP).†[105]

Amongst the Trudeau Government's substantive amendments to the NOP was the extension of pipelines beyond the existing Toronto terminal, expanding Alberta's oil market to refineries in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. The amendments also proposed "isolating Canadian crude prices from increases in the [United States] market."[106] Moreover, the federal government froze Canada's domestic price of oil, in effect requiring Alberta to sell petroleum to other provinces at rates below the world price.[107]

---

* The term 'stagflation' refers to the simultaneous occurrence of *stag*nation of economic activity and in*flation.*

† Beginning in 1961, federal energy regulation was conducted under the NOP, first introduced by Progressive Conservative Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker (1957–1963). The NOP had aimed to protect Alberta's developing oil industry by setting the domestic price of oil higher than the world price and establishing a guaranteed Canadian market for Alberta oil west of the Ottawa Valley. Refineries in Quebec and the Atlantic provinces were supplied with the less expensive Venezuelan or Middle Eastern crude to preserve the competitiveness of Canada's manufacturing industry east of the Ottawa River. Kenneth Norrie, Douglas Owram and J. C. Herbert Emery, *A History of the Canadian Economy* (Scarborough: Thomson Nelson, 2002), p. 382.



The Trudeau Government's decision to approach the issue of petroleum marketing in this way caused considerable discord between the federal and Alberta governments. At the core of the disagreement over oil were the constitutional rights of each level of government with respect to the exploitation and extraction of oil and the delivery and marketing of the commodity. Whereas under the *British North America Act, 1867 (BNA Act, 1867)*, the four original Canadian provinces had been granted the right to control natural resources, Alberta, upon entering Confederation in 1905, was not granted similar jurisdictional authority.[108] Only in 1930 did the Government of Alberta gain control of the province's natural resources.[*][109] In consequence, Albertans were finally entitled to the same benefits enjoyed by the original provinces of Confederation—namely, all royalties derived from natural resources.[110] While the *BNA Act, 1867* granted resource ownership and jurisdiction to the provinces, the regulation of trade and commerce fell under the purview of federal government.[111] As a result, federally imposed taxes on exports of provincial resources such as oil and gas could affect the pricing of these commodities, could reduce the revenue that an energy-producing province such as Alberta received from its exported resources and would provide the Dominion Government with a share of the revenue gained through the marketing of natural resources.[112]

Just such a situation occurred in the fall of 1973, when the federal government imposed the Federal Oil Export Tax.[113] Lougheed termed the new federal tax "an invasion of the Provincial Government's jurisdiction over its natural resources."[114] Although open to cooperation with Ottawa,[115] he maintained that the federal policy infringed on provincial rights.[116] He termed the tax, which, as the name implied, applied strictly to petroleum exports, "the most discriminatory action taken by a federal government against a particular province in the entire history of Confederation."[117]

As an alternative to what he believed to be unfair federal policies,[118] Lougheed proactively pursued what he perceived to be his Government's duty to establish equitable energy pricing.[119] In doing so, he assured Canadians that his actions would not jeopardize national interests:

> There is a certain bitter irony for me, a convinced federalist all my life, in the complaints being leveled at my government, complaints that Alberta's energy policy is selfish and divisive, and that we don't care what happens to the rest of Canada. In fact, we care very much what happens to all of Canada: we just don't happen to equate all of Canada with Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa.
>
> Alberta's energy policy is based on two underlying principles. The first is that we must make the best possible use of our valuable non-renewable resources, for the sake of all Canadians. The second is that a stronger, more diversified, more self-sufficient West will help, not hinder, Canadian unity.[120]

Perhaps not surprisingly, the Lougheed Government reacted to the perceived "federal encroachments" on Alberta's control of its natural resources with "a vigorous, albeit largely defensive, expansion of the province's own powers."[121] For instance, in response to federal attempts to secure a greater share of provincial resource revenue, Lougheed sought to exert further administrative control over energy and resource development through provincial legislation such as *The Natural Gas Pricing Agreement Act.*[122] In 1974, the Lougheed Government incorporated the Alberta Energy Company (AEC)[123] as an instrument of public investment in the petroleum, pipeline, timber, petrochemical processing, coal and steel industries.*[124] In addition, *The Petroleum Marketing Act* established the Alberta Petroleum Marketing Commission and empowered it to exercise discretion in the buying, selling and exchanging of Alberta petroleum, and to construct, purchase or lease petroleum facilities.[125] By the end of 1974, the Government had created the Alberta Oil Sands Technology and Research Authority[126] and proposed royalty tax refunds, tax credits and royalty reductions to better support petroleum exploration.[127] Furthermore, the Alberta Petroleum Exploration Plan, a new Natural Gas Royalty System, and the Exploratory Drilling Incentive System all encouraged energy exploration and investment.[128] Such measures, designed to strengthen provincial ownership and control of resources and to resist "further federal incursions," reflected Lougheed's belief that "for a resource-based province such as Alberta ... it [was] a time of energy opportunity."[129]

---

[*] In 1929, Premier John E. Brownlee completed negotiations with the Dominion Government for the transfer of Alberta's natural resources from federal to provincial control, successfully ending the Province's protracted efforts to secure resource ownership. "3000 on Hand When Premier Returns Home," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 19 December 1929, pp. 1–2.

The federal-provincial conflict intensified in November 1974, when the Trudeau Government announced, as part of the federal budget, that provincial royalty payments on crown oil reserves were ineligible for income tax deductions.[130] Lougheed reacted with indignation. Calling the action "reprehensible," he claimed that the royalty reforms violated "the whole spirit of Confederation" and declared that the Government of Alberta no longer considered itself bound by oil agreements made eight months earlier.[131] Lougheed maintained that his Government "never would have agreed to set the price of Alberta oil ... far below what the province might get on the open market" if it had known that Ottawa was planning to make royalties non-tax-deductible.[132]

By early 1975, however, the Trudeau and Lougheed administrations had achieved a compromise. Domestic oil prices would be permitted to rise, but only incrementally, gradually moving Alberta oil to near world prices while buffering Central Canada's manufacturing sector from immediate and dramatic increases in energy costs and in unemployment. Both the federal and Alberta Governments would benefit from additional oil revenue.[133]

At this time, with Alberta enjoying substantial revenues from oil, the Government introduced the concept of a provincial savings fund, both to the Legislative Assembly and to Albertans. Recognizing that the Province was being enriched by 'finite resources,' Lougheed's administration proposed the establishment of the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund, which, in drawing primarily from energy revenues during years of surplus, would ensure that future, as well as current, generations could benefit from the income.[134] As Lougheed asked pointedly: "[A]re we, current generations, entitled to all of it? Aren't our children and our grandchildren entitled to part of it?"[135] Responding to questions from the Leader of the Opposition on the subject of the Heritage Fund, Provincial Treasurer Gordon T. W. Miniely assured him that the "magnitude of the revenues" was such that a generous portion could be set aside "for the future of Alberta and we still have flexibility as to the utilization of our current revenues."[136]

---

* The Government of Alberta divested itself of its interests in the AEC in 1993 for proceeds of approximately $273 million. Norman Hillmer, "Alberta Energy Company Ltd.," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historical Foundation of Canada, 2006), accessed 4 June 2006, available from www.canadianencyclopedia.com; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 23rd Legislature, 1st Session*, 9 September 1993, pp. 111–112.

Tensions over federal-provincial energy issues having lessened, the Premier saw the upcoming March 1975 general election as an opportunity to seek Albertans' support for his Government's policies.[137] In an address requesting the dissolution of the 17th Legislature, Lougheed emphasized the need to gauge Albertans' approval of both provincial energy policies and the recently proposed Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund.[138] Lougheed framed the 1975 election as a test of Albertans' confidence in the Government, declaring:

> … I've come to a conclusion that the Premier of Alberta must be sure that he and his ministers have the confidence of the majority of Albertans … . [T]he time has come for us to find out: does the public of Alberta endorse this Budget and specifically the Alberta heritage trust fund concept—a dramatic departure from customary provincial government budgeting. And secondly: do the people of this province have confidence in their government's handling of the energy resources of Alberta.[139]

On March 26, 1975, the Progressive Conservative Party captured more than 62 per cent of the popular vote and secured 69 out of a total of 75 seats, increasing the size of its caucus by 20 members.[140]

The Lougheed Government commenced its second term with a focus on ensuring Alberta's long-term prosperity. Following up on its belief in the need to set aside a portion of the province's petroleum revenue for future investment led the Lougheed Government to enact, in May 1976, the necessary legislation to establish the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund.[141] Through the Heritage Trust Fund, Alberta would invest 30 per cent of its annual resource revenue[142] in an effort to "strengthen and diversify the economy of Alberta"[143] and to realize long-term economic and social stability. Moreover, *The Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund Act* empowered the provincial government to make capital investments in projects of benefit to Alberta, advance loans to other Canadian governments and make investments that would yield a return to the Trust Fund.[144] Generally, throughout the mid-to-late 1970s, the Lougheed Government targeted diversification initiatives in growth-oriented industries, including tourism,[145] forestry,[146] food processing,[147] petrochemicals and coal.[148] The complex economic conditions of the period demanded leadership and advanced planning.

Throughout 1974 and 1975, dramatically higher world oil prices had the effect of increasing Alberta's provincial revenue while also contributing to national inflation and unemployment.[149] In response, the federal government pursued two objectives: obtaining a greater share of Alberta resource revenue and alleviating economic stagnation, high unemployment and inflation.[150] To counter the economic effects of escalating government spending, labour disputes, mounting oil prices and 11-per-cent inflation,[151] Prime Minister Trudeau prepared to enact wage and price controls under the *Anti-Inflation Act, 1975*.*[152] The Act did not apply to the provincial public sector, but it did provide that an agreement might be entered into with the government of a province to make the Act binding within that jurisdiction and on its public sector.[153]

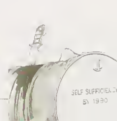
Federal measures to address stagflation prompted the Lougheed Government, in 1975, to enact the *Temporary Anti-Inflation Measures Act*, which established the Alberta Temporary Anti-Inflation Measures Board to monitor and manage the impact of wage and price controls on the provincial economy.[154] Acknowledging the need "to support the federal government in combating the inflationary spiral," Lougheed expressed, in an address to the Legislative Assembly, the Government of Alberta's willingness to participate in the federal anti-inflation program.[155] Alberta's cooperation, however, was conditional. Lougheed voiced concern that the economic controls imposed by the federal government, in threatening to discourage investment and in jeopardizing resource and agriculture development, might "have major ramifications for a growth province such as Alberta."[156] Consequently, Lougheed assured Albertans that the provincial legislation introduced merely temporary measures and provided for Alberta's withdrawal from the federal program after 18 months. Moreover, 'farm gate'† and energy prices would be excluded from price controls, and federal "intrusion into provincial jurisdiction in property and civil rights" would not be permitted.[157]

From early on in his premiership, Lougheed had maintained that provincial control of resources was fundamental to Alberta's full and equal provincial status in Confederation.[158] Opportunities to strengthen the ability of the province to apply powers granted it under the *BNA Act, 1867* emerged in 1978 as the federal government commenced efforts to patriate the Canadian Constitution from the United Kingdom. That year, the Alberta Government issued the position paper, *Harmony in Diversity: A New Federalism for Canada*,[159] outlining its stance with respect to the relationship between federal and provincial constitutional rights. The text reads, in part:

---

* Although similar measures had been contemplated by the Lester B. Pearson (Liberal) Government (1963–1968), the wage and price controls legislated by the *Anti-Inflation Act, 1975* were the first such measures implemented in Canada during peacetime. Despite provincial protests, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that, under the 'Peace, Order, and Good Government' clause of the *British North America Act, 1867*, the Act justifiably suspended provincial rights in order to combat the economic crisis of stagflation. *Reference re: Anti-Inflation Act (Canada)*, [1976] 2 S.C.R. 373; Bank of Canada, "1975 Anti-Inflation Act: Controlling Wages and Prices in Peacetime," Key Economic Events, *Canadian Economy Online*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2002), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://canadianeconomy.gc.ca/english/economy/1975economic.html; Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummund and John English, *Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism*, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 304–305.

† In an economic context, 'farm gate' refers to a pricing system wherein farm-gate prices are those obtained by farmers for their produce at the farm location; they do not include transportation costs to markets or point of sale charges. "Price Statistics and Index Numbers of Agricultural Production and Prices," Economic and Social Department: Statistics Division, *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*, [Internet], accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.fao.org/es/ess/prices/pc_04_p.asp



> One of the major premises upon which these concepts and recommendations are based is that strong provinces will be a strengthening and unifying force within Canada. By recognizing the diversity inherent in our federation and by permitting provinces to develop to their full potential, harmony can be achieved and Canada's future assured.[160]

The release of *Harmony in Diversity* came early in the constitutional process and represents a further example of Lougheed's leadership in intergovernmental affairs. The position paper posits a constitution based on federal-provincial divisions of power protected by an amending formula that prohibits the altering of a province's rights without the prior consent of that province.[161] Although Lougheed described the paper as a "confrontation document" and predicted that it would "further antagonize relations between the federal and provincial Governments," some of the principles expressed in *Harmony in Diversity* were ultimately put into effect as part of the amending formula of the Constitution.[162]

In the effort to patriate the Constitution, Prime Minister Trudeau and three Premiers—E. Peter Lougheed, René Lévesque of Quebec (1976–1985) and William 'Bill' G. Davis of Ontario (1971–1985)—figured prominently.[163] Initially, constitutional negotiations amongst the first ministers yielded little progress, as "[n]either the federal nor provincial governments budged from their basic positions."[164] Indeed, on "most of the issues considered critical by both levels of government, little consensus could be found."[165] Premier Lougheed stood firm on the issue of provincial control of natural resources, and, returning to Alberta after a First Ministers' Conference* in early February 1979 to prepare for the upcoming election, he effectively utilized the issue as a campaign theme.[166] Emphasizing the Conservatives' "past record and the need for a strong re-election mandate" to protect provincial resource rights, Premier Lougheed was successful in the provincial election of March 14, 1979, obtaining 57.4 per cent of the popular vote and forming a majority Government with 74 out of the 79 available seats.[167]

After months of difficult negotiations, a compromise regarding constitutional reform was finally achieved in 1982.†[168] One of Premier Lougheed's most significant contributions to this process was to build on his Government's earlier work in *Harmony in Diversity* by spearheading the development of the amending formula of the *Constitution Act, 1982*.[169] It was at the 1979 First Ministers' Conference in Ottawa that Lougheed had presented what became the foundation for the Constitution's amending formula.[170] Amongst the core principles intrinsic to the amending formula were that provincial, as opposed to regional, equality was essential as a foundation for constitutional amendment; amendments affecting existing provincial rights must be consented to by, not imposed upon, the province in question; and, while constitutional change must remain difficult, it must not be so difficult as to be improbable, and therefore no one province ought to hold a veto over constitutional change.[171] These concepts were ultimately incorporated into the amending formula, in which amendment could take place through the agreement of the federal government and at least seven provinces comprising at least 50 per cent of the population of Canada.[172]

---

* For more information on First Ministers' Conferences, see the Background section *Role of the Premier.*

† René Lévesque of Quebec was the only Premier not to sign the constitutional accord, reached amongst the other Premiers in November 1981, which led to the patriation of the Constitution.

Included as part of the *Constitution Act, 1982* was the 'notwithstanding clause'[173]—a means by which a province could opt out of constitutional amendments affecting its rights. In addition to protecting provincial rights, the notwithstanding clause was necessary, in Lougheed's view, to preserve "the supremacy of the legislature over the courts," to avoid "a position where public policy was being dictated or determined by non-elected people."[174] Under section 33(1) of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, Parliament or provincial legislatures may declare that an "Act or provision … shall operate notwithstanding a provision" included in specified sections of the Charter.[175] Although the notwithstanding clause remains controversial, and its use restricted,* Lougheed would later defend it as "a balance between two competing interpretations of our democratic system."[176] In fact, Lougheed has suggested that the federal government's agreement to include the clause was critical to the passing of the Charter: "Basically, there wouldn't be a charter without a notwithstanding clause."[177]

Following Lougheed's success in the 1979 general election, analysts could point to almost a decade of extensive diversification efforts† and nonetheless assert that "Alberta still [was] overwhelmingly dependent on primary resource exploitation."[178] The increasing value of oil and gas partially masked the positive impacts of this diversification effort. Thus, Alberta's economy remained, to a large extent, subject to the vicissitudes of the energy market. However, Lougheed's administration remained committed to providing for the well-being of future generations, largely through the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund. For instance, in 1980, the Government established the Alberta Heritage Foundation for Medical Research, an organization that "supports biomedical and health research at Alberta universities, affiliated institutions, and other medical and technology-related institutions."[179] Initially granted a $300 million endowment drawn from the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund for its operation, by 2005, the Foundation had contributed over $780 million "directly to the scientific community."[180]

Federal-Alberta relations in the late 1970s and early 1980s often produced intergovernmental cooperation beneficial to both Alberta and Ottawa. During those years, the Lougheed and Trudeau Governments made 'significant progress'[181] on important issues related to oil sands

---

* While section 33(1) of the Constitution stipulates that Parliament or a provincial legislature may declare that an Act shall come into force 'notwithstanding' the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, section 33(3) provides that a "declaration made under subsection (1) shall cease to have effect five years after it comes into force or on such earlier date as may be specified in the declaration." Moreover, the 'notwithstanding clause' "does not affect the guarantee of rights and freedoms in section 1, Democratic Rights (sections 3–5), Mobility Rights (section 6), Official Languages of Canada (sections 16–22), and Minority Language Education Rights (section 23)." *Constitution Act, 1982*, being Schedule B to the *Canada Act 1982*, (U.K.), 1982, c. 11, s. 33; Peter Lougheed, *Why a Notwithstanding Clause?* Points of View, No. 6 (Edmonton: Centre for Constitutional Studies, 1998), p. 6.

† Edmonton featured amongst Lougheed's economic diversification success stories. By 1980, Edmonton had experienced new industrial development in the food and beverage, metal fabrication and chemical production industries. Edmonton's total manufacturing exports were valued at over $4.8 billion in 1980. Jeff Sallot, "Edmonton Challenges Its Image as a Blue Collar Town," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 10 November 1980, p. B30; Canada. Statistics Canada, *Canada Year Book 1985* (Ottawa: Dept. of Supply and Services, 1985), p. 526; Canada. Dept. of Industry Trade and Commerce, *Canada Year Book 1973* (Ottawa: Government of Canada 1973), p. 724.

SELF SUFFICI
BY 199

Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau and Premier E.P. Lougheed hold press conference during energy negotiations (Nov. 1, 1977). Cropped photo.

development,[182] energy pricing,[183] natural gas discounts[184] and royalty agreements, all of which were vital to the stability of Alberta's energy sector.[185] Despite this progress, energy disputes once again surfaced in 1979, following several failed attempts to achieve domestic energy pricing agreements.*[186] In late October 1980, the Progressive Conservative Government pledged Alberta's swift retaliation[187] should the upcoming federal budget include new taxes on Alberta's energy exports.[188] Five months earlier, in May 1980, the Legislative Assembly of Alberta had passed the *Mines and Minerals Amendment Act, 1980*,[189] enabling the Province to fix "the maximum amount of petroleum that may be produced under Crown agreements during any month specified in the regulations."[190] Lougheed was therefore both empowered and prepared to restrict oil exports to Central Canada should it 'be in the public interest to do so.'[191] Production cuts would compel the federal government to subsidize the purchase of additional expensive foreign oil in order to meet the national demand. Increased costs were exactly what Ottawa sought to avoid as it struggled to control a $13.7 billion deficit projected for 1981.[192]

Alberta's apprehension about the provisions of the 1980 federal budget proved justified. The Budget Address of October 28, 1980 announced specific federal energy goals embodied in the newly created and very controversial National Energy Program (NEP):[193] energy self-sufficiency, opportunities for all Canadians to "participate in the energy industry" and fairness through a "revenue-sharing regime which recognizes the rights and needs of all Canadians."[194] Prime Minister Trudeau considered the NEP as a *quid pro quo* to Canada's oil-consuming and manufacturing regions for the benefits advanced to Alberta since the inception of the NOP in 1961.[195] The federal government contended that Alberta's energy sector royalty revenue, maximized under the NOP, should now accrue partly to the federal treasury and that relatively inexpensive Canadian oil be made available to Canadian consumers.[196] Lougheed, by contrast, had long argued that those same revenues were critical to the diversification of Alberta's economy and should be used to accelerate "the rate of growth of the Alberta citizen's income."[197] Moreover, he believed that the newly imposed export tax—the Petroleum and Gas Revenue Tax—posed a threat to "the potential for oil self-sufficiency in Canada."[198] The polemics of the intergovernmental dispute reached a height in the fall of 1980 when Lougheed termed the NEP a 'declaration of war.'†[199]

---

[*] Intergovernmental energy negotiations during this period were complicated by political change at the federal level. On May 22, 1979, Canadians elected a minority Progressive Conservative Government led by Alberta-born C. Joseph 'Joe' Clark. The Clark Government fell on December 13, 1979. In the subsequent general election held on February 18, 1980, the Trudeau Government was returned to office.

[†] Indeed, Lougheed later deemed the NEP "the worst public policy decision in [his] time," arguing not only that it was a policy whose "motivation was wrong," but also that "you can't artificially take one particular commodity and protect it" without serious consequences occurring. Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

In the absence of 'new and fair' pricing agreements with Ottawa, and in the presence of what the Alberta Government considered to be the punitive measures instituted through the NEP,[200] the Lougheed administration made good on its promise of reprisal.[201] In an "emotional televised appeal to Albertans for their understanding and support,"[202] the Premier announced incremental cuts to oil production totalling 15 per cent over nine months and the postponement of two large oil sands development projects.[203] However, Lougheed also pledged that no Canadian would be put "in the position of being concerned with regard to supply" and undertook to suspend production cuts should a national oil shortage occur.[204] The Prime Minister's written response to Alberta's decision to cut production maintained the federal government's "moral and constitutional right to levy new taxes such as export taxes, in order to achieve a more reasonable share of the windfall revenues accruing from changes in the world price of oil."[*][205]

The reduction in the supply of Alberta oil had an important and desired effect: it spurred the federal government to negotiate revisions to the NEP.[†][206] In late August 1981, Alberta's Minister of Energy and Natural Resources (1979–1982) C. Mervin Leitch and federal Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources (1980–1982) Marc Lalonde reached a settlement with regard to petroleum policy. The accord was simply called the Oil Agreement, and was signed by Premier Lougheed and Prime Minister Trudeau on September 1, 1981.[207] The agreement affirmed Alberta's ownership of its own resources; increased the price of oil and hence the return on the commodities for Albertans; removed the export tax that the federal government had imposed on Alberta natural gas; and set price increases for Canadian oil and gas production for the next five years.[208] It also required that Alberta accept a federal wellhead tax,[‡] called the Petroleum Revenue Tax; become part of the Petroleum Incentive Program, which was designed to spur investment in the province's oil and gas sector; and agree to a natural gas liquids tax.[209] Thus, the agreement was a balanced accord, having benefit for both sides. Through it, the Lougheed Government managed to lessen the negative effects of the NEP on Albertans.

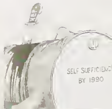
On November 2, 1982, Peter Lougheed led the Progressive Conservatives to a fourth consecutive majority, capturing 75 out of a total of 79 seats—the largest majority won by the Progressive

---

[*] Concerns about the reliability of Canada's oil supply arose early in 1981. The national press warned of oil shortages as Lougheed ordered further cuts. On March 1, 1981, Lougheed reduced Alberta's daily oil production by 100,000 barrels at an estimated daily cost to the federal treasury of $1 to $2 million. Jeff Sallot, "Problems Coming This Year for Canada's Supply of Oil," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 10 January 1981, p. 1; Duncan Thorne, "Gas Up and Going Higher," *Edmonton Journal*, 2 March 1981, pp. A1, A3; Richard Cleroux, "Cutbacks Won't Affect Supply: Lalonde," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 2 March 1981, p. 11.

[†] Another important part of the Lougheed Government's strategy to pressure the federal government was its challenge to the legality of the natural gas export tax, imposed under the NEP. Decisions of both the Alberta Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court of Canada supported the Alberta position and determined that the federal tax was indeed illegal. In the words of a Lougheed biographer, the decisions were "a great strength for Alberta in further negotiations" on oil and gas policy. David G. Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1985), pp. 176, 175–176; *Reference re: Questions set out in O.C. 1079/80, Concerning Tax proposed by Parliament of Canada on Exported Natural Gas,* [1981] 3 W.W.R. 408, 122 D.L.R. (3d) 48, 28 A.R. 11 (Alta. C.A.); *Reference re: Questions set out in O.C. 1079/80, Concerning Tax proposed by Parliament of Canada on Exported Natural Gas,* [1982] 1 S.C.R. 1004.

[‡] A wellhead tax is the tax levied on petroleum at the extraction site.



Conservative Party up to and including the 2004 election—and more than 62 per cent of the popular vote.[210] The election coincided with a period of deepening economic recession, as already-high mortgage lending rates reached almost 15 per cent in July 1984.[211] The national unemployment rate stood at 11 per cent, having almost tripled in three years.[212] Decreasing demand for oil resulted in production cutbacks and industry downsizing.[213]

Amidst the downturn in July 1984, the Lougheed Government endeavoured to promote economic diversification through a comprehensive White Paper* entitled *Proposals for an Industrial and Science Strategy for Albertans 1985–1990.* Intended to generate public debate, the document included both positive and negative† aspects of the Province's economic performance during the Progressive Conservatives' tenure to date.[214] The document addressed a number of issues related to Alberta's economy, including investment strategies, energy development, agricultural stability and international trade.[215] The White Paper advocated Alberta's energy self-sufficiency and made a case for public-private initiatives in a mixed economy, a position which "managed the difficult trick of angering occupants of both ends of the political spectrum."[216]

Throughout 1984 and into early 1985, the Lougheed Government's priorities continued to feature the improvement of market conditions for Alberta petroleum and the dismantling of the NEP.[217] In late March 1985, Lougheed joined federal Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources Patricia Carney (1984–1986)‡ and the Premiers of British Columbia and Saskatchewan§ in finalizing a comprehensive pricing and tax agreement,[218] which was termed the Western Accord.**[219] The Western Accord terminated federal government regulations brought in under the NEP and returned the energy sector to market-driven pricing.[220]

---

* A White Paper is a document issued by a government which examines a specific issue and details the government's policy on that issue.

† The first item listed amongst the negative factors was the federal government's NEP, which, according to the White Paper, had 'discouraged private sector energy investors particularly from outside of Canada.' The first item listed under 'Positive Factors' was the 72.8-per-cent increase in the number of Alberta jobs between 1971 and 1984 compared to the 34.3-per-cent increase for the remainder of Canada over the same period. Alberta. Office of the Premier, *White Paper: Proposals for an Industrial and Science Strategy for Albertans 1985 to 1990* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1984), p. 7.

‡ On August 30, 1990, Prime Minister M. Brian Mulroney (1984–1993) appointed Patricia Carney to the Senate.

§ In 1985, the Premiers of British Columbia and Saskatchewan were William 'Bill' R. Bennett (1975–1986) and D. Grant Devine (1982–1991), respectively. Pierre G. Normandin, ed. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1985 ed. (Ottawa: Pierre G. Normandin, 1985), pp. 739, 1219.

** The Western Accord between the Governments of Canada, British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan was designed to "modify the existing taxation and pricing regime in order to stimulate investment and job creation in the energy sector … and to increase the degree of energy security for all Canadians." Canada. Dept. of Energy Mines and Resources, *The Western Accord: An Agreement between the Governments of Canada, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia on Oil and Gas Pricing and Taxation* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1985), p. 1.

Although energy and constitutional negotiations dominated public discourse during Lougheed's tenure, 1971 to 1985 is also remembered as a period of social progress as well as a 'veritable Golden Age' for culture and the arts in Alberta.[221] At the beginning of the First Session of the 17th Legislature, on March 2, 1972, *The Alberta Bill of Rights* and *The Individual Rights Protection Act* were introduced. The Acts were passed on November 15, 1972, establishing the Alberta Human Rights Commission and reaffirming those democratic rights and individual freedoms enshrined in the *Canadian Bill of Rights.*[222] Subsequent Acts of social import and progress would follow, most notably: *The Sexual Sterilization Repeal Act, 1972*;[*][223] *The Alberta Labour Act, 1973*;[224] *The Unfair Trade Practices Act, 1975*;[225] *The Occupational Health and Safety Act, 1976*;[226] *The Planning Act, 1977*;[†][227] *The Election Finances and Contributions Disclosure Act, 1977*;[228] and *The Department of Culture Act, 1980.*[229]

In the 1970s and early 1980s, the province's increasing wealth afforded the Lougheed Government the means necessary to support culture and the arts in Alberta with marked generosity and "in ways unmatched, with the possible exception of Québec, anywhere, anytime in Canada."[230] The inclination and willingness to do so came in large measure from Premier Lougheed himself and his wife Jeanne, an avid artist and arts enthusiast.[231] Jeanne Lougheed maintained that "Alberta's prosperity would lose its lustre if it satisfied just the material wants and needs of an increasingly affluent community," believing, along with her husband, that the province's wealth should also "nurture the spirit of its people."[232] As a result, during his tenure, "Lougheed's Alberta experienced an unprecedented mushrooming of cultural and multicultural activity," with provincial oil revenues allowing it to become "a patron of the arts."[233] In fact, by the mid-1980s, Alberta was one of only two provinces[‡] that awarded culture its own ministry and boasted "the highest per capita expenditure on culture in Canada, and [was] second only to Quebec and Ontario in total amount."[234]

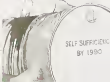
Early indications of the Lougheed Government's support of the arts came with the establishment of the Alberta Art Foundation, the Alberta Foundation for the Literary Arts and the Alberta Foundation for the Performing Arts.[235] In 1974, it was reported that more than $200,000 in government funds were to be allocated to Alberta's artists.[236] Perhaps the most significant program launched by the provincial government was the Alberta Matching Grants Program, whereby the Department of Culture guaranteed to match funds raised by professional and amateur arts organizations, which were customarily acquired through private donations, by up to 25 per cent of their budgets.[237] In 1980, as part of Alberta's 75th Anniversary celebration, the

---

[*] *The Sexual Sterilization Act* of 1928 had established a board in Alberta to determine whether or not patients eligible for discharge from psychiatric treatment facilities should first undergo sterilization to eliminate mental illness by curbing the "transmission of the disability to progeny." *The Sexual Sterilization Act*, S.A. 1928, c. 37, s. 5.

[†] The purpose of this Act was to provide the means to achieve "orderly, economical and beneficial development and use of land and patterns of human settlement," and to maintain and improve the physical environments of human settlements in Alberta "without infringing on the rights of individuals except to the extent that is necessary for the greater public interest." *The Planning Act, 1977*, S.A. 1977, c. 89, s. 2.

[‡] Quebec was the other province with a government department devoted exclusively to culture (le Ministère des Affaires culturelles) at that time.



province made a gift to Canada in the form of *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, which has been lauded as a remarkable publishing feat.*[238] Several internationally recognized arts centres and programs were also established under the auspices of the Lougheed administration. For example, on November 10, 1977, the Lougheed Government's *Banff Centre Act*[239] received Royal Assent, granting full autonomy to the Banff Centre,† which, in addition to being "Canada's only multidisciplinary arts environment devoted to professional career development and lifelong learning in the arts," is also a notable conference facility.[240] The Edmonton International Fringe Theatre Festival, the Calgary Centre for Performing Arts (now the EPCOR Centre for Performing Arts) and the expanded Citadel Theatre in Edmonton also formed a part of the Lougheed Government's legacy to the arts.[241] One of Jeanne Lougheed's impressive contributions, deemed by one author as her 'crowning public achievement,' was her generous and continued support of the Alberta Ballet.[242]

The Lougheed administration was also responsible for initiating an extensive development project for Kananaskis Country, Alberta, a wilderness region in the Rocky Mountains located about 60 kilometres west-southwest of Calgary. In 1977, the Government announced its "$40 million plan for recreation development" in the Kananaskis area, including, but not restricted to, Kananaskis Provincial Park.[243] Drawing from the Capital Projects Division of the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund for finances to implement the program, the plan called for the "upgrading of all existing recreation facilities within the region" and the establishment of many new facilities, such as campsites, day-use sites, hiking trails, swimming pools and a golf course.[244] The plan also called for the improvement of road access into and within the area, and was intended "to provide year-round outdoor recreation opportunities, while ensuring that a significant portion of the Rocky Mountain region is preserved."[245] By 1980, the project had been significantly expanded and was valued at over $200 million.[246]

Lougheed's vision for making Kananaskis Country a place of recreation for all Albertans led to the establishment of a facility for the physically and mentally disabled that was, and still is, "unique in the world."[247] This facility is the William Watson Lodge,‡ which offers year-round,

---

* Melvin Hurtig is a publisher and author whose most notable achievement in the former role was the publication of *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (two editions, 1985 and 1988). Hurtig, an economic nationalist, has written on topics such as foreign ownership in Canada and the Free Trade Agreement of 1988. *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), s.v. "Hurtig, Mel," accessed 7 June 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

† Established in 1933, the Banff Centre was initially operated by the University of Alberta's Department of Extension. According to Lougheed, his Government's ultimate decision to support the Banff Centre as a year-round educational institution was due in large measure to Jeanne Lougheed's efforts on behalf of the Centre and to the fact that the Centre's president, David Leighton, made the proposal in person at a formal Cabinet meeting. Lougheed states that Leighton's presence at the Cabinet table "was the only time in [his] 14 years as Premier that an outsider came to a Cabinet meeting." Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

‡ The facility is named for William Ritchie Watson, a Scottish-born immigrant to Alberta, who was physically handicapped from birth. Watson "devoted much of his life to improving social and environmental conditions for people with disabilities." Joanne Elves, "Disabled Albertans Able to Enjoy Great Outdoors," *Calgary Herald*, 15 October 2005, p. G10.

‘barrier-free’ accommodations for Albertans with disabilities, in addition to an extensive network of wheelchair-accessible trails nearby. Severely disabled Albertans receive first priority with respect to the use of the Lodge, followed by those with less severe disabilities and then, by senior citizens.[248] Opened in 1981, the Lodge was an innovative idea of Jeanne Lougheed’s, and its immense popularity is ‘very gratifying’ to the Lougheeds.[249] In 2004, the Lodge was filled during its peak months (June–August) to more than 95 per cent of its capacity, while the average occupancy for the year was more than 86 per cent.[250]

Alberta’s cultural heritage was likewise recognized and fostered during Lougheed’s tenure. In supporting this aspect of culture, the Government helped to preserve the history of the province and the traditions of its people. The passing of *The Alberta Heritage Act, 1973* established the Alberta Heritage Foundation, whose purpose was to protect and promote Alberta’s heritage resources “for the use, enjoyment and benefit of the people of Alberta.”[251] In addition, the multicultural nature of Alberta society was formally recognized and celebrated, first in *The Heritage Day Act, 1974*,*[252] and later in the *Alberta Cultural Heritage Act* (1984).[253] Edmonton’s Heritage Festival, a multicultural festival featuring the cuisine, crafts and entertainment of various cultural communities and held in conjunction with Heritage Day, is a very popular event.†[254] Alberta’s affluence in the 1970s and 1980s was largely responsible for the province’s generous endorsement of arts and culture, but it has been said that only with the support of a ‘progressive’ and ‘enlightened’ administration could these areas have enjoyed such patronage.[255]

As Premier, Peter Lougheed was also called upon to defend principles of social justice. One such incident occurred in 1982, when reports surfaced that James ‘Jim’ Keegstra, a secondary school teacher and mayor of Eckville, Alberta, had replaced part of the approved social studies curriculum[256] in his classroom with anti-Semitic tracts and material that denied the existence of the Holocaust.[257] As revelations about Keegstra’s teachings continued to emerge in the press, Alberta’s Jewish and other community leaders called for Lougheed to ‘speak out on the issue.’[258] Lougheed announced a review of the curriculum before rising in the Legislative Assembly to denounce Keegstra’s views as “unequivocally racial, religiously prejudiced, historically inaccurate, and distorted.”[259]

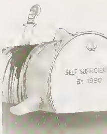
During his years in office, Premier Lougheed participated in many special ceremonial events, including the 1973 visit of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, in honour of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) Centennial.[260] That same year, Lougheed received Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India (1966–1977, 1980–1984), who was on a ‘goodwill tour’ of Canada.[261] In 1977, the Premier joined Prince Charles in Calgary to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the signing of Treaty 7‡ between the Dominion Government and the Blackfoot, Cree, Sarcee and Peigan Nations of southern Alberta.[262] The next year, Queen

---

* Heritage Day is a civic holiday that has been celebrated in Alberta since 1974, on the first Monday in August.

† For example, in 2004, the three-day festival reportedly attracted over 350,000 visitors. *2004 Annual Report: Edmonton Heritage Festival* (Edmonton: Edmonton Heritage Festival Association, 2004), p. 2.

‡ Alberta Lieutenant Governor Ralph G. Steinhauer (1974–1979), the first person of Aboriginal heritage to be appointed to that position in any Canadian province, also participated in the celebrations.



Elizabeth II, accompanied by her husband, Prince Philip, and their two younger sons, Prince Andrew and Prince Edward, opened the 1978 Commonwealth Games in Edmonton.[263] During celebrations of Alberta's 75th Anniversary in 1980, Premier Lougheed welcomed two distinguished visitors—Princess Margaret, the younger sister of Queen Elizabeth II, on July 26,[264] and Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau on September 1.*[265] Lougheed was also involved in ceremonies connected with the 1983 World University Games, held in Edmonton and officially opened by Prince Charles and Diana, Princess of Wales.[266] In 1984, Pope John Paul II visited Alberta, and was greeted by the Premier and Mrs. Lougheed.[267] In 1985, Lougheed hosted Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother,† who visited Alberta to attend the 5th World Angus Forum.[268]

Lougheed also travelled extensively during his premiership,‡ almost always in the company of his wife, Jeanne, promoting Alberta abroad through official visits to Japan (1972), Europe (1975), the United States (1976) and China and Japan (1983).[269] According to Lougheed, his wife's presence "made a huge difference" during these visits, for, as he explained, "what happened … is that if the Premier's wife came, then the receiving government leaders had to bring their spouses; it changed the atmosphere completely."[270] In 1977, Premier Lougheed embarked upon "the most ambitious foreign excursion ever undertaken by a provincial leader," which took him through the Middle East, the Soviet Union (USSR) and Switzerland.[271] The successful tour concluded with Soviet Premier Alexei N. Kosygin's (1964–1980) acknowledgement of Lougheed's contribution to Canadian public life[272] and Prime Minister Trudeau's congratulations to the Premier for his "effective and impressive" support of "Canada's positions" abroad.[273]

During his premiership, when Lougheed was asked when he planned to retire, he replied: "Some day I'll walk into my office and I won't be trying to change things; I'll find I'm trying to protect what I've done and I know that's the day I'll start planning to leave." Later, at the time of his resignation, he indicated that "that's what happened."[274] On June 26, 1985, Peter Lougheed announced his intention to retire from political life.[275] The Premier, however, maintained a powerful influence over energy policy until his departure from office in November. In July 1985, during his final months in office, Lougheed announced reductions to provincial energy royalties, worth $420 million, over two years, to oil producers' bottom lines.[276] On the evening of October 11, 1985, E. Peter Lougheed's career as Premier of Alberta was celebrated. That night, 4,000 well-wishers, including Progressive Conservative Party supporters and dignitaries, gathered at Edmonton's Convention Centre to mark the end of the 'Lougheed era.'[277] Lougheed's resignation as Premier took effect on November 1, 1985.[278]

---

* For more information about Alberta's 75th Anniversary, see the Background section *Special Events*.

† Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, was the widow of King George VI and mother of the current Sovereign, Queen Elizabeth II, and her sister, the late Princess Margaret Rose. The Queen Mother died on March 30, 2002, at the age of 101. "HM Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother," Memorial Sites, *Official Web Site of the British Monarchy*, [Internet], (London: Buckingham Palace Press Office, 2005), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.royal.gov.uk/print/page1011.asp.

‡ In 1971, Premier Lougheed took the 'unusual' step of appointing a Deputy Premier, Member for Barrhead Dr. Hugh M. Horner. The position was established to permit Lougheed to travel around the province to meet with Albertans rather than be 'tied to a desk.' "PCs Enlarge Cabinet at Alberta Takeover; Name Deputy Premier," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 11 September 1971, p. 11.

## Later Career

Upon returning to private life in 1985, Lougheed accepted a partnership in the Calgary law firm Bennett Jones. Two years later, Lougheed became co-chair of the Canadian Alliance for Trade and Job Opportunities, a group formed by the private sector in 1987 to promote the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement. Beginning in 1991, Lougheed served as co-chair of the Canada-Japan Forum, which was created that year by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney together with the Prime Minister of Japan Toshiki Kaifu, to examine ways of improving relations between Canada and Japan. There were 11 Canadians and 11 Japanese involved in the Forum. The report was presented to Prime Minister Mulroney in 1992, and a follow-up report was issued to Prime Minister J. J. Jean Chrétien (1993–2003) in 1995.

After he left public office, Lougheed devoted much of his time and energy to serving as a member of the Boards of Directors of a significant cross-section of Canadian corporations. At one time he was a director of 17 Canadian corporations. These included ATCO Ltd., the Royal Bank of Canada, Princeton Developments Limited, Reed Stenhouse Companies Limited, Bechtel Canada, Noranda, Northern Telecom (Nortel), CFCN Communications Ltd., Brascan Ltd., Bombardier Ltd., Quorum Capital Corporation, Bio-Technica Canada Inc., Carlson Construction and the DMR Group. Lougheed was also very involved in the development of the market for Alberta's natural gas into New York and the northeastern United States. In this capacity, he became the chair of the Alberta Northeast Gas project, which promoted the construction of a pipeline (the Iroquois Pipeline*) to bring gas to New York and New England.

In addition, Lougheed was named to the Advisory Council of the Morgan Grenfell Bank of London, England, and later, to the Advisory Board of the Morgan Stanley Group of New York. He became a director of Genstar Corporation and also served for many years on the Board of Canada Pacific Limited. He also joined the Board of Directors of Canadian publishing house McLean Hunter. Lougheed was honourary chair of the Calgary Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee and served in this capacity when the Games were held in Calgary in 1988.† He has lectured at the University of Alberta, the University of Calgary and the Banff Centre of Management, and has also served on the National Advisory Committee for the Banff School of Management. Additionally, he is a member of the Advisory Council of the Atlantic Institute for Market Studies (AIMS).

---

* The Iroquois Pipeline commenced full operations in January 1992, and since that time, the amount of gas that flows through the pipeline annually has more than doubled. "Corporate Information: Company History," *Iroquois,* [Internet], (Iroquois Pipeline Operating Company, 2003), accessed 14 July 2006, available from http://www.iroquois.com/new-Internet/igts/CorporateInformation/history.asp

† Ralph P. Klein, who was Mayor of Calgary (1980–1989) during the XV Winter Olympics, would become Alberta's 12th Premier in 1992.

KEEP
SELF SUFFICIENCY BY 1990

In 2003, Lougheed became the chair of the Board of Keyera Energy Corporation, which is a major midstream natural gas company. In 2005, in addition to serving on various Boards of Directors, Lougheed worked as an advisor to the Government of the Northwest Territories as a Director of the Aboriginal Pipeline Group, which is a major shareholder in the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline. Lougheed has served as an energy and off-shore oil consultant to the Governments of Nova Scotia and of Newfoundland and Labrador. He is also a member of the Trilateral Commission and often chairs the energy segment of the North American Trilateral Commission meetings.*

Since his retirement as Premier, Lougheed has maintained an active public life, becoming involved in and speaking out on issues of political and social importance. Amongst the matters affecting Canada that have elicited a public response from Lougheed are: trade, the economy, constitutional matters and bilingualism. Explaining his decision to participate in the debate on bilingualism, Lougheed indicated that he could "not hold back his deeply held belief that official bilingualism is an inherent part of Canadianism."[279] In an interview in 1995, he voiced his opinion on the issue of social assistance, exhorting the provincial government to recognize its responsibility in supporting those less fortunate: "As a Conservative, my feeling is that we have to help those who can't look after themselves. That must be a basic Conservative policy. … [T]he basic philosophy of sharing must endure."[280] In 2002, Lougheed was involved in opposing the Kyoto Accord,† and, at age 74, was appointed by Premier Ralph P. Klein (1992– ) as chair of the provincial task force established to "devise a constitutional challenge to the ratification" of the Kyoto Protocol.[281] Lougheed feared that the Protocol would have "serious economic implications for Alberta and all of Canada for years to come."[282] His view, not unlike that of the Alberta Government, was that an alternative solution to global environmental concerns should be sought. He also expressed his belief that many Canadians would prefer "to deal with this problem of [the] environment … in our own Canadian way."[283]

Lougheed's involvement in public life also includes participating in significant provincial events. On May 24, 2005, Lougheed was amongst the privileged guests who attended Queen Elizabeth II's historic‡ Address to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta during Her Majesty's visit to the province in honour of its Centennial.[284] That evening, Lougheed and his wife, Jeanne, also attended the Government of Canada's dinner for the Queen, a formal gala hosted by Prime Minister Paul E. P. Martin (2003– ) in celebration of Her Majesty's visit.[285]

---

* The information for the preceding sections of 'Later Career' is based on notes generously provided by Mr. Lougheed.

† The December 1997 Kyoto Accord (or Kyoto Protocol) is the agreement to reduce greenhouse gas emissions that was negotiated at a meeting in Kyoto, Japan, amongst more than 160 countries, including Canada. Canada ratified the Kyoto Protocol in December 2002, thereby agreeing to reduce the nation's emissions to six per cent below 1990 levels by between 2008 and 2012. "Canada and the Kyoto Protocol: Overview," Climate Change, *Government of Canada*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada, July 2001), accessed 18 January 2006, available from http://www.climatechange.gc.ca/cop/cop6_hague/english/overview_e.html; Hanneke Brooymans, "Onus on Individuals, Rather than Industry," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 April 2005, p. A2.

‡ The Queen's Address constituted the first time that a reigning monarch has addressed the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

In 2005, when asked whether or not he plans to write his memoirs, Lougheed indicated that he is instead considering authoring a series of essays on various topics, including politics and business, which he would make freely available on the Internet. Lougheed explained: "I want to do these essays rather than the traditional historical thing because I'd like to think that I could take a couple of the issues and deal with them in a way that brings them into the current reality."[286]

## Community Activities and Personal Interests

Lougheed is a member of the Ranchmen's Club of Calgary and of the Calgary Golf and Country Club.[287] He is also a member of the Freemasons.[288] He enjoys hiking, skiing, golf and photography.[289] Jeanne Lougheed, who studied ballet as a young girl, has continued her love of and interest in ballet and has served as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Ballet of Canada. In 1987, she received the Founders Award from the Alberta Ballet Company. In addition, her earlier studies of voice led to an ongoing interest in opera and jazz. Both Peter and Jeanne Lougheed, as enthusiastic and active supporters of the arts, have remained very involved in the arts community. In 1985, Peter Lougheed served as chief patron—and Jeanne as chair—of Edmonton's Tri-Bach Festival, an event celebrating the 300th anniversary of the birth of baroque composer Johann Sebastian Bach.[290] In the same year, Jeanne Lougheed was appointed for a three-year term to the board of directors of the Canada Council for the Arts, the federal arts-funding agency.[291] Jeanne has also served as a member of the Board of the Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra, as director of the Banff International TV Festival, and is an honourary fellow of the Banff Centre.*

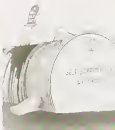
## Honours and Awards

The Honourable E. Peter Lougheed was appointed to the Queen's Privy Council for Canada in 1982 and was inducted as a Companion of the Order of Canada in 1987. He was awarded the Alberta Order of Excellence in 1989. In 1996, Lougheed was named Chancellor of Queen's University and served in this position for six years. He is now Chancellor Emeritus of Queen's University. In 2001, Lougheed was inducted into the Canadian Medical Hall of Fame, and in the same year, the Peter Lougheed Medical Research Foundation, in partnership with the Canadian Institutes of Health, announced the first Peter Lougheed/CIHR Scholarship.

In 1985, the Banff Centre opened the Jeanne and Peter Lougheed Building, recognizing the contributions made by the Lougheeds to this institution. The same year, the Alberta Government acknowledged Lougheed's outstanding commitment to cultural diversity by naming Edmonton's Peter Lougheed Multicultural Village in his honour. In 1986, the provincial government renamed Kananaskis Provincial Park the Peter Lougheed Provincial Park in recognition of the extensive program for recreational development in Kananaskis Country that his Government implemented. The University of Alberta School of Business established the Peter Lougheed Scholarships in 1986. In the same year, Lougheed was honoured with Harvard University's Distinguished Alumni Award. In 1988, the new site of the Calgary General Hospital

---

* In 1976, the 'Year of the Woman,' Jeanne Lougheed became 'the first Honourary Chairwoman' of the Heart Foundation of Canada. She has served on a number of corporate boards and was involved in the renovation and refurbishment of Government House in Edmonton.



was named the Peter Lougheed Centre. The University of Alberta honoured Lougheed by establishing health sciences, law and arts scholarships in his name. Lougheed Avenue is located in the Village of Heisler, Alberta, which is known as the 'Premier Village' because its streets are named in honour of former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[292]

Honourary Doctor of Laws degrees have been conferred on Lougheed by St. Francis Xavier University (1983), the University of Alberta (1986), the University of Calgary (1986), the University of Lethbridge (1988), the University of Windsor (1988), Dalhousie University (1995), Queen's University (1996) and the University of Toronto (1997). In 1995, Lougheed was awarded an Honourary Bachelor of Applied Technology degree by Calgary's Southern Alberta Institute of Technology (SAIT). The former Premier also received an Honourary Bachelor of Applied Policy Studies degree from Calgary's Mount Royal College in 2001.

In 1971, Lougheed was named honourary chief 'Thunderbird' by the Cree Nation, and in 1974, he was named honourary chief 'Crop Eared Wolf' (Makoyi'api-stuka) of the Blood Nation.[*]

Other notable honours that Lougheed has received include: the Shevchenko Memorial Medal (1985),[293] the B'nai Brith Canada Award of Merit (1987),[294] the Calgary Legal Guidance's Legal Humanitarian of the Year Award (1987),[295] the University of Alberta's Distinguished Alumni Award (1994),[296] the Conference Board of Canada's Honourary Associate Award (1996),[297] the Calgary Board of Education's Distinguished Alumni Award (2002)[298] and the Canadian Medical Association's Medal of Honour (2002).[299]

Additionally, in 1987, Lougheed was inducted into the University of Alberta's Sports Wall of Fame.[300] In 1996, he was made an honourary member of the Alberta Teachers Association (ATA).[301] In 2002, he was made a Foreign Honourary Member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,[302] and in the same year, Lougheed was appointed to the inaugural board of directors of the Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation.[303]

### Fonds

Records related to Premier Lougheed's years in office are housed at the Provincial Archives of Alberta. The family records of Senator James A. Lougheed are available through the Glenbow Museum and Archives, located in Calgary, Alberta.[†]

### Tributes

Former Leader of the Opposition (1980–1982) and Member for Little Bow Raymond A. Speaker remarked that Lougheed, in his role as Leader of the Opposition during the Manning and Strom Social Credit administrations (1968–1971), was able to "stimulate the responsibility of government, stimulate the responsibility of the Premier and his activities with Cabinet … in the sense of making the Government think about its responsibility to the people."[304]

---

[*] The information for the preceding sections of 'Honours and Awards' is partially based on background information generously provided by Mr. Lougheed.

[†] Lougheed has also been offered a room in Lougheed House to use as his archives and is currently accumulating the collection that will ultimately be housed there. Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

Many other prominent public figures have paid tribute to Lougheed, including former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who said, "Mr. Lougheed has been a great leader for Alberta and he's provided enlightened leadership for Western Canada and for the entire nation. He's been a national leader in the best sense of the word."[305] Former Attorney General of Alberta, Neil S. Crawford (1979–1986), said of Lougheed:

> The building block of his career and his success has been establishing Alberta as a real player in the Canadian Confederation—and working to make sure other regions did the same. He has always said, 'I am a Canadian first, an Albertan second, but that it's good for Canada to have strength in the regions.'[306]

Premier Ralph Klein adds, "His energy, insight and commitment helped to guide Albertans in building what has become one of the most modern, vibrant and prosperous jurisdictions in North America."[307]

### Selected Publications

Peter Lougheed is the author of *Why a Notwithstanding Clause?* (1998)[308] and co-author of *Calgary: Harnessing the Future* (1997).[309] In 1999, letters between Lougheed and former Quebec Premier René Lévesque were published as *Constitutional Patriation: The Lougheed-Lévesque Correspondence*.[310] Since leaving office, Lougheed has authored a number of articles, commenting publicly on, amongst other things, the subjects of national unity,[311] post-secondary education,[312] free trade[313] and the future of the Heritage Savings Trust Fund.[314] A lecture delivered by Lougheed in 1986, *Opportunities for Canadian Growth: Canada-United States Trade*, was included in a collection of published essays, *Visions of Canada: The Alan B. Plaunt Memorial Lectures, 1958-1992*.[315]

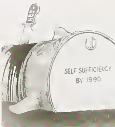
## Notes

[1] E. Peter Lougheed, President of the Council, 10 September 1971, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[2] Elizabeth Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, vol. 38 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), s.v. "Lougheed, Hon. (Edgar) Peter"; Jopie Loughead et al., "Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia: Toronto Township, Peel County, Ontario," [Unpublished Manuscript], pp. 24–25.

[3] Loughead et al., "Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia," pp. 18–25; Canada. Library of Parliament, "Lougheed, The Hon. Sir James Alexander, P.C.," Senate - Historical Information, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp

[4] [Warrant of Knighthood, James Alexander Lougheed], 21 July 1916, James Lougheed Family Fonds, Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary, M4843; "The Honourable Peter Lougheed, C.C., P.C., Q.C.," Members, *The Alberta Order of Excellence*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2003), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.lieutenantgovernor.ab.ca/aoe/lougheed.cfm



[5] Loughead et al., “Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia,” pp. 3, 18; Richard J. Wolfe, “Early New York Naturalization Records in the Emmet Collection,” *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* vol. 67, no. 4 (1963): p. 213; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James A. Lougheed Household, 1901 Census of Canada, North-West Territories, district no. 202, Alberta, sub-district v, Calgary (West), schedule 1, p. 13, household 114, microfilm T-6550, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 2006 4 June, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html

[6] J. G. MacGregor, *Senator Hardisty's Prairies: 1849–1889* (Saskatoon, SK: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), p. 3; “The Early Years: Isabella Clark Hardisty,” Past and Present, *Beaulieu: The Historic Lougheed House*, [Internet], (Calgary: Lougheed House Conservation Society), accessed 15 January 2006, available from http://www.lougheedhouse.com/history.php; *Alberta, Formerly the Northwest Territories: Index to Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths, 1870 to 1905*, vol. 1 (Edmonton: Alberta Genealogical Society, 1995), p. 347; Nova Scotia Vital Statistics, “Edgar Donald Lougheed - Edna Alexandria Bauld,” Halifax County, Christ Church Dartmouth, 10 June 1924, no. 895, [Marriage Registration].

[7] *Alberta, Formerly a Part of the North-West Territories: An Index to Birth, Marriage and Death Registrations Prior to 1900* (Edmonton: Documentary Heritage Society of Alberta, Provincial Archives of Alberta, 1999), pp. 170, 243; Central United Church Calgary. Centennial Book Committee, *They Gathered at the River* (Calgary: Central United Church, 1975), p. 10; “The Early Years: Isabella Clark Hardisty,” [Internet].

[8] MacGregor, *Senator Hardisty's Prairies*, pp. 3, 46; Jennifer S. H. Brown, “Hardisty, William Lucas,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, ed. Francess G. Halpenny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 384; Shirlee Anne Smith, “Hardisty, Richard Charles,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, ed. Francess G. Halpenny (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 383; “Mary Thomas, Metis, Who Was Mother of Future Lady Lougheed, Calgary, Alberta,” Archives Photographs Catalogue, [Catalogue Record], (Calgary: Glenbow Museum and Archives), accessed NA-2758-1.

[9] MacGregor, *Senator Hardisty's Prairies*, pp. 3–5; Brown, “Hardisty, William Lucas,” pp. 384–385; Smith, “Hardisty, Richard Charles,” pp. 383–384; “The Early Years: Isabella Clark Hardisty,” [Internet]; “A Daughter of the West Who Made a Difference,” *Calgary Herald*, 30 December 2001, p. A11.

[10] “The Early Years: Isabella Clark Hardisty,” [Internet]; “A Daughter of the West,” p. A11.

[11] Fax from Tanya Barber, Legal Archives Society of Alberta, 31 August 2004; Law Society of the North-West Territories, James Alexander Lougheed, [Law Roll], Roll of Advocates of the North West Territories, Legal Archives Society of Alberta, Calgary; Tom Ward, *Cowtown: An Album of Early Calgary* (Calgary: City of Calgary Electric System, 1975), pp. 84–89.

[12] Kay Sanderson, *200 Remarkable Alberta Women* (Calgary: Famous Five Foundation, 1999), p. 12; Janet C. Ross-Kerr, *Prepared to Care: Nurses and Nursing in Alberta, 1859 to 1996* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1998), pp. 81–82; “A Daughter of the West,” p. A11; Daisy MacGregor, ed., *The Alberta Club Woman's Blue Book* (Calgary: Calgary Branch of the Canadian Women's Press Club and P. Burns & Co., 1917), p. 79.

[13] Loughead et al., “Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia,” pp. 24, 18–28; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James A. Lougheed Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[14] Loughead et al., "Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia," p. 24; David G. Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1985), p. 27; "Lougheed, Edgar Donald," *ArchiviaNet: Soldiers of the First World War (1914–1918)*, [CEF Attestation Paper], [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02010602_e.html; Fax from Katherine Stanford, Administrative Secretary, Dalhousie University, Halifax, NS, 7 September 2004; Law Society of Alberta, Edgar Donald Lougheed, [Law Roll], Roll of Members, Law Society of Alberta Archives, Calgary, 948, File No. 573.

[15] Nova Scotia Vital Statistics, "Edgar Donald Lougheed - Edna Alexandria Bauld," [Marriage Registration]; Loughead et al., "Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia," p. 24; Allan Hustak, *Peter Lougheed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), p. 23; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Bauld Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Nova Scotia, district no. 33, City of Halifax, subdistrict a-2, Ward 1, schedule 1, pp. 10–11, household 95, microfilm T-6450, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html

[16] Hustak, *Peter Lougheed*, p. 23; Loughead et al., "Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia," pp. 24–25.

[17] Loughead et al., "Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia," p. 27.

[18] *Peter Lougheed: A Western Legacy*, Life and Times, 1 hr., CBC, 29 November 1996, Television Broadcast; "STS Today: Our History," *STS: Strathcona-Tweedsmuir School*, [Internet], accessed 14 July 2006, available from http://www.sts.ab.ca/sts_history.asp

[19] Loughead et al., "Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia," p. 25; Hustak, *Peter Lougheed*, pp. 31–32; "Graduates," in *Analecta '47*, vol. 32, no. 1 (Calgary: Students of Central Collegiate Institute, June 1947).

[20] "Council," in *Analecta '47*, vol. 32, no. 1 (Calgary: Students of Central Collegiate Institute, June 1947), p. 54; Peter Lougheed, "Sage Advice Had Lasting Effect," *Calgary Herald*, 18 September 2004, p. A23.

[21] Office of the Registrar and Student Awards, "University History and Traditions: University Officials," Office of the Registrar and Student Awards, *University of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 2004), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.registrar.ualberta.ca/calendar-archive/calendar-2004-2005/index.cfm?show=220.3

[22] E-mail from Nancy Neil, Administration Office, Edmonton Eskimos Football Club, 22 September 2004; E-mail from David Bandla, Sports Information Assistant, University of Alberta Athletics, 18 April 2005; Fax from David Bandla, Sports Information Assistant, University of Alberta Athletics, 20 April 2005.

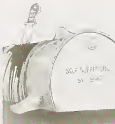
[23] Hustak, *Peter Lougheed*, pp. 43, 39; "Scholarships & Bursaries Offered to Continuing Students," Current Students: Scholarships and Bursaries, *University of Alberta: Faculty of Law*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.law.ualberta.ca/students/prizescurrent.htm; E-mail from Jason Tobias, Chapter President, Delta Upsilon Fraternity, University of Alberta, 23 September 2004.

[24] Hustak, *Peter Lougheed*, p. 36.

[25] University of Alberta Alumni Association, *Alumni Directory* (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1996), p. 207; Law Society of Alberta, Edgar Peter Lougheed, [Law Roll], Roll of Members, Law Society of Alberta Archives, Calgary, 1720, File No. 4220; Fax from Coral Sullivan, Registrar, Harvard Business School, Boston, MA, 24 May 2005.

[26] Fax from Sullivan, 24 May 2005.

[27] *Lougheed: Public Life, Private Moments*, 51 min., CBC, 10 October 1985, Television Broadcast.



[28] Loughead et al., "Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia," p. 25; Fil Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot: Culture & the Arts in the Lougheed Years* (Edmonton: Lone Pine, 2003), p. 43.

[29] University of Alberta Alumni Association, *Alumni Directory*, p. 207; Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot*, p. 40.

[30] Estella Rogers, "Dr. L. M. Rogers," in *Yesterday and Years Ago: A History of Forestburg and District* (Forestburg, AB: Forestburg & District Historical Book Committee, 1983), pp. 770–771; Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot*, p. 40; Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, s.v. "Lougheed, Jeanne Estelle," "Lougheed, Hon. (Edgar) Peter."

[31] E. Peter Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[32] Loughead et al., "Descendants of James Lougheed of Britannia," pp. 25–27; Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[33] Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot*, p. 43.

[34] Law Society of Alberta, Edgar Peter Lougheed, [Law Roll].

[35] Hustak, *Peter Lougheed*, p. 47.

[36] "The Honourable Peter Lougheed, C.C., P.C., Q.C.," [Internet]; *Beating the Odds: A History of the Mannix Family in Business 1898–1998* (Calgary: Loram Corporation, 1998), pp. 201–202, 208.

[37] Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, pp. 35, 51–52.

[38] Hustak, *Peter Lougheed*, pp. 54, 58, 66; "Olympic Winter Games: Grenoble 1968," Olympic Games, *The Official Website of the Olympic Movement*, [Internet], (Lausanne, CH: International Olympic Committee), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.olympic.org/uk/games/index_uk.asp; "Olympic Winter Games: Sapporo 1972," Olympic Games, *Official Website of the Olympic Movement*, [Internet], (Lausanne, CH: International Olympic Committee), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.olympic.org/uk/games/index_uk.asp

[39] William B. Cartwright, ed., *The Canadian Law List* (Toronto: Canada Law Book, 1967), pp. 51, 58; A. Harold Richardson, ed., *The Canadian Law List* (Toronto: Canada Law Book, 1968), p. 57.

[40] "O.C. 2181/71 (*The Queen's Counsel Act*)," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 68, no. 1, 15 January 1972, pp. 22–23.

[41] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] *The Lougheed Years*, 30 min., CTV, 7 October 1985, Television Broadcast.

[45] Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, p. 38.

[46] "Peter Lougheed Heads Alberta Conservatives," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 March 1965, p. 3.

[47] "Alberta Tories Elect Lougheed to Leadership," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 22 March 1965, p. 11.

[48] "Alberta Puts Emphasis on Human Resources in Speech from Throne," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 10 February 1967, p. 4.

[49] "All Conservatives Together," [Editorial], *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 18 April 1967, p. 6.

[50] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[51] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 16–17.

[52] Ibid., p. 16.

[53] George MacFarlane, "Outcasts in Alberta, PCs Hope to Replace Official Opposition," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 17 May 1967, p. 10.

[54] Eaton Howitt, "Peter Lougheed: A Brand-New Image for Alberta Politics," *Edmonton Journal*, 17 May 1967, p. 15.

[55] "All Conservatives Together," p. 6.

[56] MacFarlane, "Outcasts in Alberta," p. 10.

[57] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 17, 93.

[58] MacFarlane, "Outcasts in Alberta," p. 10; Lynne Cove, "Leadership Was a Key to Success," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 May 1967, p. 16.

[59] "A Great Election!" [Editorial], *Edmonton Journal*, 24 May 1967, p. 4.

[60] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 16th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LXXIV; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, Seating Plan of the Alberta Legislative Assembly, 1968, Alberta Legislature Library, Edmonton.

[61] George MacFarlane, "Young PCs Happy as New Opposition," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 23 May 1967, p. 3.

[62] Ted Bower, "Ground Lost in Victory," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 3 June 1967, p. 8.

[63] Lougheed, E. Peter, Leader of the Opposition, [Speech to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta], 4 March 1968, [Transcript], pp. 1–5.

[64] John Hopkins, "Some Are More Equal," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 2 November 1968, p. 8.

[65] Frank Burgess, "Less Speech, More Debate is Peter Lougheed's Goal," *Edmonton Journal*, 9 May 1969, p. 37.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Lougheed, [Speech to the Assembly], 4 March 1968, p. 2.

[68] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 16th Legislature, 4th Session*, vol. LXXVII, 11 February 1971, pp. 3, 8, 10.

[69] Bob Bell, "Lougheed's Throne Speech," *Edmonton Journal*, 11 February 1971, pp. 1, 8.

[70] Alan F. J. Artibise, ed., *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*, Canadian Plains Studies, ed. L.G. Crossman (Regina: University of Regina, 1981), pp. 420–421; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *The Canada Year Book 1952–53* (Ottawa: Dept. of Trade and Commerce, 1953), pp. 130, 143–144; Canada. Dept. of Industry Trade and Commerce, *Canada Year Book 1973* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1973), pp. 186, 210–211.

[71] "Electoral Summary 1905–2004," Comparative Statistics, *Elections Alberta: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.electionsalberta.ab.ca/statistics.html

[72] *The Age of Majority Act*, S.A. 1971, c. 1, ss. 20(1), Schedule 1 Part A.

[73] "Manning Steps Down Today," *Albertan* (Calgary), 12 December 1968, p. 1.

[74] Donald Peacock, "Lougheed Invades Socred Strongholds: Low-Key Approach of Alberta PCs Puzzles Government," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 26 August 1971, p. 3.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 17.

SELF SUFFICIENCY
BY 199

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid., pp. 17–18, 102.

[79] Lougheed, President of the Council, Executive Council Roll Book, [Signature of Peter Lougheed].

[80] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, 2 March 1972, p. 1–3.

[81] Ibid., pp. 1–3 to 1–4.

[82] Ibid., p. 1–3.

[83] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LXXVIII, 2 March 1972, p. 5.

[84] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 1st Session, 17th Legislature*, 2 March 1972, p. 4.

[85] Ibid.

[86] D. Blake McDougall, Assistant Deputy Minister/Legislature Librarian, "Televising Alberta's Legislative Proceedings," [Internal Document], 4 October 1990, Alberta Legislature Library, Edmonton, p. 1; John Lindblad, "No Bloopers in Session Televising," *Edmonton Journal*, 16 March 1972, p. 57; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, 9 March 1972, p. 36.

[87] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Speech by Premier Peter Lougheed to the Calgary Chamber of Commerce September 6, 1974* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1974), p. 4.

[88] Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), pp. 343–344.

[89] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Speech by Premier Peter Lougheed to the Calgary Chamber of Commerce*, pp. 6–8.

[90] *The Northeast Alberta Regional Commission Act*, S.A. 1974, c. 45.

[91] *The Department of Business Development and Tourism Act*, S.A. 1975 (2nd Sess.), c. 8.

[92] *The Department of Energy and Natural Resources Ac*t, S.A. 1975 (2nd Sess.), c. 10.

[93] *The Department of Government Services Act*, S.A. 1975 (2nd Sess.), c. 11.

[94] *The Department of Transportation Act*, S.A. 1975 (2nd Sess.), c. 17.

[95] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, pp. 346–347; Larry Pratt, "The State and Province-Building: Alberta's Development Strategy," in *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power*, ed. Leo Panitch (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), pp. 133–134.

[96] Thomas Kennedy, "Alberta's Business Involvement Termed at Limit," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 26 September 1974, p. B4.

[97] Pratt, "The State and Province-Building," p. 136.

[98] Kennedy, "Alberta's Business Involvement," p. B4; Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, pp. 346–347.

[99] Kennedy, "Alberta's Business Involvement," p. B4; Pratt, "The State and Province-Building," pp. 147–148; Alberta. Office of the Premier, Statement by Premier Lougheed Re: Petrochemicals, 16 May 1974, [News Release]; Alberta. Office of the Premier, [Province Acquires Pacific Western Airlines], 2 August 1974, [News Release].

[100] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts 1974–1975*, vol. 1 (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1975), p. 27; Alberta. Office of the Premier, [Province Acquires Pacific Western Airlines], [News Release].

[101] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Speech by Premier Peter Lougheed to the Calgary Chamber of Commerce*, p. 16.

[102] "Alberta Leases Exceed $600 Million," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 23 December 1978, p. B3.

[103] Alberta. Office of the Premier, [Province Acquires Pacific Western Airlines], [News Release].

[104] Norman Webster, "Premiers Want Conference on Energy Next Year," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 10 August 1973, p. 9.

[105] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debates, 29th Parliament, 1st Session*, 4 September 1973, pp. 6182–6185; Terrance Wills, "Alberta Crude Goes to Montreal Market," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 5 September 1973, pp. 1–2; "The Premiers, Rightly, Ask Part in Energy Policy Making," [Editorial], *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 11 August 1973, p. 6.

[106] Wills, "Alberta Crude," pp. 1–2.

[107] John Richards and Larry Pratt, *Prairie Capitalism: Power and Influence in the New West*, Canada in Transition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979), pp. 288–289; Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond and John English, *Canada Since 1945: Power, Politics, and Provincialism*, rev. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 339, 347–348; "A Fast Oil Change," [Editorial], *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 7 September 1973, p. 6.

[108] *Alberta Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 3; *Saskatchewan Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 42.

[109] *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21; *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.C. 1930, c. 3.

[110] *The Alberta Natural Resources Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 21, s. 2, Schedule [Memorandum of Agreement] s. 1; *The Administration of Natural Resources (Temporary) Act*, S.A. 1930, c. 22.

[111] *British North America Act, 1867* (U.K.), 30 & 31 Vict., c. 3, ss. 91–92. Note that the name of the *British North America Act, 1867* was changed in 1982 to the *Constitution Act, 1867*. For more information, see the Glossary.

[112] Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, pp. 146–147.

[113] Ibid., p. 146.

[114] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Statement by Premier Lougheed on Alberta Response to Federal Oil Export Tax and on New Oil and Gas Policies for Alberta, 4 October 1973, [News Release].

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid.

[117] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Concluding Remarks: Canadian Club of Calgary, 14 September 1973, [News Release].

[118] Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, p. 147.

[119] Peter Lougheed and Don MacDonald, "Fuelling the Feud," *Maclean's* vol. 87, no. 2 (1974): p. 20.

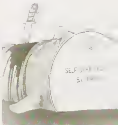
[120] Ibid.

[121] Richards and Pratt, *Prairie Capitalism*, p. 225.

[122] *The Natural Gas Pricing Agreement Act*, S.A. 1975 (2nd Sess.), c. 38.

[123] *The Alberta Energy Company Act*, S.A. 1974, c. 6.

[124] Norman Hillmer, "Alberta Energy Company Ltd," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com



[125] *The Petroleum Marketing Act*, S.A. 1973, c. 96, s. 13.

[126] *The Oil Sands Technology and Research Authority Act*, S.A. 1974, c. 49.

[127] Peter Lougheed, *Statement by Premier Lougheed Re: Alberta Petroleum Exploration Plan* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1974), pp. 2–4.

[128] Ibid.; Alberta. Office of the Premier, New Natural Gas Royalty System and Exploratory Drilling Incentive System, 31 January 1974, [News Release].

[129] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 17th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 3 December 1973, p. 74-4010; Richards and Pratt, *Prairie Capitalism*, pp. 225–226.

[130] Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 343.

[131] Richard J. Doyle, "What Troubles Mr. Lougheed," [Editorial], *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 20 November 1974, p. 6; Ronald Anderson, "While Rome Burns," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 22 November 1974, p. B2; "Lougheed Renounces Oil Pact," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 19 November 1974, p. 1.

[132] "Lougheed Renounces Oil Pact," p. 1.

[133] Bothwell, Drummond and English, *Canada Since 1945*, p. 348.

[134] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005; Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Budget Address* (Edmonton: Queen's Printer, 1975), p. 19.

[135] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[136] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 17th Legislature, 4th Session*, 10 February 1975, pp. 493–494.

[137] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 17th Legislature, 4th Session*, 14 February 1975, p. 697.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 17; "Tories in Alberta Capture 69 Seats to Opposition's 6," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 27 March 1975, p. 1.

[141] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Budget Address, 1975*, p. 27; *The Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund Act*, S.A. 1976, c. 2, s. 5(1)(a).

[142] *The Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund Act*, S.A. 1976, c. 2, ss. 4(1), 5(1).

[143] *The Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund Act*, S.A. 1976, c. 2, s. 6.

[144] *The Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund Act*, S.A. 1976, c. 2, s. 6.

[145] "Report on Canada: Alberta Growth," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 27 July 1977, p. B5.

[146] Mark Lukasiewicz, "Creating Jobs Outside Energy Sector a Formidable Task," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 10 November 1980, p. B25.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Bothwell, Drummond and English, *Canada Since 1945*, pp. 339, 347–353; Pratt, "The State and Province-Building," p. 154; Thomas Kennedy, "Income Glut a Problem in Alberta," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 26 September 1974, p. B1.

[150] Richards and Pratt, *Prairie Capitalism*, p. 289; Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 341; Bank of Canada, "1975 Anti-Inflation Act: Controlling Wages and Prices in Peacetime," Key Economic Events, *Canadian Economy Online*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2002), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://canadianeconomy.gc.ca/english/economy/1975economic.html

[151] Bank of Canada, "1975 Anti-Inflation Act," [Internet].

[152] *Anti-Inflation Act*, S.C. 1975, c. 75.

[153] *Anti-Inflation Act*, S.C. 1975, c. 75, ss. 4(2–4).

[154] *The Temporary Anti-Inflation Measures Act*, S.A. 1975 (2nd Sess.), c. 83, ss. 7, 12.

[155] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 18th Legislature, 1st Session*, 12 November 1975, pp. 1016, 1023–1024.

[156] Alberta. Office of the Premier, [Premier Lougheed Comments on Federal Economic Controls], 14 October 1975, [News Release].

[157] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 18th Legislature, 1st Session*, 12 November 1975, p. 1024; *The Temporary Anti-Inflation Measures Act*, S.A. 1975 (2nd Sess.), c. 83, ss. 2, 3(4), 42(3).

[158] Peter Lougheed, *Statement by Peter Lougheed* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1974), pp. 2–3; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 17th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 10 December 1973, pp. 79–4277, 79-4278.

[159] Alberta. Dept. of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs, *Harmony in Diversity: A New Federalism for Canada, Alberta Government Position Paper on Constitutional Change* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, October 1978).

[160] Ibid., p. 23.

[161] Ibid., p. 18.

[162] "Lougheed Expects to Raise Ottawa Hackles with 'Confrontation' Paper on Constitution," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 20 October 1978, p. 9; Alberta. Dept. of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs, *Harmony in Diversity*, p. 18; *Constitution Act, 1982*, being Schedule B to the *Canada Act 1982* (U.K.), 1982, c. 11, s. 38.

[163] "What the Premiers Want: The Big Three," *Today Magazine*, 20 September 1980, pp. 11–13.

[164] Jeffrey Simpson and Mary Trueman, "Little Success on Changing Constitution," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 6 February 1979, pp. 1–2; Jeffrey Simpson, "Accord on Constitutional Reform Unlikely, Lougheed, Blakeney Say," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 30 October 1978, p. 1.

[165] Jeffrey Simpson and Mary Trueman, "5 Constitutional Changes Agreed to, but Premiers Fail on Major Questions," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 7 February 1979, pp.1– 2.

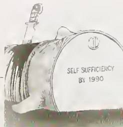
[166] Ibid., pp. 1–2; Simpson and Trueman, "Little Success on Changing Constitution," pp. 1–2; Jeff Sallot, "Socreds Still Opposition after Alberta Tory Sweep," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 15 March 1979, p. 2.

[167] Sallot, "Socreds Still Opposition," p. 2; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 18.

[168] *Canada Act 1982* (U.K.), 1982, c. 11; John Gray, "Royal Signature Brings Constitution Home Today," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 17 April 1982, pp. 1–2.

[169] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[170] J. Peter Meekison, "Alberta and the Constitution," in *Government and Politics in Alberta*, ed. Allan Tupper and Roger Gibbins (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), p. 254.



[171] Ibid., pp. 254–255.

[172] Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, p. 224.

[173] Peter Lougheed, *Why A Notwithstanding Clause?* Points of View, No. 6 (Edmonton: Centre For Constitutional Studies, 1998), pp. 1–2.

[174] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 20th Legislature, 1st Session*, 21 November 1983, p. 1731.

[175] *Constitution Act, 1982*, being Schedule B to the *Canada Act 1982* (U.K.), 1982, c. 11, s. 33(1).

[176] Lougheed, *Why A Notwithstanding Clause?* pp. 4–6.

[177] Janice Tibbetts, "Taking Away Federal Powers Isn't so Simple," *Edmonton Journal*, 11 January 2006, p. A5.

[178] Thomas Kennedy, "Resolution of Controversial Issues Key to Alberta's Continued Prosperity," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 15 July 1980, p. B5.

[179] "AHFMR Programs," About AHFMR, *Alberta Heritage Foundation for Medical Research*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Alberta Heritage Foundation for Medical Research, 2006), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.ahfmr.ab.ca/about.php#Programs

[180] Ibid.

[181] "Budget Lauded for Bringing Alberta Oil Industry Stability," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 25 June 1975, p. B16.

[182] Thomas Kennedy, "Governments Near Tax Accord on Oil Project," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 30 November 1977, p. B1.

[183] Ian Rodger, "Ottawa, Alberta Alter Views on Pricing of Domestic Oil," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 20 May 1975, p. B1; Thomas Kennedy, "Ottawa and Alberta Agree to Delay Oil Price Increase," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 9 December 1978, p. B14.

[184] Jeff Carruthers, "Agreement on Discounting Gas Reached," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 30 November 1978, p. B1.

[185] "Budget Lauded," p. B16.

[186] "Ottawa, Alberta Not Close to Oil Pact, Lougheed Says," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 7 November 1979, p. 1; Jeffrey Simpson, "Clark Angered by Alberta's Refusal to Accept New Oil Price Formula," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 16 November 1979, p. 1; Jeff Sallot, "Alberta Won't Accept Less: Lougheed is Firm on Oil Price," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 21 February 1980, p. 1; Jeff Sallot, "Ottawa, Alberta Remain Far Apart on Oil Price," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 14 May 1980, p. 1; Jeff Sallot and Robert Sheppard, "PM-Lougheed Oil Talks Fail; Alberta Can Set Price Aug. 1," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 26 July 1980, p. 1.

[187] Jeff Sallot, "Alberta Has a Retaliation Plan if Ottawa Imposes Tax on Gas," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 25 October 1980, p. 2.

[188] Jeff Carruthers, "Alberta Warns of Possible 'Shocking' Budget Reaction," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 22 October 1980, p. B1.

[189] *The Mines and Minerals Amendment Act, 1980*, S.A. 1980, c. 32.

[190] *The Mines and Minerals Amendment Act, 1980*, S.A. 1980, c. 32.

[191] *The Mines and Minerals Amendment Act, 1980*, S.A. 1980, c. 32, s. 2.

[192] "Ottawa Taking Bigger Energy Share," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 29 October 1980, p. 1.

[193] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *House of Commons Debates, 32nd Parliament, 1st Session*, 28 October 1980, pp. 4187–4188.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Pierre Elliot Trudeau, *Memoirs* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993), p. 293.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Lougheed, *Statement by Peter Lougheed*, pp. 5–6; *Position Paper: Tentative 'Natural Resource Revenue Plan' for the Government of the Province of Alberta* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, April 1972), pp. 34–35.

[198] "Lougheed Sees Export Tax as Threat of War on West," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 18 August 1980, p. 1; Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, pp. 174–175.

[199] "Lougheed Sees Export Tax," p. 1.

[200] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[201] Jeff Sallot and Robert Williamson, "Alberta Plans to Cut Oil Shipments: Canada Won't Freeze, Lougheed Promises," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 31 October 1980, pp. 1–2.

[202] Ibid.

[203] "Alberta Stiffens Its Resolve on Energy Package Talks," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 14 November 1980, p. 9.

[204] Sallot and Williamson, "Alberta Plans to Cut Oil Shipments," pp. 1–2.

[205] "'It Imposes Major Economic Burdens on All Canadians'," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 1 November 1980, p. 14.

[206] Wood, *The Lougheed Legacy*, p. 179.

[207] Ibid., p. 180.

[208] Ibid.

[209] Ibid.

[210] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 18.

[211] Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, *Average Residential Mortgage Lending Rate*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Bank of Canada), accessed 15 January 2006, available from http://www.bankofcanada.ca/pdf/annual_page51_page52.pdf

[212] Statistics Canada, "Supplementary Unemployment Rates by Age Groups, Sex, Canada, Province, Annual Averages," *Labour Force Historical Review*, [CD-ROM], (2002).

[213] Wayne Skene, "Can Peter Lougheed Fix Alberta?" *Edmonton Magazine* vol. 6, no. 8 (November 1984): p. 31.

[214] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *White Paper: Proposals for an Industrial and Science Strategy for Albertans 1985 to 1990* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1984), pp. 7–9.

[215] Ibid., pp. 16–22.

[216] Skene, "Can Peter Lougheed Fix Alberta?" p. 31; "Lougheed Isn't a Genuine Tory - Oilmen's Lobby," *Gazette* (Montreal), 31 January 1985, p. B4; "Strategy Paper Makes Few Friends," *Financial Post* (Toronto), 11 May 1985, p. 47.

[217] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 20th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 15 March 1984, p. 4; Ibid., 28 March 1985, p. 239.

SELF SUFFICIENCY
BY 1990

[218] Jeff Sallot and Bruce Little, "Carney Sees Energy Prices Falling," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 29 March 1985, p. 1.

[219] Canada. Dept. of Energy Mines and Resources, *The Western Accord: An Agreement between the Governments of Canada, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia on Oil and Gas Pricing and Taxation* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1985).

[220] Ibid., p. 2.

[221] Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot*, pp. 6–9, 16.

[222] *The Alberta Bill of Rights*, S.A. 1972, c. 1; *The Individual's Rights Protection Act*, S.A. 1972, c. 2; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, 2 March 1972, p. 1–10; *Canadian Bill of Rights*, S.C. 1960, c. 44.

[223] *The Sexual Sterilization Repeal Act, 1972*, S.A. 1972, c. 87, s. 1.

[224] *The Alberta Labour Act, 1973*, S.A. 1973, c. 33.

[225] *The Unfair Trade Practices Act*, S.A. 1975 (2nd Sess.), c. 33.

[226] *The Occupational Health and Safety Act*, S.A. 1976, c. 40.

[227] *The Planning Act, 1977*, S.A. 1977, c. 89.

[228] *The Election Finances and Contributions Disclosure Act*, S.A. 1977, c. 18.

[229] *The Department of Culture Act*, S.A. 1980, c. 12.

[230] Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot*, p. 9.

[231] Ibid., p. 16; Rosemary McCracken, "Future Cloudy for Arts in Alberta," *Calgary Herald*, 26 May 1986, p. A4.

[232] Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot*, p. 16.

[233] Ibid., p. 15.

[234] McCracken, "Future Cloudy for Arts in Alberta," p. A4; *The Department of Culture Act*, S.A. 1980, c. 12.

[235] *The Alberta Art Foundation Act*, S.A. 1972, c. 14; *The Cultural Development Amendment Act, 1978*, S.A. 1978, c. 11, ss. 10(1)(b), 10(3); *Cultural Foundations Amendment Act, 1984*, S.A. 1984, c. 13, s. 2; Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot*, p. 73.

[236] Carol Hogg, "Sudden Financial Feast Poses Problems," *Calgary Herald*, 3 May 1974, p. 20.

[237] Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot*, p. 73; Alberta. Dept. of Culture, *Annual Report 1976/77* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1977), p. 7.

[238] Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot*, p. 11.

[239] *The Banff Centre Act*, S.A. 1977, c. 57.

[240] "About the Banff Centre: Mission and Vision," *The Banff Centre*, [Internet], (Banff, AB: Banff Centre), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.banffcentre.ca/about/; Gordon K. Greene and Susan Spier, "Banff Centre for the Arts," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historica Foundation of Canada), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com

[241] “Fringe Festival History,” *Edmonton International Fringe Theatre Festival*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Fringe Theatre Adventures, 2005), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.fringetheatreadventures.ca/index.php/festival/content/C29; “History of EPCOR Centre,” *EPCOR CENTRE for the Performing Arts*, [Internet], (Calgary: EPCOR CENTRE for the Performing Arts), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.epcorcentre.org/aboutec/history.html; McCracken, “Future Cloudy for Arts in Alberta,” p. A4; “The Citadel History,” *The Citadel Theatre*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Citadel Theatre, 2006), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.citadeltheatre.com/history.asp?fb=78

[242] Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot*, pp. 52–57.

[243] Alberta. Office of the Premier, [$40 Million Plan for Kananaskis], 7 October 1977, [News Release].

[244] Ibid.

[245] Ibid.

[246] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 19th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 13 November 1980, pp. 1502–1503.

[247] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[248] Joanne Elves, “Disabled Albertans Able to Enjoy Great Outdoors,” *Calgary Herald*, 15 October 2005, p. G10.

[249] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005; Elves, “Disabled Albertans,” p. G10.

[250] Ross Watson, Facility Manager, “William Watson Lodge Facility Use Statistics, 2003–2005,” January 2006.

[251] *The Alberta Heritage Act, 1973*, S.A. 1973, c. 5, ss. 27(a), 25–28.

[252] *The Alberta Heritage Day Act*, S.A. 1974, c. 8.

[253] *Alberta Cultural Heritage Act*, S.A. 1984, c. A-17.5.

[254] “The Festival History,” About Us, *Edmonton Heritage Festival*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Edmonton Heritage Festival Association), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.heritage-festival.com/content.php?ID=10; Fil Fraser, “Government Turns against Arts: ‘Golden Age’ Now Just a Memory,” *Edmonton Journal*, 14 February 1993, p. A13.

[255] Fraser, *Alberta's Camelot*, p. 11.

[256] Ross Henderson, “Keegstra Axed over Course Content,” *Eckville Examiner*, 14 December 1982, p. 1.

[257] Ibid.

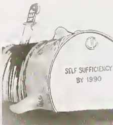
[258] Robert Sheppard, “Lougheed Vows to Fight Bigotry after Alberta School Controversy,” *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 13 May 1983, p. 1.

[259] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 20th Legislature, 1st Session*, 12 May 1983, p. 922.

[260] “Private and Official Visits since 1953: Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness The Duke of Edinburgh,” Royal Visits to Canada, *Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols Promotion*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/fr-rf/visit_e.cfm#01

[261] “Friendly Reception: Gandhi Finds Peace in West,” *Calgary Herald*, 23 June 1973, p. 2.

[262] “Private and Official Visits since 1953: His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales,” Royal Visits to Canada, *Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols Promotion*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/fr-rf/visit_e.cfm#04



[263] "Private and Official Visits since 1953," Royal Visits to Canada, *Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols Promotion*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/fr-rf/visit_e.cfm

[264] Zena Cherry, "Race Should Have Been Run in Mukluks," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 26 July 1980, p. 14; "Private and Official Visits since 1953: Her Royal Highness The Princess Margaret, Countess of Snowdon," Royal Visits to Canada, *Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols Promotion*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 9 July 2006, available from http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/fr-rf/visit_e.cfm#08

[265] Jeff Sallot, "Alberta Wants Only Fair Treatment, Premier Says," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 2 September 1980, p. 8.

[266] "Private and Official Visits since 1953: His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales," [Internet].

[267] "Cheering Thousands Welcome Pope John Paul," *Edmonton Journal*, 17 September 1984, p. 2.

[268] "Private and Official Visits since 1953: Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother," Royal Visits to Canada, *Ceremonial and Canadian Symbols Promotion*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/cpsc-ccsp/fr-rf/visit_e.cfm#04

[269] Brian Butters, "Lougheed's Trip Stirs Taxpayers," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 11 June 1977, p. 8; "Lougheed to Europe," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 27 September 1975, p. 13; "China Visit," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 1 June 1983, p. B5; Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[270] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[271] "Protocol is Stretched as Kosygin Sees Alberta's Economic Clout," *Saint John's Edmonton Report* vol. 4, no. 28 (20 June 1977): p. 8.

[272] Ibid.; "Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin," *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 23 May 2005, available from http://search.eb.com/eb/article-9046119

[273] Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, to E. Peter Lougheed, Premier of Alberta, 23 January 1978, [Letter].

[274] *Lougheed: Public Life, Private Moments*, Television Broadcast.

[275] "Alberta's Lougheed Quits After 14 Years," *Gazette* (Montreal), 27 June 1985, p. A1.

[276] John DeMont, "Western Oil Men Left with Few Complaints," *Financial Post* (Toronto), 6 July 1985, p. 28.

[277] "Alberta's Tories Send Lougheed Off in Style," *Gazette* (Montreal), 12 October 1985, p. G11; Peter Bakogeorge, "Leadership Race Has Lowered Party Standards Set by Lougheed," *Ottawa Citizen*, 12 October 1985, p. B4.

[278] Pierre G. Normandin, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1986 ed. (Ottawa: Pierre G. Nomandin, 1986), p. 660.

[279] Joan Crockatt, "Getty Left Him No Choice," *Edmonton Journal*, 29 January 1992, p. A1; "Lougheed Pegged for Trade Dispute Panel," *Ottawa Citizen*, 6 January 1989, p. A4; Jeff Adams, "Walk Softly and Carry a Small Stick, Canada Told," *Ottawa Citizen*, 19 July 1992, p. E6; Peter C. Newman, "A Positive View of Conservatism's Future," *Maclean's* vol. 109, no. 22 (27 May 1996): p. 42.

[280] Peter C. Newman, "A Warning Shot from Peter Lougheed," *Maclean's* vol. 108, no. 34 (21 August 1995): p. 32.

[281] Alberta. Dept. of International and Intergovernmental Affairs, Lougheed Committee Established to Support Government's Kyoto Efforts, 25 September 2002, [News Release]; "Ottawa 'Hell-Bent' on Ratifying Kyoto: Klein," CBC News Online, *CBC.ca*, [Internet], (Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 13 September 2002), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.cbc.ca/stories/2002/09/13/kyoto_klein020913

[282] Alberta. Dept. of International and Intergovernmental Affairs, Lougheed Committee Established to Support Government's Kyoto Efforts, [News Release].

[283] "Lougheed Working to Sway Canadians against Accord," *Standard* (St. Catharines, ON), 2 October 2002, p. B4.

[284] Jason Markusoff, "Alberta's First Genuine Speech from the Throne: Thousands Greet Queen on Legislature Grounds," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 May 2005, p. A3; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 26th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 24 May 2005, p. 1617.

[285] Nick Lees, "Glitz, Glamour Flood Gala: Edmonton Socialites Resplendent in Exquisite Attire," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 May 2005, p. B8.

[286] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[287] Ibid.

[288] "A Few Famous Freemasons," Biography: Freemasons, *Grand Lodge Of British Columbia and Yukon*, [Internet], (Vancouver: Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon), accessed 30 July 2006, available from http://www.freemasonry.bcy.ca/textfiles/famous.html

[289] Sydney Sharpe, "Lougheed at Large," *Financial Post Magazine*, February 1995, pp. 34–35; Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, s.v. "Lougheed, Hon (Edgar) Peter."

[290] Eric McLean, "Cities Gear Up for Bach Festivals," *Gazette* (Montreal), 2 March 1985, p. E11; Kim G. Kofmel, ed., *Who's Who of Canadian Women* (Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1988), s.v. "Lougheed, Jeanne E."

[291] E-mail from Francine Bercier, Assistant to the Chair, Canada Council for the Arts, Ottawa, 10 August 2005.

[292] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; *Welcome to The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

[293] Lougheed, Interview by LAO Staff, 29 November 2005.

[294] "Alberta Digest: Award for Lougheed," *Edmonton Journal*, 2 May 1987, p. H8.

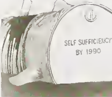
[295] Vern Simaluk, "City Entering Fifth Summer of Drought Cycle," *Calgary Herald*, 3 June 1987, p. F10.

[296] "1994 Recipients: Distinguished Alumni Awards," Alumni Recognition Awards, *University of Alberta Alumni Association*, [Internet], (Edmonton: University of Alberta, 1994), accessed 4 June 2006, available from http://www.uofaweb.ualberta.ca/alumnirecognition/nav03.cfm?nav03=16266&nav02=14649&nav01=14648

[297] "Lougheed Adds Conference Board's Highest Honour to List," *Canada NewsWire* (Toronto), 30 September 1996.

[298] "Calgary Board of Education Announces Distinguished Alumnus Award," *Calgary Board of Education*, [News Release], [Internet], (4 October 2002), accessed 7 September 2004, available from http://www.cbe.ab.ca/new/newsrel/2002-2003NR/021004.asp

[299] "Lougheed Earns Medal of Honour," *Calgary Herald*, 14 August 2002, p. A6.



[300] "Lougheed on U Fame Wall," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 September 1987, p. G14.

[301] *The Alberta Teachers' Association Members' Handbook* (Edmonton: The Alberta Teachers' Association, 2005), p. 16; Raymond Gariépy, "Teachers Honor Lougheed and Horowitz," *ATA News* vol. 30, no. 18 (7 June 1996): p. 8; "History: Honorary Members," About The ATA, *The Alberta Teachers' Association*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Alberta Teachers' Association), accessed 25 June 2006, available from http://www.teachers.ab.ca/About+the+ATA/History/Honorary+Members.htm

[302] Fax from Stephanie Bennett, Membership Officer, American Academy of Arts and Science, Cambridge, MA, 8 September, 2004.

[303] Fax from Josée St-Martin, Programmes Administrator, Trudeau Foundation, Montreal, QC, 15 April 2005; "Board Of Directors," The Foundation, *Fondation Trudeau Foundation*, [Internet], (Montreal, QC: The Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation), accessed 4 July 2003, available from http://www.trudeaufoundation.ca/boardofdirectors.asp

[304] *The Lougheed Years*, Television Broadcast.

[305] Robert Lee, "The Lougheed Era: House on the Hill Hails Peter," *Edmonton Sun*, 27 June 1985, p. 20.

[306] Peter Stockland, "The Lougheed Era: Destined to Lead," *Edmonton Sun*, 27 June 1985, p. 23.

[307] Jim Cunningham, "At 70, Lougheed's Not Slowing Down," *Edmonton Journal*, 26 July 1998, p. F8.

[308] Peter Lougheed, *Why A Notwithstanding Clause?* Points of View, No. 6 (Edmonton: Centre For Constitutional Studies, 1998).

[309] Peter Lougheed and Tom Walker, *Calgary: Harnessing the Future* (Memphis: Towery Publishing, 1997).

[310] *Constitutional Patriation: The Lougheed-Lévesque Correspondence* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, Queen's University, 1999).

[311] "Peter Lougheed Answers Pierre Trudeau," *Maclean's* vol. 105, no. 42 (19 October 1992): pp. 28–30; Peter Lougheed, "A Unified Canada Can Lead the World," *Financial Post* (Toronto), 23 September 1995, p. 23.

[312] Peter Lougheed, "Canada Must Invest in Higher Learning," *Calgary Herald*, 11 March 2004, p. A19.

[313] Peter Lougheed, "Prairie View: Agreement Will Strengthen West," *Ottawa Citizen*, 19 December 1987, p. B5.

[314] Peter Lougheed, "The Heritage Savings Fund Must be Preserved," [Letter to the Editor], *Edmonton Journal*, 10 September 2002, p. A13; Peter Lougheed, "Albertans Face a Fateful Choice," *Calgary Herald*, 11 September 2004, p. A20.

[315] Peter Lougheed, "Opportunities for Canadian Growth: Canada-United States Trade," in *Visions of Canada: The Alan B. Plaunt Memorial Lectures, 1958–1992,* ed. Bernard Ostry and Janice Yalden (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), pp. 498–507.

*My vision of the future of Alberta is a vision of confidence—*
*a people confident and proud of their place in Confederation*

## Getty 1985–1992

# DONALD ROSS GETTY

Donald Ross Getty, Canadian football hero and oil executive, served as Alberta's 11th Premier during periods of serious economic recession. The Getty years were marked by escalating budget deficits and declining provincial revenues. Premier Getty responded to these demanding circumstances by enacting legislation and pursuing policies in support of the energy, forestry and agriculture sectors and of job creation. During his tenure, Getty ushered in a less formal, more open mode of government[1] in keeping with his reputation as a gregarious and approachable individual. He brought to his administration extensive business experience and a deep concern for the challenges facing Alberta's farmers and its Aboriginal population. Getty's term in office coincided in part with the tenures of two Lieutenant Governors: W. Helen Hunley (1985–1991) and T. Gordon Towers (1991–1996). At the time of his appointment to the Office of Premier, Don Getty was 52 years of age.

## Family History

Born on August 30, 1933, in Westmount, Quebec, Donald 'Don' Ross Getty was the second of the five children[*] of Charles Ross Getty and Beatrice L. Hampton.[2] Ross Getty (1909–1974), born in Bolton Township, Brome County, Quebec, was the son of Albert (b. ca. 1886) and Pansie (b. 1888) Getty,[†] both of whom were Quebec-born Canadians of Irish descent.[3] Albert, like his father, Charles Getty (b. 1851), was a farmer in Brome County.[4] The Gettys were Methodists.[5]

Beatrice Hampton (1910–1973), was born in Shipton Township, Richmond County, Quebec, the fifth child[‡] of Frederick Hampton and Lillian Smith.[6] Born in England in about 1880, Frederick Hampton immigrated to Canada with his family in the early 1890s, and by the turn of the century, was a farmer near the village of Danville, Richmond County.[7] By 1911, he was working in a shank factory.[8] Lillian, born in Quebec in 1886, was the daughter of Joseph Smith, a farmer in Shipton Township, Richmond County, who was born in England in about 1848.[9] The Hamptons were members of the Church of the England (Anglican).[10]

Ross Getty was fluently bilingual.[11] An aspiring physician, he enrolled in medicine at Montreal's McGill University, but his studies were interrupted by the Great Depression.[12] The Gettys, like

---

[*] Charles F. (b. ca. 1932), Donald Ross (1933), Gerald H. P. 'Bud' (ca. 1936), Beatrice Joyce and Marlene. D'Arcy Jenish, "Mr. Cool at the Helm," *Alberta Report* vol. 12, no. 44 (21 October 1985): p. 15; "Getty, Ross C.," [Obituary], *Edmonton Journal*, 23 March 1974, p. 32.

[†] Pansie Getty's maiden name has not been identified.

[‡] Nellie (b. 1903), Arthur (1904), Hazel (1906), Melville (1908) and Beatrice L. (1910–1973). It has not been determined whether Beatrice had any younger siblings. Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Frederick Hampton Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Quebec, district no. 192, Richmond and Wolfe, sub-district 19, Shipton Township, schedule 1, p. 3, household 24, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 26 September 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html

so many Canadian families, were overwhelmed by the economic hardships of the day, and consequently, Ross Getty "briefly supported his family on state relief."[13] During the Second World War, Ross served as an administrator with the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF).[14] At the conclusion of the war, the Getty family moved to Ontario, first to Ottawa and then to Toronto before settling in London, where Ross worked as a sales manager in the steel industry.[15]

## Education

Don Getty attended public and secondary schools in Montreal and, following the family's relocation to Ontario, in Ottawa, Toronto (Malvern Collegiate) and London.[16] While attending London's Sir Adam Beck Collegiate Institute, Don captained the school's football and basketball teams,* and, in 1951, was elected Student Council president and represented Beck Collegiate in the Ontario Leaders' Club.[17] It was at Beck Collegiate that the 16-year-old Don met his future bride, cheerleader Margaret Mitchell. Following high school, Getty enrolled at the University of Western Ontario (Western), for which he played both football and basketball.[18] In both 1952 and 1953, Getty led the Western Mustangs to victory in the Yates Cup.† He later quarterbacked the Mustangs to the 1954 and 1955 Eastern Collegiate Union football championships.[19] With Getty at guard, Western also captured the 1951–1952, 1952–1953 and 1953–1954 Ontario University Athletics basketball championships.[20] In 1955, Getty's talent and dedication earned him the Dr. Claude Brown Memorial Trophy as Western's Most Outstanding Male Athlete.[21] Getty graduated from Western with a Bachelor of Arts degree (Honours in Business Administration) on June 4, 1955.[22]

## Marriage and Family

On June 18, 1955, two weeks after receiving his degree,[23] Donald Ross Getty married his high school sweetheart Margaret Inez Mitchell, of London, Ontario.[24] Margaret Mitchell was the daughter of Wilfred C. Mitchell and Muriel M. Kew (d. 1988).[25] Wilfred Mitchell was born in 1910 near the village of Thorndale, Middlesex County, Ontario, the son of farmer Michael Mitchell and his wife, Mary Flaherty, both of Irish descent.[26] Initially, Wilfred pursued farming like his father, but after he and his wife moved to London, he became a bus driver for the London Transportation System, with which he served for 22 years until his death in 1961.[27]

---

* Don Getty inherited his athleticism from of his both parents. Ross Getty had played varsity football and hockey while at McGill, and Beatrice was a national lawn bowling champion. Their sons carried on the family tradition of participation in sports. The eldest son, Charles, played Junior 'A' hockey. Don and younger brother Gerald joined the same high school football team before Don earned further distinction in collegiate sports and professional football. Jenish, "Mr. Cool at the Helm," p. 15.

† The Yates Cup was first awarded in 1898 and, until 1971, was presented to the Senior Intercollegiate Football League champions (predominately the University of Toronto and McGill, Western and Queen's Universities). Between 1971 and 1996, the Yates Cup was awarded to the Ontario Universities Athletic Association champions. Today, the Yates Cup is awarded to the Ontario University Athletics championship team. *Yates Cup at Ivor Wynne Stadium*, [Internet], (Hamilton: 2003), accessed 5 September 2005, available from http://www.universitysport.ca/e/print_sotyr.cfm?ID=1201

Wilfred was also "widely known as an old-time fiddler," and in 1954, was a championship contender in the Canadian Open Old Time Fiddle Contest, held in Shelburne, Ontario.[28] Muriel Kew, born in the Township of East Nissouri, Oxford County, Ontario, was the daughter of David Kew, a farmer, and Alva Moffatt, both of Irish ancestry.[29]

Shortly after their wedding, Don and Margaret Getty moved to Meadowlark Park, in Jasper Place, just west of Edmonton.[*][30] While Don pursued careers in professional football and Alberta's oil industry, Margaret dedicated herself to the couple's new suburban home and a growing family.[31] The Gettys have four sons: Donald 'Dale,' David, Darin and Derek.[32] Don and Margaret Getty are members of the United Church of Canada.[33]

## Early Career

Although a first-round draft pick for the Hamilton Tiger-Cats football club, Getty agreed to play quarterback for the Edmonton Eskimos in 1955.[34] In 1955 and 1956, Getty led the 'Green and Gold' to two Grey Cup championships.[35] In 1959, Don Getty was named the Canadian Football League's (CFL's) Outstanding Canadian in the Western Conference and runner-up for the Schenley Award (CFL Outstanding Player).[†][36] In 1955, at the outset of his football career, Getty also accepted employment with Imperial Oil Limited.[‡][37] In 1961, he took a position with Midwestern Industrial Gas Limited, working initially as lands and contracts manager before advancing to assistant general manager in 1963.[38] The next year, Getty founded the Baldonnel Oil and Gas Company. Three years later, in 1967, he became a partner in the investment firm of Doherty, Roadhouse & McCuaig.[39]

## Political Career

In 1967, the leader of the Alberta Progressive Conservative Party, E. Peter Lougheed (Premier 1971–1985), recruited Don Getty to join a slate of candidates[§] in the Party's bid to challenge the long-standing Social Credit Government.[**][40] On May 23, 1967, Don Getty was amongst six

---

[*] Jasper Place is now part of the city of Edmonton.

[†] Don Getty's Edmonton Eskimos teammate, Norman 'Normie' L. Kwong, would later serve as Alberta's 16th Lieutenant Governor. Lieutenant Governor Norman Kwong was appointed on January 18, 2005 and sworn in on January 20, 2005.

[‡] In the 1950s, as is still true today, many CFL players supplemented their income with other employment.

[§] In the May 1967 election, the Progressive Conservative Party fielded candidates in 47 of Alberta's 65 constituencies. In June 1963, Progressive Conservative candidates had run for election in 33 constituencies, but had failed to win any seats. Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 17, 16.

[**] The Social Credit Party governed Alberta through successive majority administrations from 1935 to 1971. Alberta's Social Credit Premiers were William Aberhart (1935–1943), Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) and Harry E. Strom (1968–1971). Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, pp. 13–17.

Progressive Conservatives elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.[41] On February 15, 1968, the new Member for Strathcona West took his seat in the First Session of the 16th Legislature.* Getty's earliest addresses to the Legislative Assembly criticized what he termed ill-regulated Government spending and advocated improved funding for the Department of Industry and Tourism.[42] Admonishing the Department of Youth for what he perceived as its inefficiency, Getty expressed a hope that the Ministry would "find out [at] which end of the cart the horse should go."[43] He also endorsed the development of secondary industry through economic diversification.[44] On social issues, Getty appealed for drug-prevention programs[45] and censured the Social Credit Government for being 'out of touch with contemporary Alberta'[46] and for its 'failure'[47] to effectively manage federal-provincial negotiations related to Alberta's energy sector and industrial development.[48]

On August 30, 1971, the election of E. Peter Lougheed's Progressive Conservatives brought to an end 36 years of Social Credit Governments.[49] That night, Don Getty celebrated both his 38th birthday and his return to the Legislative Assembly, this time as the Member for Edmonton-Whitemud.[50] Premier Lougheed immediately appointed Getty as Minister of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs (FIGA) (1971–1975).†[51] Significantly, Getty was the first Cabinet Minister to hold this portfolio, which was created as Alberta was "attempting to establish itself as an equal partner in the Canadian confederation."[52] As Minister, Getty lent his expertise to several public-private joint ventures, including the Alberta Energy Company (AEC), the instrument through which the Province invested in private energy development projects.‡[53]

On April 3, 1975, Getty was appointed Minister of Energy and Natural Resources (1975–1979), and during this period was instrumental in establishing provincial energy policy.[54] In the 1974/1975 fiscal year, Alberta's oil production accounted for public revenues of approximately $1.2 billion.[55] Getty, together with Premier Lougheed, lobbied the federal government to stabilize Alberta's petroleum industry through increases to the federally regulated domestic price of oil.[56] Pricing issues created uncertainty and instability as petroleum producers re-evaluated plans for large-scale development, including Fort McMurray's $4 billion Alsands tar-sands extraction plant.[*][57] In December 1978, Getty and federal Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources Alastair W. Gillespie (1975–1979)[58] finalized an agreement whereby increases to the domestic price of oil would rise by $1 per barrel in July 1979 and in January 1980.[59]

---

* During that Legislature, Getty served on the *Special Committee on the Election Act* (1968), and on the following Select Standing Committees: *Private Bills* (1969, 1971); *Public Accounts* (1968–1970); *Public Affairs, Agriculture and Education* (1968–1971); and *Privileges and Elections* (1968–1971).

† During his second term as a Member, Getty was appointed to the *Special Committee on Foreign Investment* (1972) and the following Select Standing Committees: *Public Affairs, Agriculture and Education* (1972–1973); *Public Affairs* (1975–1979); *Privileges and Elections* (1972–1973); and *Privileges and Elections, Standing Orders and Printing* (1974–1978).

‡ The Government of Alberta divested itself of its interests in the AEC in 1993 for proceeds of approximately $273 million. Norman Hillmer, "Alberta Energy Company Ltd.," *Historica: The Canadian Encyclopedia*, [Internet], (Toronto: Historical Foundation of Canada, 2006), accessed 4 June 2006, available from www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 23rd Legislature, 1st Session*, 9 September 1993, pp. 111–112.

On March 14, 1979, Albertans endorsed the Lougheed Government's management of resources, amongst its other initiatives, and returned the Progressive Conservatives to power.[60] Premier Lougheed, however, commenced his third term without his Minister of Energy and Mines Don Getty who had not stood for re-election, choosing instead to return to the private sector and to devote more time to his family.[61] Getty bid farewell to the Legislative Assembly to establish the firm of D. Getty Investments Limited.[62] Between 1979 and 1985, Getty found his government experience and business acumen in demand amongst prominent energy companies.[†] Six years would elapse before Getty returned to the political scene.

In April 1985, Canadian news periodical *Maclean's* responded to reports of Premier Lougheed's imminent retirement with speculation about a possible successor.[63] *Maclean's* included business leader Don Getty on a roster of frontrunners in the leadership race.[64] On October 13, 1985, Don Getty succeeded Peter Lougheed as Progressive Conservative Party leader.[‡][65] In accepting the post, Getty pledged continued vigilance in federal-provincial negotiations,[66] agricultural support, job creation and small business incentives.[67] Vowing to 'never forget the National Energy Program'[68] (NEP) and its negative impact on Alberta's economy,*[69] he outlined his vision for the future: "I'm going to try to move Alberta into a leadership position in Canada. … By having a stronger Alberta we'll have a stronger Canada."[70] On November 1, 1985, Donald R. Getty was sworn into office by Lieutenant Governor W. Helen Hunley.[71] However, it remained necessary for Premier Getty to secure a seat in the Legislative Assembly. Thus, in a by-election on December 11, 1985, Getty contested the seat for the constituency of Edmonton-Whitemud, which had been made available by the resignation of R. Keith Alexander on November 5.[72] Getty prevailed in the by-election, winning by 3,855 votes over his nearest rival.[73]

---

[*] The Alsands project was proposed by a nine-company consortium, headed by Shell Canada. The plan was to extract crude oil from the extensive tar-sand deposits in northeastern Alberta. The project was eventually cancelled in the early 1980s, owing in part to spiraling construction costs and uncertainty in oil prices. Although this particular project ultimately ended in failure, many oil-sands and heavy-oil recovery projects were either planned or underway by the mid-1980s. Surindar Singh et al., "Cost Analysis of Advanced Technologies for the Production of Heavy Oil and Bitumen in Western Canada," *World Energy Council*, [Internet], accessed 7 June 2005, available from http://www.worldenergy.org/wec-geis/publications/default/tech_papers/17th_congress/2_1_03.asp; John DeMont, "Oil-Sands Schemes Take on New Look," *Financial Post* (Toronto), 15 June 1985, p. 34.

[†] During this period, Getty served as chair and chief executive officer of the Nortek Energy Corporation, located at Nisku, Alberta. He was also chair of the board of Ipsco, operating in Lisle, Illinois, and Regina, Saskatchewan. Additionally, he joined the boards of directors of Alberta Gas and Ethylene Company Limited, Brinco Limited, Celanese Canada Incorporated, Financial Life Assurance Company, Genstar Corporation, Interprovincial Steel and Pipe Corporation (chair of the board), Nova Corporation of Alberta, Novacor Chemicals Limited, Pacific Copper Mines Limited, Placer Development Limited, Pacific Trans-Ocean Resources Limited and the Royal Bank of Canada. Getty was also a member of the board of governors of the Resources of Canada Fund. Allen Panzeri, "He Was Seldom Out of Public's Eye over Years," *Edmonton Journal*, 10 September 1992, p. A4; Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1993 ed. (Toronto: Globe and Mail Publishing, 1993), p. 521; Elizabeth Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2000*, vol. 35 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), s.v. "Getty, Donald R."

[‡] The leadership race of 1985 required two ballots to determine the successful candidate. Ronald D. Ghitter, QC, Member for Calgary-Buffalo (1971–1979), dropped out of the race after the first ballot, and on the second ballot, Getty defeated Julian G. J. Koziak, QC, Member for Edmonton-Strathcona and Minister of Municipal Affairs (1982–1986). "Tories Pick Oilman Getty as Next Alberta Premier," *Gazette* (Montreal), 15 October 1985, p. A1.

## As Premier

It has been said that Don Getty inherited "none of Lougheed's luck and too much of his legacy" of expanded government and increased public spending.†[74] Upon assuming the Office of Premier, Getty set about trying to reverse the fortunes of an ailing economy. On November 21, 1985, Getty signalled his Government's commitment to agricultural aid by doubling the Farm Fuel Benefit and implementing the Supplemental Livestock Assistance Program to counter high farm input costs and drought.[75] Within six months of Getty's taking office, provincial energy revenues were halved when oil prices dropped significantly.[76] Throughout 1986 and 1987, Alberta's economy suffered from low oil prices, resulting from a glut of oil on the world market.[77] During this period of uncertainty, the Getty Government worked towards recovering from a recent recession, the collapse of two Alberta-based banks‡[78] and the residual effects of the NEP.[79] As 1986 progressed, Premier Getty drew upon his many years of energy-sector experience to develop solutions to the industry's latest crises of declining revenue and increasing unemployment. Offering "steady reassurance to

---

* The NEP was introduced on October 28, 1980 by Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau (1968–1979, 1980–1984). It aimed to increase federal control and ownership of the energy industry to protect Canadians from skyrocketing oil prices. The NEP imposed price controls and taxes on oil and gas production. Albertans objected to the NEP as an intrusion upon provincial rights, as solely benefiting Ontario and Quebec and as causing unemployment within Alberta's petrochemical industry. Premier E. Peter Lougheed responded by cutting Alberta's oil production. M. Fellows and M. Mertin, "The NEP: A National Economic Panacea?" in *Canadian Political Life: An Albertan Perspective*, ed. Roger Gibbins, Keith Archer, and Stan Drabek (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1990), pp. 151–157.

† Alberta's revenues failed to keep pace with growing expenditures as annual spending increased from approximately $1.1 billion in 1972 to almost $12.8 billion in 1986, and the Province went from having a surplus in excess of $24 million in 1971 to a deficit of over $40 million in 1986. Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts of the Province of Alberta for the Year Ended March 31, 1972* (Edmonton: L. S. Wall, Queen's Printer, 1972), p. 43; Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts 1985–86* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1986), Statement 1.2. Rampant inflation during this period certainly accounts for part of the dramatic differences between the figures from 1971 and 1986, but a considerable increase in Government spending is nevertheless apparent.

‡ The two banks were the Canadian Commercial Bank and the Northland Bank. Alan Toulin, "Banks' Troubles Could Cost Taxpayers up to $1.4 Billion," *Toronto Star*, 4 September 1985, p. A1; Willard Z. Estey, *Report of the Inquiry into the Collapse of the CCB and Northland Bank* (Ottawa: Dept. of Supply and Services Canada, 1986), pp. 7, 8, 34.

Albertans at an admittedly uncertain time,”[80] the Premier announced a moratorium on new or increased taxes, a 77-per-cent increase in agricultural spending, an agricultural credit stability program and $500 million in support of provincial and municipal job-creation programs.[81]

Despite timely interventions by the Getty Government, national policy and world events hindered Alberta’s full economic recovery. In February 1986, Getty declared petroleum development projects to be ‘essential’ to Canada and urged federal government investment in the Lloydminister Husky Oil upgrader plant,[82] despite depressed world oil prices.[83] Alberta’s energy sector responded to the sagging oil price with billions in budget cuts resulting in sudden and widespread unemployment.[84] Between October 1985 and April 1986, oil prices decreased by almost 60 per cent, from $29 to $12 a barrel,[*][85] shrinking provincial revenues and threatening to create a provincial deficit. Nevertheless, the Speech from the Throne of April 3, 1986 conveyed the hopefulness and optimism of the Getty administration:

> This [economic] setback, while frustrating to all of us, can and will be effectively met. Albertans have faced adversity before and have a proven record of being able to handle problems by working together. … My government will help in every way possible and will match the financial strength of the province with the knowledge and determination of our people to forge ahead past today’s short-term problems towards Alberta’s promising potential.[86]

However, with the end of the Progressive Conservative Government’s current mandate approaching, and despite a volatile economic climate, on April 10, 1986, Premier Getty announced his recommendation that a writ of election be issued.[87]

Albertans’ shaken confidence in the economy was reflected in the May 8, 1986 election results.[88] It was a sign of troubled times when, only 10 days prior to the vote, oil executives petitioned the Getty Government that it ‘take a loss’[89] of approximately $400 million and purchase domestic oil at a 50-per-cent price premium for an indefinite period.[90] Although Getty’s Progressive Conservatives returned to form a majority government, their share of the popular vote had declined almost 11 per cent compared with the 1982 election.[91] When the First Session of the 21st Legislature convened on June 12, 1986, the government caucus faced an opposition that comprised 22 Members,[†] 18 more than had been elected in 1982.[92]

With a renewed mandate, the Getty Government immediately implemented measures to alleviate the deepening economic downturn. On July 1, 1986, the *Farm Credit Stability Fund Act* came into force, providing $2 billion in Government farm loan guarantees[93] and earning the Progressive Conservative Government strong support amongst rural voters.[94] The move followed commensurate aid for oil-service operators and drilling development[95] in the form of provincial

---

[*] These prices are expressed in United States dollars.

[†] On May 8, 1986, Albertans elected 16 New Democrats, four Liberals and two Members from the Representative Party of Alberta. The Progressive Conservatives formed a majority government with 61 out of a total of 83 seats. By way of comparison, in the election of 1982, under Premier E. Peter Lougheed, the Progressive Conservatives had captured 75 of the then 79 seats and had only four Members in opposition: two from the New Democrat Party and two Independent Members.

oil royalty tax credits and $400 million in incentives: $100 million for a "developmental drilling program," and $300 million for an "exploratory drilling program."[96] The Government's interventions encouraged investment. Record oil-drilling activity generated a 10-per-cent revenue increase, fuelling moderate economic growth.[97] Nevertheless, Provincial Treasurer (1986–1992) A. Dick Johnston (Member for Lethbridge-East) was forced to deliver a $2.3 billion deficit budget.[98] In response, Premier Getty took the initiative and lobbied hard in Ottawa for immediate amendments to the 1985 Western Accord.* Because Alberta's economy was still suffering the effects of the NEP losses, which were estimated at $56 billion,[99] Getty sought taxation concessions from the federal government. Almost three years in advance of the Accord's 1989 deadline,[100] he demanded the elimination of the Petroleum and Gas Revenue Tax (PGRT), worth approximately $1 billion annually to federal coffers.[101] Federal Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources Patricia Carney† remained open to tax relief but was in favour of repealing the federal energy levy only for oil-sands and some smaller petroleum producers.[102] Echoing the Lougheed administration's policy of the early 1970s,[103] a frustrated Getty announced the Government's willingness to cease all extra-provincial gas exports in the absence of a fair pricing agreement.[104] Petrochemical industry leaders were split in their reactions to the Premier's comments. Some applauded the Premier's 'good negotiating ploy.'[105] Others lamented the loss of prospective investment capital[106] as federal-provincial energy talks stalled in the late summer of 1986. Premier Getty ultimately prevailed. The October 1, 1986[107] cancellation of the PGRT was hailed as "the first and most significant step in the recovery of the oil industry from its deep slump," and was expected to "put people back to work."[108]

Getty further nurtured the recovery of the energy sector with $1 billion in royalty reductions and tax credits,[109] a move much lauded by small oil producers who registered surprise and relief at the extent of the royalty cuts.[110] In December 1986, Premier Getty supported OPEC's decision to cut production with a view to triggering higher oil prices.[111] "Naturally, I'm pleased," said the Premier; "$18 (U.S.) oil is roughly $25 Canadian and at that level, I think our industry can be pretty healthy."[112] Despite the Premier's successes on the national stage, the fall of 1986 proved to be a short reprieve from intergovernmental conflicts. In the days following the OPEC announcement, renewed animosity surfaced between the Governments of Alberta and Canada, as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative Government declined to support major Alberta oil projects.[113]

---

* The Western Accord was the August 1985 federal-provincial agreement that supplanted the highly controversial NEP, under which Alberta oil was sold to Canadian consumers at less than the world price.

† On August 30, 1990, Prime Minister M. Brian Mulroney (1984–1993) appointed Patricia Carney to the Senate.

Premier D.R. Getty speaks in the Chamber (n.d.).

On the provincial front, Getty moved to assist Alberta business through the *Alberta Corporate Tax Amendment Act*[114] and the *Small Business Term Assistant Fund Act*,[115] both enacted in 1986. That year, Getty substantially reorganized government departments, creating, renaming or abolishing a number of ministries, a move that reflected the Government's priorities. New or renamed Departments included: Energy;[116] Tourism;[117] Community and Occupational Health;[118] Economic Development and Trade;[119] Technology, Research and Telecommunications;[120] Forestry, Lands and Wildlife;[121] and Social Services.[122] Amongst the Departments that were abolished or subsumed by other Departments were: Housing, International Trade and Manpower.[123] Significantly, at this time, the Department of Municipal Affairs was expanded to include the programs formerly operating under the Native Affairs Secretariat, giving rise to the Improvement Districts and Native Services Division of the ministry.[124] In the first two years of its operation, the Division granted more than $7.9 million to Native organizations.[125]

Getty next turned to the problem of deficit reduction. Determined to curb public spending over the 1987/1988 fiscal year, the Government introduced a budget that called for a reduction of more than four per cent in expenditures.[126] Speaking to the Canadian Association of Oilwell Drilling Contractors in February of 1987, Getty encouraged a new attitude towards government spending,[127] while promising continuity with the approach of previous administrations to energy policy. Alberta's natural resource policies, the Premier maintained, would continue to be governed by five principles: private sector development; 'fair market value' for resources; royalty accrual which rewards Albertans, who are the owners of the resource, but which is not so high as to act as a disincentive to exploration and development; resource upgrading to provide employment for Albertans; and recognition of the primacy of Alberta's own energy needs.[128] Getty remained optimistic about and confident in Albertans' ability to achieve economic recovery:

> My government will continue to stress the tremendous potential of our province. Albertans are strong, proud, and resourceful. Building together on a foundation of healthy families and communities, we will strive for the promising future that will be ours.[129]

The March 5, 1987 Speech from the Throne reflected Getty's optimism and articulated his Government's plans to "meet the challenge" of Alberta's "new fiscal realities" by seeking "new answers and new innovations."[130] Amongst other things, Getty committed his Government to the implementation of 'positive measures' to support the development of major oil projects; job creation; ongoing agricultural support; the provision of "a solid framework for the future of education"; and economic diversification.[131] Indeed, by the late 1980s, Alberta's economy had made significant gains, boasting the strongest provincial economic growth rate in 1988 (more than seven per cent) and having an estimated Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of almost $63 billion.[132] More specifically, provincial employment had increased, retail sales had recovered and industrial production had improved.[133] Alberta's 1988 foreign exports of $14 billion had exceeded the 1987 mark by $1 billion, creating jobs and generating moderate economic growth.[134] However, despite the Government's interventions, an economic downturn emerged again as the national economy went into recession by the early 1990s.

On March 20, 1989, the Progressive Conservatives formed a sixth consecutive majority government, having garnered only 44 per cent of the popular vote compared with 51 per cent of the vote attained in the 1986 election. The Progressive Conservatives won 59 out of a total of 83 seats. Premier Getty was not re-elected in the constituency of Edmonton-Whitemud.*[135] Amidst pointed suggestions that he should retire and open speculation about a possible successor,†[136] Getty instead welcomed the opportunity to represent the rural constituency of Stettler and successfully contested a May 9, 1989 by-election before turning his attention to yet another economic crisis.[137]

This time, national banking policy was the catalyst for a severe economic decline. In 1989, Bank of Canada Governor John W. Crow established a 'zero inflation target'[138] and raised interest rates to check the rising cost of living. The result was a rise in the Canadian dollar against its American counterpart, which in turn contributed to a dramatic increase in national unemployment—from 7.5 per cent in 1989 to 11.3 per cent in 1992.[139] As contemporary journalists and historians agreed: "The Canadian economy entered into its second recession in a decade, this one the worst since the Great Depression."[140]

The Alberta Government had made significant efforts at diversification during the previous 10 years. The development of the tourism industry generated an increase in provincial revenue of $500 million between 1986 and 1991, while the agricultural industry, "Alberta's primary source of renewable economic strength," diversified its export markets and, as a result, witnessed a considerable increase in beef exports.[141] Accompanying the growth of these industries was a decrease in unemployment and an increase in migration to Alberta.[142] The strength of Alberta's economy during this period also fostered the confidence of the province's investors. Between 1985 and 1990, private investment in industries other than the energy sector increased by about 65 per cent, growing to represent two-thirds of Alberta's total business investment.[143] In fact, by 1990, oil represented less than 16 per cent of Alberta's GDP, seven per cent less than it had in 1980.[144] In addition, recovering oil and natural gas prices[145] boosted the Alberta Heritage Savings Trust Fund to more than $12 billion[146] and reduced the provincial deficit to approximately $2.3 billion in 1989/1990 from about $3.4 billion in 1986/1987.[147]

---

* Getty was defeated in Edmonton-Whitemud by Liberal candidate Percy D. Wickman. Brian C. Downey, Member for Stettler (1986–1989), resigned in favour of the Premier, expecting that the region would benefit from the "opportunity for a higher profile in its pursuit of growth and development." Alberta. Legislative Assembly, Statement by Brian Downey, M.L.A. Elect, Stettler Consituency, 30 March 1989, [News Release].

† The day following the election, speculation began over possible successors likely to contest the Progressive Conservative leadership, should Premier Getty resign. Included on the short-list of Getty's potential successors was Ralph P. Klein, Member for Calgary-Elbow, who would, in fact, become leader of the party and Premier (1992– ) upon Getty's eventual resignation in December 1992. "After Getty, Difficult Choices," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 March 1989, p. A1.

By the early 1990s, major construction projects in the pulp and paper industry were fuelling private-sector spending and having positive effects on provincial revenues.[148] Diversification efforts through the development of industries such as forestry were also intended to relieve unemployment in Alberta.[149] In 1987, Getty appointed LeRoy Fjordbotten (Member for Macleod) as Minister of the newly created Department of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife and reportedly said to him at the time, "LeRoy, get it done."[150]

In an effort to achieve the Government's initiatives toward economic diversification, the Department of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife created the Forest Industry Development Division. In addition to generating employment opportunities, the Division was established

> to assist new and existing forest companies and private investors to upgrade and utilize Alberta's vast uncommitted forest resources for a variety of forest products; and to attract investment and private sector involvement in upgrading and developing renewable resources other than the forest industry.[151]

In February 1988, the Getty Government announced a $500-million pulp-mill project, in the Peace River area, which was expected to produce close to 2,000 jobs. The next month, a newsprint mill project, "the first of its kind in Alberta," was announced, valued at $380 million, and promoted as adding more than 1,000 new jobs.[152] Moreover, the $300-million expansion of a pulp mill in the Hinton area was projected to create hundreds of new permanent jobs while adhering to rigorous environmental regulations. Within a year, the Government was able to report that the trade mission to the Pacific Rim countries—conducted in an effort to secure foreign investment capital for Alberta's forest industry and to market forest products abroad—"was a major success."[153]

In 1989, Fjordbotten reported that the Forest Industry Development Division had secured $3.5 billion in capital investment for Alberta, which, it was anticipated, would lead to the creation of over 12,000 jobs.[154] Two years later, construction on the Alberta-Pacific Forest Industries Limited (Al-Pac) pulp mill began, involving a capital investment of $1.3 billion.[155] In fact, in April 1992, it was stated that the Al-Pac project, would, within a few months, "be putting $2 million per day into the economy."[156] By the time the Department of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife submitted its annual report in 1992, it could highlight the creation of an estimated 12,265 direct or indirect jobs at an estimated capital cost of almost $3.9 billion as a result of the Forest Industry Development Division.[157]

While the Getty Government strongly encouraged forestry initiatives to stimulate the provincial economy, it had also determined from the outset that "resource use should not take place at the expense of the environment."[158] On April 10, 1987, Getty spoke about his Government's reforestation initiatives: "We don't just force people to replace what they cut; we are actually growing forests where they never were before. We're the only jurisdiction, then, that is actually increasing the size of its forests."[159] Moreover, in presenting his Department's annual report in 1989, Fjordbotten acknowledged a "new wave of environmental consciousness" and emphasized his ministry's "long standing commitment to the highest possible standards of conservation and management of Alberta's precious and vital natural resources."[160] At the beginning of the 1990s, the Getty Government announced the *Creating Our Future* initiative, the aim of which was to achieve a balance between the exploitation and the preservation of Alberta's resources. In fulfillment

of the initiative's goals, the Department of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife implemented "some of the toughest reforestation standards in the world" and had more than nine million seedlings planted on more than 2,000 hectares of land in one year.[161] In addition, under the aegis of the new Minister of the Environment Ralph P. Klein, the Getty Government redoubled its efforts in such areas as the development of its forestry resources to ensure that the environment would not be sacrificed in order to promote industrial expansion. One journalist indicated that, under the leadership of the Department of the Environment, the Government of Alberta has set a precedent "for all Canadians" in that it "legitimized the environmental impact of the review process … as an obligatory step for any industrial development."[162] Indeed, in 1992, the Department of the Environment followed through with its promises to protect the environment by developing legislation, the *Environmental Protection and Enhancement Act*, which, amongst other things, increased fines for industrial pollution and revised assessment guidelines for industrial and other projects.[163]

Through the sustainable development of forestry and of other economic sectors, economic recovery was on the horizon. However, after the end of the Persian Gulf War,* which had resulted in a sharp increase in the world price of petroleum, international oil prices declined sharply from approximately $40 a barrel in October 1990 to close to $17 in February 1991.†[164] The Getty Government responded by granting oil royalty 'holidays'[165] on exploration, development and reactivated wells under the Crude Oil Exploration and Development Program.[166] Three weeks later, the Premier announced 'a broad program of expenditure control,'[167] including operational cuts as well as wage and hiring freezes within the civil service.[168] "[G]overnment, like businesses and families," remarked the Premier, "must review its spending when there is a decline in income."[169] In addition, legislation to reduce government expenditures was enacted by the Getty Government under the *Spending Control Act*.[170]

Ironically, the Getty Government's support for economic diversification embroiled the administration in criticism over hundreds of millions of dollars in financial losses, including the high-profile demise of both the Principal Group and NovAtel Communications. During the summer of 1987, the provincial government froze the assets of insolvent Edmonton-based Principal Trust and its subsidiaries because of the company's inability to 'make full payment on' $467 million owed to 67,000 investors.[171] Estimates of losses to Principal Group investors eventually climbed to $285 million.[172] Succumbing to public pressure, Getty reversed an earlier decision not to compensate investors for their losses or instigate an inquiry into the matter.[173] He commissioned an investigation by Calgary lawyer William 'Bill' E. Code and postponed plans to deregulate Alberta's financial services industry.[174] In the fall of 1987, during an address to the

---

* In August 1990, Iraq invaded the neighbouring state of Kuwait. On the night of January 16, 1991, the United States, under the leadership of President George H. W. Bush (1989–1993), led a coalition of 34 nations in a military campaign to re-establish Kuwati sovereignty. The hostilities came to an end on February 28, 1991. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 9, 15th ed. (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2002), s.v. "Persian Gulf War."

† These prices are expressed in United States dollars.

Edmonton Chamber of Commerce, Getty elaborated on the action his Government had taken with respect to the Principal Group failure. He indicated that not only had his Government paid for the public investigation, but it had also ordered the ombudsman to perform and make public a full investigation of the Government to see if it could be held responsible in any way.[175] Moreover, Getty requested that Lieutenant Governor Helen Hunley release the Cabinet Ministers from the oaths of secrecy that they take upon being sworn into office, which request Her Honour granted, leaving the Ministers free to disclose any and all information related to the Principal Group event.[176] Getty indicated that he did not believe that that had ever been done before. He stated: "I believe our Government has moved carefully, understandingly and responsibly in every possible way to get the facts out in a public way but to assist the investors as well."[177]

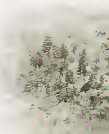
The Code Report roundly criticized the Government generally, and Connie E. Osterman's Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs specifically, as 'neglectful' and 'misguided'[178] in its supervision of Principal Trust's operations.[179] On July 28, 1989, Getty rose in the Legislative Assembly to announce Osterman's resignation from Cabinet[180] and to pledge $65 to $85 million in Government compensation to uninsured Principal Group investors.[181] Getty acknowledged that while the Government was not legally bound to reimburse private losses, it held a 'moral responsibility' to compensate Principal Group shareholders:[182]

> We have put the interests of Albertans first. We know that because of our response today Alberta will be stronger. Alberta and our government can face itself and the rest of the country and say: "We've taken the tough decisions. We have behaved honourably and openly. We have shown compassion, strength, and conviction. We have met the tests and challenges. We have put our house in order."[183]

In May 1992, the Getty Government was severely criticized for its role in the collapse of Alberta-based telecommunications company NovAtel Communications Ltd., at a cost of $566 million to the public purse.[184] The Premier immediately ordered both an investigation by Auditor General Donald D. Salmon[185] and a review of NovAtel's $1.7 billion impact on the Alberta's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) between 1983 and 1992.[186] In his report of September 25, 1992, Salmon cited serious deficiencies in the process used by the Government to 'monitor the activities' of NovAtel.[187]

Understanding the private sector's potential for conceiving 'innovative economic alternatives,' in May 1992, Getty solicited the participation of Albertans in a series of public forums, collectively titled *Towards 2000 Together*.[188] The 600 delegates who attended the *Towards 2000 Together* conference, which Getty had described as "an unprecedented alliance to help create a new economic future for Alberta," recommended caution and the withdrawal of government from "private business."[189]

Despite the economic setbacks that dogged his Government throughout the late 1980s, Getty was resolute in his pursuit of Alberta's best interests with respect to Senate and constitutional reform, taxation and international trade. In 1986, Getty had begun advocacy for the



'Triple-E'—Equal, Elected and Effective—Senate,* believing that reforms to the Upper House would help to offset Central Canada's greater representation in the House of Commons.[190] Getty endorsed a Senate with equal numbers of elected Senators from each province. It was a message that Getty would develop and reiterate over the next three years.[191] Convinced that a reformed Senate held direct economic, social and political value for Alberta, Getty vigorously pursued the reinvention of Canada's Upper House. Proponents of Senate reform argued that the current imbalance was intolerable to Canada's western and Atlantic regions,[192] and Getty's appeal on behalf of Alberta was no exception. In a letter to Prime Minister Mulroney on October 19, 1989, Getty wrote:

> The Government of Alberta has long been committed to achieving the reform of the Canadian Senate. A fundamental flaw in our current federal system of government is that representation by population in the House of Commons, which results in majority representation from Central Canada, is not balanced by effective and equal provincial representation in the Senate. Moreover, Alberta is convinced that in our democratic system of government, it is the people who should decide who will represent them in the two Houses of Parliament.[193]

Getty was successful in establishing a process for the election of a senatorial candidate as an expression of Albertans' support for Senate reform. In 1989, the Legislative Assembly passed the *Senatorial Selection Act*, empowering Alberta's Chief Electoral Officer to conduct elections of senators-in-waiting in conjunction with provincial general elections.[194] On October 19, 1989, Premier Getty advised Mulroney of Albertans' choice:

> On October 16, 1989 the people of the Province of Alberta participated in a very historic event. They had an opportunity that no other Canadians have ever enjoyed. They democratically selected a person whom they want to represent them in the Canadian Senate. ... I am also very pleased that it allows you, Mr. Prime Minister, to benefit from the widest possible consultation process in making a Senate appointment from Alberta.[†195]

By April of 1987, Getty's efforts had resulted in the issue of Senate reform becoming part of negotiations to amend the Constitution, expressed through the Meech Lake Accord.[‡196]

---

[*] Preston Manning, Leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Commons (1997–2000) and son of former Premier Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968), attributed the first use of the phrase 'Triple-E Senate' to *Alberta Report* publisher and columnist Ted Byfield. Canada. Parliament. *House of Commons, House of Commons Debates, 36th Parliament, 1st Session*, 20 April 1998, p. 5813.

[†] On October 16, 1989, Stanley 'Stan' C. Waters (Reform Party) prevailed in Alberta's first election to select a Senator. Waters was appointed to the Senate by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on June 11, 1990. Senator Waters died in office on September 25, 1991.

[‡] On April 30, 1987, Prime Minister Mulroney and the provincial Premiers had reached a constitutional agreement at Meech Lake, Quebec. The resulting agreement, called the Meech Lake Accord, aimed to amend the *Canada Act, 1982*, by which Canada's Constitution had been patriated from the United Kingdom, albeit without the participation of Quebec. Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Meech Lake Communiqué*, Sessional Paper, no. 324/87, 30 April 1987; Peter M. Leslie, "Submission to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the 1987 Constitutional Accord," in *Navigating Meech Lake: The 1987 Constitutional Accord*, ed. Clive Thomson (Kingston: Queen's Quarterly and the Institute of Intergovernmental Affairs, 1988), pp. 8–9.

Supporters applauded the Accord's provision for annual discussion of Senate reform at First Ministers' meetings as a 'high water mark' for the Triple-E Senate.[197] Critics, however, warned that marrying Senate and constitutional reform forced a union between issues best addressed in isolation.[198] Getty, they maintained, predicated Senate reform upon unlikely developments. Firstly, Senate reform was now contingent upon the ultimate resolution, through the Accord, of complex, perennial and politically divisive constitutional issues.[199] Secondly, should the Meech Lake Accord proposals come to pass, Senate reform would require unanimous consent by 10 provincial Premiers,[200] who were often bound to represent divergent interests and goals. The failure of the Meech Lake Accord on June 22, 1990 was a personal and political disappointment to Don Getty, who regretted both the defeat of Senate reform and Alberta's lost opportunity to reap "dramatic gains" against the long-standing "centralization of powers" in Ontario and Quebec.[201]

In the final two years of his term in office, Premier Getty found that his Government's priorities were increasingly at odds with those of both the federal government and his fellow provincial Premiers, especially over issues of taxes and international trade. The Getty administration offered sustained objections to Prime Minister Mulroney's plans to implement a new national consumption tax on goods and services.* With the 1989 release of *Protecting Alberta's Future ... Why We Oppose the Federal Goods and Services Tax* (GST),[202] the Getty Government formally repudiated the GST: "Mister Prime Minister, you mentioned that you are leaving the door open to provinces on the Goods and Services Tax. You do not have to leave the door open to Alberta. We are not coming in."[203] Getty considered the GST detrimental to Alberta's economy and labelled the initiative as 'a $6 billion tax grab'†[204] that would drive inflation higher, increase Alberta's deficit and "continue the federal policy of fiscal centralization."[205] As alternative approaches to decreasing the federal deficit, the Getty administration proposed reducing interest rates and/or federal spending.‡[206]

In addition, Getty sparred with other provincial Premiers over their objections to free trade between Canada and the United States. It was very early in his tenure as Premier, at the end of November 1985, that Don Getty made his first appearance on the national stage, at a First Ministers' Conference in Halifax, Nova Scotia. This conference produced a major victory for the provinces in federal-provincial relations in that it was determined that the Premiers would set the agenda in the upcoming Canada-United States free-trade negotiations, initiated by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.[207] Getty emerged from the conference—his first—with the respect of his colleagues for acting as an effective conciliator during the negotiations.[208] During the months and years to come, Getty openly supported free trade,[209] cautioning the other provinces, especially those "Ontario-based interests, ... who would damage Alberta's future," that Alberta would "never forget it" if free-trade initiatives were defeated.[210] The Premier confidently expounded upon free trade's benefits to Alberta and to the other western provinces:

---

* On January 1, 1991, the seven-per-cent federal Goods and Services Tax (GST) came into effect, replacing the 13.5-per-cent Manufacturers' Sales Tax (MST), which had been in effect since 1924.

† Currently, of the 10 Canadian provinces, Alberta is the only province that does not impose a provincial sales tax.

‡ The Alberta Government made five specific proposals: abandon the GST, lower interest rates, address federal 'spending priorities,' improve federal tax collection and instigate consultation with provinces to develop a more effective and better coordinated fiscal policy.

> For Alberta and the West, free trade means increased prosperity, assured markets, more jobs, greater opportunity, and freedom from domination by Central Canada. … [W]hen we are fighting for free trade, we are fighting for Alberta's future. We've done it before and we are prepared to do it again.[211]

The *Canada-United States Free Trade Implementation Act* was granted Royal Assent by Governor General Jeanne-Mathilde Sauvé (1984–1990)* on December 30, 1988, and came into force on January 1, 1989.†[212]

Within Alberta, issues related to First Nations' business training, education, land claims and self-determination demanded action by the Getty Government. In 1986, the Legislative Assembly passed the *Alberta Native Business Summit Foundation Act*,[213] establishing a non-profit foundation to promote Native business, improving communication between the Native and non-Native business communities and raising awareness of the challenges facing Native entrepreneurs.[214] In July 1988, two Private Bills received Royal Assent, formally incorporating and providing for the administration of two First Nations educational institutions.[215] Both post-secondary institutions founded under the legislation—the Maskwachees Cultural College and the Old Sun Community College—shared as their primary purpose the establishment, administration and promotion of 'higher learning' in the arts, sciences and literature, and both sought to contribute to the intellectual and cultural development of the community.[216] According to the stipulations of the Acts, the institutions also aimed to promote the dissemination of knowledge related to First Nations culture.[217]

In 1989, the Lubicon Lake Nation, frustrated by perceived inaction concerning decades-long land settlement claims,‡ defied Alberta's courts and declared its right to self-determination.[218] On October 6, 1988, the Lubicon Nation announced its intention "to assert and enforce its aboriginal rights and its sovereign jurisdiction as an independent Nation, with its own law enforcement and court systems"[219] by establishing road blocks on oil roads through Lubicon territory by October 15, 1988.[220] With the deadline fast approaching, tensions high[221] and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) forming 'contingency plans,'[222] Getty ordered senior government officials to conduct emergency meetings with Lubicon Chief Bernard Ominayak.[223] On October 15, with discussions once again at an impasse, the Lubicon Nation raised the road blocks.[224] Getty took decisive action by personally meeting with Chief Ominayak at Grimshaw, Alberta.[225] The Grimshaw Accord, reached on October 22, 1988, committed Alberta to "provide 79 square miles of land as a full reserve for the [Lubicon] Band" by land transfer to the federal government for final disposition to the Lubicon Nation.[*][226] Chief Ominayak was effusive in his praise of Getty's "great courage in taking the bull by the horns. He deserves a lot of credit."[227]

---

* Jeanne-Mathilde Sauvé was the first woman to serve as Governor General. Sauvé was also the first woman Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons (1980–1984).

† President Ronald W. Reagan (1981–1989) of the United States implemented the free-trade deal with Canada through Executive Order No. 12662, dated December 31, 1988.

‡ The Lubicon land-claim dispute has its roots in 1899, when federal treaty commissioners failed to include the Lubicon Cree (and other bands) in negotiations for the establishment of Treaty 8. Tonina Simeone and Marlisa Tiedemann, *Chronology of the Lubicon Cree Land Claim Dispute* (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, Parliamentary Research Branch, 2004).

In July 1990, the Legislative Assembly of Alberta passed *The Métis Settlements Act*[228] and related legislation, which set aside 500,000 hectares[†] and $310 million for Alberta's Métis population.[229] Hailed as "an honourable compromise on both sides,"[230] this landmark legislation granted self-government to eight Métis settlements,[‡] conferring upon each settlement, the "rights, powers and privileges of a natural person."[231] Effective November 1, 1990, the Act empowered Settlement and General Councils to exercise jurisdiction over numerous aspects of the settlements, including: elections, government, internal finances, membership, by-law and regulatory enforcement, expropriation and highways.[232] Access of Métis members to the Alberta Court of Appeal and the Legislative Assembly was also preserved by the Act. As a consequence, Métis groups agreed to abandon the 1975 lawsuit against the Province in which they had claimed $350 million in oil and gas royalties from wells located on Métis lands.[233] "We have shown," said the Premier, "that the needs and the aspirations of our Metis people can be addressed through discussion and co-operation instead of confrontation."[234]

Premier Getty's experiences with First Nations' culture and issues led to the establishment of a groundbreaking task force, led by Mr. Justice R. Allan Cawsey,[235] to "examine the criminal justice system as it relates to the Indian and Métis people in Alberta."[236] The report of the task force, *Justice on Trial*, made specific recommendations related to policing, legal aid, courts, judges, prosecutors and lawyers, corrections and Native Counseling Services of Alberta,[237] all of which were generally aimed at improving communication and cultural understanding. The task force recommended "Elder sentencing panels to assist Judges,"[238] regular court sittings in Aboriginal communities[239] and more cross-cultural education for judges and lawyers.[240]

During his tenure in office, in addition to having worked towards the financial and economic stability of Alberta and the equitable treatment of the province's Aboriginal and Métis populations, Premier Getty also contributed to the establishment of a corpus of socially progressive legislation. *The Women's Secretariat Act* (1986) established a body to "make recommendations about Government policy, programs and legislation that affect women"; "to ensure that women's concerns are reflected in legislation and policy and program development"; and to conduct research and promote public awareness of issues of concern to women.[241] *The Premier's Council on the Status of Persons with Disabilities Act* (1988) established a council to advise the Government "on matters relating to the opportunity for full and equal participation of persons with disabilities in the life of the Province"; to investigate issues concerning the status of persons with disabilities; and to "review the provision of funding, services and programs to persons with disabilities."[242] A board was established under the *Natural Resources Conservation Board Act* (1990) to consider and advise the Government on projects that might potentially affect the province's natural resources.[243] The *Premier's Council on Science and Technology Act* (1990) was passed to promote the development of science and technology and to explore their relation to Alberta's "economic and social development" and to Alberta's ability "to compete effectively in the global market."[244] Matters relating to Alberta's senior citizens were addressed through the enactment of the *Seniors Advisory Council for Alberta Act* (1991),[245] while the promotion of the arts in Alberta was achieved through the enactment of the *Alberta Foundation for the Arts Act* (1991).[246] One of Premier Getty's enduring gifts to the Province of Alberta was the establishment of the February Family Day holiday.*[247]

---

[*] Although Ominayak and Getty's negotiations ended the Lubicon blockade in 1989, the Lubicons' claims remain outstanding as of May 2005. Brian Laghi, "Province Withdraws Offer of Land to Lubicon Lake Band," *Edmonton Journal*, 5 October 1995, p. A7; "Sawn Lake Development Hits Legal Snag: Former Partner in Project Looks to Freeze Assets," *Calgary Herald*, 19 April 2005, p. D4.

[†] This was equivalent to 1.25 million acres. Alberta. Office of the Attorney General, [1.25 Million Acres of Land Granted to the Metis Settlements General Council], 1 November 1990, [News Release].

[‡] The following eight settlements were incorporated under the Act: Buffalo Lake, East Prairie, Elizabeth, Fishing Lake, Gift Lake, Kikino, Paddle Prairie and Peavine.

On September 9, 1992, at the age of 59, Premier Getty announced his intention to resign as Premier in order to spend more time with his family.[248] Following the announcement, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney commented:

> We're going to miss him a great deal as Premier. He was a very constructive—an important—player on the national scene … When he gave you his word, he stuck with it. He was a man of principle and a man of his word and I always enjoyed our dealings.[249]

The resignation of Donald Ross Getty took effect on December 14, 1992, on which date he was succeeded by Ralph P. Klein.[250]

## Later Career

Returning to the private sector, Don Getty established the consulting firm of Sunnybank Investments Ltd. and joined the boards of Mera Petroleum Inc. of Calgary, Nation Wide Resources, Guyanor Resources, CEN-Pro Technologies Inc., Capital West Ventures Inc. and American Eco Corporation. Getty also served as vice-chair of Horse Racing Alberta.[251]

Although Getty has been somewhat less active in public life since his retirement, he has been involved in events of social and historical significance. For instance, on May 24, 2005, Getty was amongst the honoured guests who attended Queen Elizabeth II's Address to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta† during Her Majesty's visit to the province in celebration of its Centennial.[252]

---

* Family Day occurs on the third Monday of February each year.

† Her Majesty's Address constituted the first time that a reigning monarch has addressed the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

### Community Activities and Personal Interests

Don Getty enjoys golf, horseracing and hunting.[253] He has been active in community affairs as a director of the Edmonton Eskimos Football Club, governor of the Edmonton Petroleum Club, director of the Derrick Golf and Winter Club and adviser and fundraiser for the Alberta Wheelchair Basketball Team.[254] Getty is a member of the Kappa Alpha Society, University of Western Ontario chapter.[255] He currently divides his time between Edmonton and Palm Springs, California.[256]

### Honours and Awards

In 1980, the University of Western Ontario (Western) inducted Donald Ross Getty into its 'W Club' Athletics Hall of Fame.[257] Getty was made an Honourary Cree Chief ('Kinnosayoo') of the Whitefish Lake Band in 1990.[258] In 1991, he was honoured as a recipient of the Order of the Sash, bestowed by Alberta's Métis Nation for his support of Métis self-government.[259] The Edmonton Eskimos Football Club recognized Don Getty's achievements in 1992 by inscribing his name on the Wall of Honour, located in Edmonton's Commonwealth Stadium.[260] In 1998, Donald Ross Getty was appointed an Officer of the Order of Canada,[261] followed by the Alberta Order of Excellence in 1999.[262] In 2001, the Don Getty Wildland Provincial Park in Kananaskis Country was named after the former Premier.[263] Getty Street is located in the Village of Heisler, Alberta, which is known as the 'Premier Village' because its streets are named in honour of former Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta.[264] In 2004, Western inducted Don Getty as a member of the Mustang Football Wall of Fame.[265]

### Fonds

Records related to Getty's years in the provincial Cabinet and as Premier are housed at the Provincial Archives of Alberta in Edmonton.

### Tributes

At the time of Getty's resignation in December 1992, former Alberta Premier E. Peter Lougheed remarked, "When I think of the Getty premiership, I think of integrity and sensitivity and fairness."[266] Lougheed further said of Getty: "[He] has served this province of Alberta very well for seven years in very difficult economic and political times … He did very well in sustaining the social services and health and educational services we have."[267] Marvin E. Moore, former Cabinet Minister (1975–1989), asserted that "[i]f Don Getty has a weakness it's that he's a very nice individual—a fine individual."[268] Former Deputy Premier James 'Jim' D. Horsman (1989–1992) said of the retiring Premier, "Don Getty is in my view one of the most outstandingly truthful and decent people I have ever known,"[269] while former Minister of Technology, Research and Telecommunications Frederick A. Stewart (1989–1992), maintaining that Getty toiled "selflessly through one of the worst periods in Alberta's economic history," said he was "extremely committed to his province and his country."[270] Getty's Cabinet colleague and former Minister of Health (1988–1992) Nancy J. Betkowski* predicted that his "constitutional achievement (Triple-E Senate) will be a hallmark," adding also that he was "a strong voice for Albertans."[271] One of Getty's business associates and a former Edmonton Eskimos football player Dave Fennell called Getty "patient" and "hard-working" and "the embodiment of [the] Protestant work ethic."[272] In 1992, Saskatchewan Premier Roy J. Romanow (1991–2001) said of Getty:

---

* In 1998, as Nancy J. MacBeth, she was elected in a by-election as the Liberal Member for Edmonton-McClung and served as the first female Leader of the Official Opposition (1998–2001).

> At this crucial point in the history of our nation, Premier Getty's understanding of Western issues and his ability to communicate our concerns in other regions of Canada will be vital. I sincerely hope that the new Canada we are building today is one which Don can look back on proudly as part of his legacy.[273]

## Notes

[1] "Getty Plans New Style of Government," *Ottawa Citizen*, 2 November 1985, p. A3.

[2] Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1993 ed. (Toronto: Globe and Mail Publishing, 1993), p. 521; Don Getty, "Do We Need U.S. Football Players?," *Liberty: Canada's Young Family Magazine* vol. 34, no. 7 (September 1957): p. 74; Andrew Nikiforuk, "Alberta's New Chief," *Maclean's* vol. 98, no. 43 (28 October 1985): p. 12; "Getty, Ross C.," [Obituary], *Edmonton Journal*, 23 March 1974, p. 32.

[3] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Albert Getty Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Quebec, district no. 149, Brome County, sub-district 4, West Bolton Township, schedule 1, p. 5, household 44, microfilm T-20417, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 6 September 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html p. 5; "Getty, Ross C.," [Obituary], p. 32.

[4] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Getty Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Quebec, district no. 144, Brome County, sub-district a-1, East Bolton Township, schedule 1, p. 9, household 80, microfilm T-6515, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 6 September 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Albert Getty Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[5] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Charles Getty Household 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Albert Getty Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[6] Andrew Nikiforuk, "Getty's Challenge: Third Down and Ten," *Report on Business Magazine* vol. 3, no. 10 (April 1987): p. 47; E-mail from Esther Healy, Richmond County Historical Society, 24 August 2005; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fred Hampton Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Quebec, district no. 187, Richmond and Wolf, sub-district d-1, Danville Village, schedule 1, p. 8, household 68, microfilm T-6542, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 6 September 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Joseph Smith Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Quebec, district no. 187, Richmond and Wolfe, sub-district k-2, Shipton Township, schedule 1, p. 1, household 4, microfilm T-6542, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 6 September 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fredrick Hampton Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Quebec, district no. 192, Richmond and Wolfe, sub-district 19, Shipton Township, schedule 1, p. 3, household 24, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 6 September 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html

[7] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fred Hampton Record, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[8] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fredrick Hampton Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[9] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Joseph Smith Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[10] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Fredrick Hampton Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet].

[11] Nikiforuk, "Getty's Challenge," p. 47.

[12] D'Arcy Jenish, "Mr. Cool at the Helm," *Alberta Report* vol. 12, no. 44 (21 October 1985): p. 15.

[13] Nikiforuk, "Alberta's New Chief," p. 12.

[14] Ibid.; Getty, "Do We Need U.S. Football Players?" p. 74.

[15] Nikiforuk, "Alberta's New Chief," p. 12.

[16] Elizabeth Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2000*, vol. 35 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), s.v. "Getty, Donald R."; Nikiforuk, "Alberta's New Chief," p. 12.

[17] Getty, "Do We Need U.S. Football Players?" p. 74; *Who's Who in Alberta: An Illustrated Biographical Record of Men and Women of the Time*, 1978–79 ed. (Edmonton: L.U.L Publications, 1979), s.v. "Getty, Donald."

[18] Jenish, "Mr. Cool at the Helm," p. 15.

[19] *Mustang Football: 2004 Wall of Fame Inductees*, [Internet], (2004), accessed 18 August 2004, available from http://www.westernmustangsfootball.com/Blakes_updates/bios.htm; Jenish, "Mr. Cool at the Helm," p. 15.

[20] Fax from Kevin McDonald, Manager of Football Operations/Player Personnel CFL, 30 August 2004; "Mustang Men's Basketball History," Mustang Athletics: University of Western Ontario Athletics Program, *University of Western Ontario*, [Internet], (London, ON: University of Western Ontario), accessed 13 September 2004, available from http://www.uwo.ca/mustangs/varsity/basketballm/quick_facts.htm

[21] Jenish, "Mr. Cool at the Helm," p. 15.

[22] The School of Business Administration: Bachelor of Arts, 4 June 1955, [Convocation Programme], The University of Western Ontario Annual Spring Convocation, The J. W. Little Memorial Stadium, Saturday, June 4th, 1955, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, ON.

[23] Ibid.; Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2000*, s.v. "Getty, Donald R."

[24] Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2000*, s.v. "Getty, Donald R."; "Football Star Weds," *London Free Press*, 23 June 1955, p.18.

[25] "Football Star Weds," p.18; "Wilfrid G. [*sic*] Mitchell," [Obituary], *St Marys Journal Argus*, 10 May 1961, p. 6; "Premier's Wife's Mother Dies: Funeral in Ont.," *Edmonton Journal*, 16 March 1988, p. B6; E-mail from Mary Smith, Curator, St. Marys Museum, St. Marys, ON, 19 August 2005; Ron Demaray, "Warren, Muriel M. (Kew) Mitchell, St. Mary's Protestant (Section N), Perth, Blanshard, PH-798-4," *OFCA: Ontario Cemetery Finding Aid*, [Internet], (Ron Demaray, 2000), accessed 22 March 2006, available from http://www.islandnet.com/cgi-bin/ms2/jveinot/search. Wilfred Mitchell's name is alternatively spelled 'Wilfrid,' but according to Mary Smith, curator of St. Marys Museum in St. Marys, Ontario, his gravestone reads 'Wilfred.'

[26] "Wilfrid G. [*sic*] Mitchell," [Obituary], p. 6; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Michael Mitchell Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 95, Middlesex East, sub-district 18, Nissouri West, Thorndale Village, schedule 1, p. 10, household 90, microfilm T-20384, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 6 September 2005, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html

[27] "Wilfrid G. [*sic*] Mitchell," [Obituary], p. 6; Jenish, "Mr. Cool at the Helm," p.15.

[28] "Wilfrid G. [*sic*] Mitchell," [Obituary], p. 6; *Canadian Open Old Time Fiddle Contest*, [Internet], (Shelburne, ON: Rotary Club of Shelburne, 2001), accessed 27 November 2005, available from http://www.shelburnefiddlecontest.on.ca/default.htm

[29] "David Kew," [Obituary], *St Marys Journal Argus*, 10 May 1961, p. 6; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, William Moffatt Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 105, Perth South, sub-district b-3, Downie, schedule 1, p. 8, household 81, microfilm T-6491, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 27 June 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James Kew Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 166, Oxford North, sub-district a-2, Nissouri East, schedule 1, p. 17, household 71, microfilm C-13267, RG31, Statistics Canada, *FamilySearch*, [Transcription], [Internet], Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, UT, accessed 6 September 2005, available from http://www.familysearch.org

[30] Getty, "Do We Need U.S. Football Players?" p. 74; Pierre G. Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1976 ed. (Ottawa: Pierre G. Normandin, 1976), p. 547.

[31] Greg Owens, "The Gettys - Past, Present, and Future," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 July 1985, p. B3; "Grey Cup," *Fact Index*, accessed 18 August 2004, available from http://www.fact-index.com/g/gr/grey_cup.html; Fax from McDonald, 30 August 2004.

[32] Elizabeth Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, vol. 38 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), s.v. "Getty, Donald R."

[33] Ibid.

[34] Getty, "Do We Need U.S. Football Players?" p. 74.

[35] Fax from McDonald, 30 August 2004.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Jenish, "Mr. Cool at the Helm," p. 15; O'Handley, ed., *CPG 1993*, p. 521.

[38] Jenish, "Mr. Cool at the Helm," pp. 15–16; O'Handley, ed., *CPG 1993*, p. 521.

[39] Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2000*, s.v. "Getty, Donald R."

[40] Nikiforuk, "Alberta's New Chief," p. 13; Jenish, "Mr. Cool at the Helm," p. 16.

[41] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 93–97.

[42] Mr. D. R. Getty, Member for Strathcona West Constituency [Speech to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta], 14 March 1969, [Transcript], pp. 4–6.

[43] "Getty's First Speech Short," *Edmonton Journal*, 22 February 1968, p. 23.

[44] Getty, [Speech to the Assembly], 14 March 1969, p. 6; Mr. Donald R. Getty, Member for Strathcona West [Speech to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta], 27 February 1970, [Transcript], pp. 4–5; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 16th Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. LXXIV, 12 March 1968, p. 109.

[45] Mr. D. R. Getty, Member for Strathcona West Constituency, [Speech to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta], 26 February 1969, [Transcript], p. 2; Getty, [Speech to the Assembly], 27 February 1970, p. 2.

[46] Mr. D. R. Getty, Member for Strathcona West, [Speech to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta], 11 February 1970, [Transcript], p. 1.

[47] Ibid., pp. 1–3.

[48] Ibid., pp. 2–3.

[49] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 17.

[50] Ibid., p. 103.

[51] O'Handley, ed., *CPG 1993*, p. 521; Donald R. Getty, Minister of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs, 10 September 1971, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[52] D'Arcy Jenish, "Meet Don Getty," *Alberta Venture* vol. 4, no. 1 (1986): p. 8.

[53] Nikiforuk, "Alberta's New Chief," p. 13.

[54] Kathryn M. Flanagan and Katherine J. Miller, eds., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1992 ed. (Toronto: Globe and Mail Publishing, 1992), p. 508; Donald R. Getty, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, 3 April 1975, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[55] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts 1974–1975*, vol. 1 (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1975), p.10.

[56] Thomas Kennedy, "Alberta Aims for Period of Stability in Petroleum Industry," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 31 May 1975, p. B3.

[57] "Price Questions Cloud Tar-Sands Plans," *Oil and Gas Journal* vol. 76, no. 44 (30 October 1978): p. 38.

[58] Canada. Library of Parliament, "Gillespie, The Hon. Alastair William," House of Commons - Historical Information, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library Parliament), accessed 28 November 2005, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp; Thomas Kennedy, "Ottawa and Alberta Agree to Delay Oil Price Increase," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 9 December 1978, p. B14; Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, s.v. "Gillespie, Hon. Alastair William," p. 504.

[59] Kennedy, "Ottawa and Alberta Agree to Delay," p. B14; Canada. House of Commons, *Letters Exchanged between the Federal Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources and the Alberta Minister of Energy Re: Agreement on Crude Oil Price in Canada*, Sessional Paper, no. 304-5/101, 8 December 1978.

[60] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 18.

[61] "[Merv Leitch Named Alberta Energy Minister]," *Oil and Gas Journal* vol. 77, no. 16 (16 April 1979): p. 109; Nikiforuk, "Alberta's New Chief," p. 13.

[62] Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2000*, s.v. "Getty, Donald R."; Thomas Kennedy, "Getty Ponders Future," *Albertan* (Calgary), 27 November 1979, p. 23.

[63] Andrew Nikiforuk, "Lougheed Contemplates the Future," *Maclean's* vol. 98, no. 14 (14 April 1985): p. 14.

[64] Ibid.

[65] "Tories Pick Oilman Getty as Next Alberta Premier," *Gazette* (Montreal), 15 October 1985, p. A1.

[66] "Getty's Win May Spell Trouble," [Editorial], *Toronto Star*, 14 October 1985, p. A12.

[67] Nikiforuk, "Alberta's New Chief," pp. 13–14.

[68] Carol Goar, "New Premier Getty Represents Alberta's Hostility to the East," *Toronto Star*, 14 October 1985, p. A13.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Matt Maychak, "'Stronger' Province Promised Tories Choose Oilman Getty to Lead Alberta," *Toronto Star*, 14 October 1985, p. A1.

[71] Donald R. Getty, President of the Council, 1 November 1985, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[72] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *The Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the Edmonton-Whitemud By-election Held Wednesday, December 11, 1985* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1986), p. 1.

[73] Ibid., p. 3.

[74] Nikiforuk, "Getty's Challenge," p. 46.

[75] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Major Agricultural Assistance Programs, 21 November 1985, [News Release].

[76] Nikiforuk, "Getty's Challenge," p. 45; Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts 1985–86* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1986), p. 1.5.

[77] Nikiforuk, "Alberta's New Chief," pp. 11–12.

[78] Alan Toulin, "Banks' Troubles Could Cost Taxpayers up to $1.4 Billion," *Toronto Star*, 4 September 1985, p. A1; Willard Z. Estey, *Report of the Inquiry into the Collapse of the CCB and Northland Bank* (Ottawa: Dept. of Supply and Services Canada, 1986), pp. 7, 8, 34.

[79] Nikiforuk, "Alberta's New Chief," p. 12.

[80] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 20th Legislature, 4th Session*, 10 April 1986, p. 148.

[81] Ibid., p. 147.

[82] "Husky Upgrader Plant Essential, Alberta Says," *Toronto Star*, 7 February 1986, p. E4.

[83] Stephen Handelman, "Oil Crisis Looms Over Glut - Saudis," *Toronto Star*, 9 April 1986, p. A1.

[84] Matt Maychak, "Jobs Slashed as Oil Woes Rock Alberta," *Toronto Star*, 21 April 1986, p. A12.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 20th Legislature, 4th Session*, 3 April 1986, p. 1.

[87] Ibid., 10 April 1986, p. 148.

[88] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. C1.

[89] Diane Francis, "Oilmen Ask Alberta to Buy Crude at Big Premium," *Toronto Star*, 29 April 1986, p. D1.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 18; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *The Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the General Election of the Twenty-First Legislative Assembly Thursday, May 8, 1986* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1986), p. C1.

[92] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *The Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the 1982 General Election Held Tuesday, November 2, 1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 10; Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on the 1986 General Election*, p. C1.

[93] *Farm Credit Stability Fund Act*, S.A. 1986, c. F-2.5, s. 16; John Barber, et al., "The West in Crisis," *Maclean's* vol. 99, no. 22 (2 June 1986): p. 14; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 20th Legislature, 4th Session*, 10 April 1986, p. 147.

[94] Government of Alberta, [Alberta Farm Credit Stability Program Announcement], 27 June 1986, [News Release]; Bob Beaty, "Farmers Happy with Subsidies on Loan Rates," *Calgary Herald*, 4 April 1986, p. D10; Gene Laverty, "Farmers Praise Debt Program," *Edmonton Sun*, 4 April 1986, p. 19; Geoff White, "Aid Keeping Farmers Afloat," *Calgary Herald*, 26 June 1986, p. A1.

[95] Alberta. Dept. of Energy, Energy Minister Announces New Assistance Programs for Oil and Gas Industry, 4 June 1986, [News Release]; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 21st Legislature, 1st Session*, 25 July 1986, p. 782; "Alberta May Give Industry Another Boost," *Oil and Gas Journal* vol. 84, no. 23 (9 June 1986): p. 19.

[96] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 21st Legislature, 1st Session*, 25 July 1986, p. 782; "Alberta May Give Industry Another Boost," p. 19.

[97] Kevin Cox, "If Oil Price Holds Up, So Will Economy," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 23 January 1986, p. C5.

[98] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *1986 Budget Address Update* (Edmonton: Queen's Printer, 1986), p. 9.

[99] "Alberta Needs New Energy Deal from Ottawa, Getty Says," *Toronto Star*, 24 June 1986, p. A3.

[100] Ibid.; Diane Francis, "Alberta Premier to 'Hammer' Mulroney for Removal of Oil Tax," *Toronto Star*, 16 August 1986, p. C1; Canada. Dept. of Energy Mines and Resources, *The Western Accord: An Agreement between the Governments of Canada, Alberta, Saskatchewan and British Columbia on Oil and Gas Pricing and Taxation* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1985), p. 4.

[101] Canada. Treasury Board, *Details of Expenditures and Revenues*, vol. 2, *Public Accounts of Canada, 1985* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1985), p. 6.15; Canada. Treasury Board, *Details of Expenditures and Revenues*, vol. 2, *Public Accounts of Canada, 1983* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1983), p. 6.16.

[102] Diane Francis, "Energy Minister 'Pushing' for Tax Cut," *Toronto Star*, 28 June 1986, p. D2.

[103] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 21st Legislature, 1st Session*, 8 July 1986, p. 400.

[104] Ibid., pp. 399–400.

[105] "Getty's Remarks on Gas Shutoff Caused Turmoil in Oil Industry," *Toronto Star*, 21 July 1986, p. A14.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Diane Francis, "Ottawa Scrapping $1.5 Billion Tax in Bailout Scheme for Oil Industry," *Toronto Star*, 9 September 1986, p. A1.

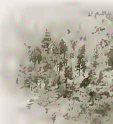
[108] "Industry Assesses Effect of End to Canadian Tax," *Oil and Gas Journal* vol. 84, no. 38 (22 September 1986): p. 24.

[109] Diane Francis, "Alberta Unveils $1 Billion in Oil, Gas Aid," *Toronto Star*, 30 October 1986, p. E1; Government of Alberta, Oil and Gas Industry Incentives, 29 October 1986, [News Release].

[110] Francis, "Alberta Unveils $1 Billion in Oil, Gas Aid," p. E1; Government of Alberta, Oil and Gas Industry Incentives, [News Release].

[111] "Cartel Production Cuts Should Help Industry Alberta Premier Says," *Toronto Star*, 24 December 1986, p. B3.

[112] Ibid.



[113] Derek Ferguson, "Tories vs. Tories over Alberta Oil," *Toronto Star*, 8 January 1987, p. A14; Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Notes for an Address by the Honourable Don R. Getty, Premier of Alberta to the Canadian Association of Oilwell Drilling Contractors, February 27, 1987* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1987), pp. 11–12.

[114] *Alberta Corporate Income Tax Amendment Act*, S.A. 1986, c. 1.

[115] *Small Business Term Assistance Fund Act*, S.A. 1986, c. S-13.7.

[116] *Department of Energy Act*, S.A. 1986, c. D-18.1.

[117] *Department of Tourism Act*, S.A. 1986, c. D-29.1.

[118] *Department of Community and Occupational Health Act*, S.A. 1986, c. D-13.5.

[119] *Department of Economic Development and Trade Act*, S.A. 1986, c. D-16.1.

[120] *Department of Technology, Research and Telecommunications Act*, S.A. 1986, c. D-28.5.

[121] *Department of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife Act*, S.A. 1986, c. D-20.5.

[122] *Department of Social Services Act*, S.A. 1986, c. D-27.1.

[123] Pierre G. Normandin, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1986 ed. (Ottawa: Pierre G. Nomandin, 1986), pp. 658–660; Pierre G. Normandin, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1987 ed. (Ottawa: Pierre G. Normandin, 1987), pp. 668–670.

[124] Alberta. Dept. of Municipal Affairs, *Municipal Affairs Annual Report, 1986/1987* (Edmonton: Dept. of Municipal Affairs, 1987), pp. 7, 30.

[125] Ibid., p. 31; Alberta. Dept. of Municipal Affairs, *Municipal Affairs Annual Report, 1987/1988* (Edmonton: Dept. of Municipal Affairs, 1988), p. 40.

[126] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Budget Address 1987* (Edmonton: Queen's Printer, 1987), p. 15.

[127] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Address by Getty to the Canadian Association of Oilwell Drilling Contractors, February 27, 1987*, pp. 3–4.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 21st Legislature, 2nd Session*, 5 March 1987, p. 6.

[130] Ibid., p. 1.

[131] Ibid., pp. 2, 1–3.

[132] Donald R. Getty, "Opening Statement: Alberta," in *First Annual Conference of First Ministers on the Economy, Ottawa, November 9–10, 1989*, no. 800.027-076 (Ottawa: Canada Conference of First Ministers on the Economy, 1989), p. 3; Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Budget Address 1989* (Edmonton: Queen's Printer, 1989), pp. 5–6; Alberta. Dept. of Economic Development and Trade, *The Alberta Economy: An Overview* (Edmonton: Queen's Printer, 1989), p. 1.

[133] Getty, "Opening Statement: Alberta," p. 3; Alberta. Dept. of Economic Development and Trade, *The Alberta Economy: An Overview*, p. 1; "September Jobless Rate Declines to 7.8 Per Cent," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 8 October 1988, p. B4.

[134] "Alberta Foreign Exports," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 6 September 1989, p. B6.

[135] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *The Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the General Election of the Twenty-Second Legislative Assembly Monday, March 20, 1989* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1989), p. C1.

[136] Derek Ferguson, "Tories Win Majority in Alberta: Getty Loses Own Edmonton Seat," *Toronto Star*, 21 March 1989, p. A1.

[137] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *The Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the Stettler By-election Held Tuesday, May 9, 1989* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1989), p. 3.

[138] Kenneth Norrie, Douglas Owram and J. C. Herbert Emery, *A History of the Canadian Economy*, 3rd ed. (Scarborough: Thomson Nelson, 2002), p. 415.

[139] Ibid., pp. 415–416.

[140] Ibid., p. 416; Brian Milner, "Canada in Its First Home-Made Recession," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 11 October 1990, p. B1; Gilles Rheaume, "In a Slump Until Spring 1991," *Canadian Outlook: Economic Forecast* vol. 6, no. 1 (Autumn 1990): p. 1.

[141] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Budget Address 1991* (Edmonton: Treasury Dept., 1991), pp. 8, 5–8.

[142] Ibid., p. 11.

[143] Ibid., p. 10; Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Budget Address 1990* (Edmonton: Treasury Dept., 1990), p. 6.

[144] Miro Cernetig, "Keeping the West from Going Bust," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 11 October 1990, pp. B1, B18; Alberta. Treasury Dept. Bureau of Statistics, *Alberta Economic Accounts* (Edmonton: Treasury Dept., 1991), p. 9; Alberta. Treasury Dept. Bureau of Statistics, *Alberta Economic Accounts* (Edmonton: Treasury Dept., 1980), p. 39.

[145] John Howse, "Field of Dreams: Oil Price Hikes Cheer Alberta," *Maclean's* vol. 103, no. 46 (12 November 1990): p. 61.

[146] Glen Mumey, "The Alberta Heritage Fund in 1990," *Western Centre for Economic Research Information Bulletin*, no. 4 (May 1991): p. 2; Glen Mumey, "The Alberta Heritage Fund in 1991," *Western Centre for Economic Research Information Bulletin*, no. 7 (March 1992): p. 2.

[147] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Budget Address 1988* (Edmonton: Treasury Dept., 1988), p. 30; Alberta. Treasury Dept., Budget Address 1991, p. 32.

[148] Christopher Donville, "Projects in Alberta Buoying its Economy," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 23 January 1991, p. A12.

[149] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 21st Legislature, 1st Session*, 12 June 1986, p. 3; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 21st Legislature, 2nd Session*, 5 March 1987, pp. 2–3.

[150] Larry Johnsrude, "Pushing for Pulp Mills," *Vancouver Sun*, 17 April 1990, p. F4.

[151] Alberta. Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, *Annual Report, 1986–1987* (Edmonton: Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, 1988), p. 9.

[152] Alberta. Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, *Annual Report, 1987–1988* (Edmonton: Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, 1989), p. 3.

[153] Ibid.

[154] Alberta. Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, *Annual Report, 1988–1989* (Edmonton: Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, 1990), pp. 2, 14.

[155] Alberta. Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, *Annual Report, 1991–1992* (Edmonton: Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, [1993]), p. 11.

[156] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 22nd Legislature, 4th Session*, 9 April 1992, p. 336.

[157] Alberta. Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, *Annual Report, 1991–1992*, p. 12.

[158] Alberta. Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, *Annual Report, 1986–1987*, p. 3.

[159] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 21st Legislature, 2nd Session*, April 10, 1987, pp. 727, 726–727.

[160] Alberta. Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, *Annual Report, 1988–1989*, p. 2.

[161] Alberta. Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, *Annual Report, 1990–1991* (Edmonton: Dept. of Forestry, Lands and Wildlife, 1992), p. 3.

[162] "A Courageous Move," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 March 1990, p. A10; Don Braid, "Environment Now a Top Priority, and Klein Wins," *Calgary Herald*, 3 March 1990, p. A3.

[163] *Environmental Protection and Enhancement Act*, S.A. 1992, c. E-13.3.

[164] "Oil Prices: The End of the War Premium," *Royal Bank Econoscope* (April 1991): p. 8.

[165] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Alberta Government Announces Oil Activity Initiative, 7 November 1991, [News Release].

[166] Ibid.

[167] Alberta. Office of the Premier, [Premier Getty Announces Expenditure Controls], 20 November 1991, [News Release].

[168] Ibid.

[169] Ibid.

[170] *Spending Control Act*, S.A. 1992, c. S-21.7.

[171] Government of Alberta, [Actions Involving First Investors Corporation and Associated Investors of Canada], 16 July 1987, [News Release]; "Financial Giant in Alberta Bankrupt," *Toronto Star*, 11 August 1987, p. A1.

[172] Derek Ferguson, "$285 Million Feared Lost in Principal Group Crash," *Toronto Star*, 12 August 1987, p. A1.

[173] Chris Cariou, "Horde of Sour Investors in Principal Debacle Hear 'Gutless Getty' Cry," *Toronto Star*, 10 July 1987, p. C3.

[174] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 21st Legislature, 2nd Session*, 23 November 1987, pp. 1982–1983; "Deregulation Must Wait for Principal Report, Minister Says," *Toronto Star*, 26 October 1987, p. B2.

[175] *Premier Getty's Address to the Edmonton Chamber of Commerce*, 45 min., QCTV, 19 November 1987, Television Broadcast.

[176] Ibid.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Judicial District of Edmonton Alberta. Court of Queen's Bench, *Final Report of the Inspector William E. Code, Q.C.* (Calgary: 1989), p. 419; John DeMont, et al., "Day of Reckoning," *Maclean's* vol. 102, no. 31 (31 July 1989): p. 30.

[179] Alberta. Court of Queen's Bench, *Final Report of the Inspector William E. Code, Q.C.*, pp. 414, 418–419; DeMont et al., "Day of Reckoning," p. 30.

[180] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 22nd Legislature, 1st Session*, 28 July 1989, pp. 1103–1105.

[181] Ibid., p. 1105.

[182] Ibid., p. 1104.

[183] Ibid., p. 1106.

[184] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 22nd Legislature, 4th Session*, 21 May 1992, pp. 1019, 1022, 1023; Ibid., 22 May 1992, pp. 1055–1058.

[185] Don Getty, Premier of Alberta, to Donald D. Salmon, Auditor General of Alberta, 21 May 1992, [Letter].

[186] Wright Mansell Research Ltd., *The Impact of NovAtel on the Alberta Economy: Prepared for Technology, Research and Telecommunications, Government of Alberta* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1992), p. 1.

[187] Alberta. Office of the Auditor General, *Report of the Auditor General on NovAtel Communications Ltd.* (Edmonton: Office of the Auditor General, 1992), p. 20.

[188] Jim Morris, "[Alberta Government Starts Toward 2000 Together Conference]," *Canadian Press Newswire*, 28 May 1992.

[189] Ibid.; Jim Morris, "[Public Wants Government Out Of Private Sector]," *Canadian Press Newswire*, 29 May 1992.

[190] "The Edmonton Declaration," in *27th Annual Premiers' Conference, August 10–12, 1986, Edmonton, Alberta*, no. 850-34/009; "Premiers Renew Criticism of Tories' View of West," *Windsor Star*, 21 November 1986, p. A8; "In Alberta: The Toughs Shake Their Fists," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 9 April 1987, p. A7.

[191] Matthew Fisher, "Getty to Seek Support for an Elected Senate," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 7 April 1987, p. A4; "An Elected Nominee at the Senate's Door," [Editorial], *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 18 October 1989, p. A6.

[192] "Reform of the Senate," [Editorial], *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 9 April 1987, p. A6.

[193] Don Getty, Premier of Alberta, to The Right Honourable Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister of Canada, 19 October 1989, [Letter].

[194] *Senatorial Selection Act*, S.A. 1989, c. S-11.5.

[195] Getty to Mulroney, 19 October 1989, [Letter].

[196] *1987 Constitutional Accord*, [Meech Lake Accord], Meeting of the First Ministers on the Constitution, June 3, 1987, Ottawa (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1987), s. 50; Gordon Robertson, *A House Divided: Meech Lake, Senate Reform and the Canadian Union* (Halifax: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1989), pp. 12–14.

[197] Peter McCormick, "Senate Reform: Forward Step or Dead End?" in *Meech Lake: Perspectives from the West*, ed. Roger Gibbins (Edmonton: Academic Printing & Publishing, 1988), pp. 33–34.

[198] Robertson, *A House Divided*, pp. 12–14.

[199] Ibid., p. 13.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Premier Getty's Statement Re: Meech Lake, 25 June 1990, [News Release].

[202] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Protecting Alberta's Future: Why We Oppose the Federal Goods and Services Tax* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1989), p. 1.

[203] Ibid., p. 2.

[204] Ibid., p. 4.

[205] Ibid., pp. 4–6.

[206] Ibid., p. 6.

[207] Martin Cohn, "Premiers Win Major Role in Trade Talks," *Toronto Star*, 30 November 1985, p. A1; Terrance Wills, "Provinces Get Role in Trade Talks: But Details Not Worked Out," *Gazette* (Montreal), 30 November 1985, p. A10.

[208] Fay Orr and Anita Elash, "Hobnobbing in Halifax: Getty Emerges as a Peacemaker," *Alberta Report* vol. 12, no. 51 (9 December 1985): p. 6.

[209] "Alberta Warns It 'Will Never Forget' if Opponents Scuttle Free Trade Deal," *Toronto Star*, 28 October 1987, p. A2.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Frances Phillips, "Alberta's Getty Signals New Political Offensive," *Financial Post* (Toronto), 2 November 1987, p. 7.

[212] *Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement Implementation Act*, S.C. 1988, c. 65; Debra P. Steger, *A Concise Guide to the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement* (Toronto: Carswell, 1988), p. 1.

[213] *Alberta Native Business Summit Foundation Act*, S.A. 1986, c. 34.

[214] *Alberta Native Business Summit Foundation Act*, S.A. 1986, c. 34, s. 4.

[215] *Maskwachees Cultural College Act*, S.A. 1988, c. 51, ss. 2, 6–9; *Old Sun Community College Act*, S.A. 1988, c. 52, ss. 2, 6–9.

[216] *Maskwachees Cultural College Act*, S.A. 1988, c. 51, s. 3; *Old Sun Community College Act*, S.A. 1988, c. 52, s. 3.

[217] *Old Sun Community College Act*, S.A. 1988, c. 52, s. 3; *Maskwachees Cultural College Act*, S.A. 1988, c. 51, s. 3.

[218] John Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991), p. 170.

[219] Ibid.

[220] Ibid., p. 171.

[221] Ibid., pp. 172, 177.

[222] Ibid., p. 173.

[223] Ibid., p. 176.

[224] Ibid., pp. 180–181; "Lubicon Indians Blockade Road Claiming Oil-Rich Bush Is Theirs," *Gazette* (Montreal), 16 October 1988, p. A1.

[225] Goddard, *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*, p. 192.

[226] Alberta. Public Affairs Bureau, [Getty Grants Lubicon Land], 22 October 1988, [News Release].

[227] Derek Ferguson, "Getty, Lubicon Chief Settle Land Dispute," *Toronto Star*, 23 October 1988, p. A2.

[228] *Metis Settlements Act*, S.A. 1990, c. M-14.3.

[229] Alberta. Office of the Attorney General, [1.25 Million Acres of Land Granted to the Metis Settlements General Council], 1 November 1990, [News Release]; *Metis Settlements Act*, S.A. 1990, c. M-14.3, s. 101(j); *Metis Settlements Land Protection Act*, S.A. 1990, c. M-14.8, ss. 3(1)(a-b), 6(1); *Constitution of Alberta Amendment Act*, S.A. 1990, c. C-22.2; Ashley Geddes, "Bills Offer Metis Self-Government," *Calgary Herald*, 31 May 1990, p. A11.

[230] Jac MacDonald, "1.25M Acres Given to Metis under Pact," *Edmonton Journal*, 2 November 1990, p. A8.

[231] *Metis Settlements Act*, S.A. 1990, c. M-14.3, s. 3(1).

[232] *Metis Settlements Act*, S.A. 1990, c. M-14.3, ss. 8(1), 12(1-2), 50–51, 65–70, 74, 108–109, 148–151, 214, 222–223.

[233] Don Thomas, "Metis Urged to Drop Suit, Take $310M," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 June 1989, p. B8.

[234] MacDonald, "1.25M Acres Given to Metis under Pact," p. A8.

[235] Alberta. Office of the Solicitor General, [Criminal Justice System Impact Report Tabled in Legislature], 25 March 1991, [News Release].

[236] O.C. 20/90, Alberta.

[237] Alberta. Office of the Solicitor General, *Justice on Trial: Report of the Task Force on the Criminal Justice System and Its Impact on the Indian and Metis People of Alberta: Summary Report*, vol. 2 (Edmonton: Solicitor General, 1991), pp. 1–33.

[238] Ibid., p. 19.

[239] Ibid., p. 18.

[240] Ibid., p. 21.

[241] *Women's Secretariat Act,* S.A. 1986, c. W-13.5, s. 2.

[242] *Premier's Council on the Status of Persons with Disabilities Act,* S.A. 1988, c. P-14.5, s. 3.

[243] *Natural Resources Conservation Board Act*, S.A. 1990, c. N-5.5, s. 2.

[244] *Premier's Council on Science and Technology Act*, S.A. 1990, c. P-14.2, s. 3.

[245] *Seniors Advisory Council for Alberta Act*, S.A. 1991, c. S-13.2.

[246] *Alberta Foundation for the Arts Act*, S.A. 1991, c. A-21.5.

[247] *Family Day Act*, S.A. 1989, c. F-1.5.

[248] Ashley Geddes, "Getty Resigns," *Calgary Herald*, 10 September 1992, p. A1.

[249] [*Resignation of Premier Don Getty*], 38 min., CBC; CTV; ITV, 9 September 1992, Television Broadcasts.

[250] Ralph P. Klein, President of the Council, 14 December 1992, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[251] Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, s.v. "Getty, Donald R," p. 496.

[252] Jason Markusoff, "Alberta's First Genuine Speech from the Throne: Thousands Greet Queen on Legislature Grounds," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 May 2005, p. A3; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 26th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 24 May 2005, p. 1617.

[253] Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2000*, s.v. "Getty, Donald R."; Jenish, "Mr. Cool at the Helm," pp. 15–16.

[254] Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2000*, s.v. "Getty, Donald R."

[255] *Welcome to KA @ VOO*, [Internet], (London, ON: Kappa Alpha Society, 2004), accessed 20 August 2004, available from http://www.kavoo.ca

[256] Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2000*, s.v. "Getty, Donald R."

[257] *The "W" Club*, [Internet], (Kingston: University of Western Ontario), accessed 18 August 2004, available from http://www.uwo.ca/mustangs/wclub

[258] Don Thomas, "Premier Named Honorary Chief for Backing Native Land Claim," *Edmonton Journal*, 14 December 1990, p. A7.

[259] Joan Crockatt, "Metis Give Getty Top Honour," *Edmonton Journal*, 18 October 1991, p. A7.

[260] "Eskimos Wall of Honour," *Soudog's CFL History Fan Site*, [Internet], accessed 15 December 2005, available from http://www.geocities.com/cflhistory/Eskimos/Wall_of_Honour.htm

[261] Canada. Governor General, "Donald R. Getty," Honours: Order of Canada Membership List, *Governor General of Canada*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Governor General of Canada, 2005), accessed 17 January 2006, available from http://www.gg.ca/honours/search-recherche/index_e.asp

[262] "Donald Ross Getty, OC, HBA," Members, *The Alberta Order of Excellence*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2003), accessed 15 January 2006, available from http://www.lieutenantgovernor.ab.ca/aoe/getty.cfm; Alberta. Dept. of Community Development, Alberta Order Of Excellence: Three Outstanding Albertans Receive Province's Highest Honour, 19 October 1998, [News Release].

[263] Tom Olsen, "Special Place for Don Getty in K-Country," *Calgary Herald*, 25 July 2001, p. A6.

[264] Fax from Connie Martz, Village of Heisler, 19 August 2003; *Welcome to The Village of Heisler: Our Premier Village*, [Internet], (Heisler, AB: Village of Heisler), accessed 27 July 2006, available from http://www.telusplanet.net/public/vheisler

[265] *Mustang Football: 2004 Wall of Fame Inductees*, [Internet], (2004), accessed 18 August 2004, available from http://www.westernmustangsfootball.com/Blakes_updates/bios.htm

[266] Sheldon Alberts, "Getty Bids Farewell: Premier Makes Emotional Plea for Unity in Alberta Tory Party," *Gazette* (Montreal), 6 December 1992, p. A6.

[267] [*Resignation of Premier Don Getty*], Television Broadcasts.

[268] Joan Crockatt, "The Getty Years: Was He the Author of His Own Misfortunes or a Victim of Tough Times?" *Edmonton Journal*, 5 December 1992, p. E2.

[269] Mark Lisac, "Disasters Big Part of the Getty Legacy," *Edmonton Journal*, 11 September 1992, p. A4.

[270] Crockatt, "The Getty Years," p. E2.

[271] Jeff Harder, "Cabinet Allies Toss Bouquets," *Calgary Sun*, 10 September 1992, p. 21.

[272] Peter Bakogeorge, "Getty is Patient, Hard-Working, Tough Negotiator," *Ottawa Citizen*, 11 October 1985, p. A9.

[273] "What Was Said," *Edmonton Journal*, 10 September 1992, p. A5.

*My greatest responsibility is to listen to you, to understand your priorities, and make sure they are the government's priorities*

Klein 1992–

# THE HONOURABLE RALPH PHILIP KLEIN

On December 14, 1992, former public relations officer, journalist and civic politician Ralph Philip Klein took office as the 12th Premier of Alberta.[1] Prior to becoming Premier, Klein served as Minister of the Environment. He is the first former mayor to serve as Premier of Alberta. While the major focus of the early years of Klein's premiership was on fiscal conservatism, the primary theme of the more recent years of his term has been the reform of the health-care system. Perhaps the most significant of the Klein Government's achievements was the early retirement of the provincial debt, announced on July 12, 2004. To date, Klein has the third-longest tenure of any Premier of Alberta.[*] Premier Klein's tenure has coincided[†] in part with those of four Lieutenant Governors: T. Gordon Towers (1991–1996), Horace A. 'Bud' Olson (1996–2000), Lois E. Hole (2000–2005) and Norman L. Kwong (2005– ). At the time of assuming office, Klein was 50 years of age.

## Family History

Ralph Philip Klein was born on November 1, 1942, at the Calgary General Hospital in Calgary, Alberta,[2] the elder of the two children[‡] of Philip 'Phil' Andrew Klein, a labourer and contractor, and Florence 'Flo' Harper, a waitress.[3] Phil Klein married Flo Harper on July 22, 1940, at the home of her parents in Tuxedo Park, a community in north Calgary, where the newlyweds also settled and raised their sons.[4]

Philip Andrew Klein was born on September 29, 1917[5] in a log house on the Klein homestead, near Rocky Mountain House, Alberta.[6] He was the youngest of the four children[§] of Andreas 'Andrew' Max Klein (1874–1953[7]) and his wife, Kate Drury.[8] Besides working as a homesteader and farmer, Andy also had a mobile sawmill business.[9] Andy was born in Remlingen, near Würzburg, in Bavaria, Germany,[10] the youngest of the three children of Andreas Klein (b. 1849), a carpenter, and Juliana Schwab (1853–1934), both of whom were born in Remlingen.[11] Andy left home at the age of 14 to avoid military conscription, to enjoy more freedom in his life and 'to satisfy his wanderlust.'[12] He travelled first to France, where he became an apprentice chef. Later, he learned to speak several languages while working as a hotel chef in major cities

---

[*] Only Premiers Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) and E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985) have served longer.

[†] Klein has faced six Leaders of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly since taking office in 1992: Raymond 'Ray' J. Martin (1984–1993); Laurence G. Decore (1993–1994); D. Grant Mitchell (1994–1998); Nancy J. MacBeth (1998–2001); Dr. Kenneth 'Ken' J. Nicol (2001–2004); and Dr. Kevin E. Taft (2004– ).

[‡] Ralph Philip (b. 1942) and Lynn Brian (1945). Pedigree of the Klein Family, May 2004, [Genealogy Chart], p. 6, [Klein and Drury Family History], comp. Donna Gieck McKinnon.

[§] Juliana 'Julia' Emma Klein (b. 1912) [Arthur Frederich Burris (d. 1989)] was the Rocky Mountain House area's 'first baby girl'; Wilhelmina 'Minna' (1914) [George Ethier (d. 1988)]; Alice Mary (1916) [Rudolf 'Rudy' Gieck (1908–1989)]; and Philip (1917). Pedigree of the Klein Family, p. 4.

throughout Europe.[13] Eventually, Andy moved to London, England, where he found a job as a hotel chef, and met his future wife, Kate.[14]

Kate Drury was born on January 6, 1877 in Hatfield Peverel,* County of Essex, England,[15] the fourth of the 10 children of Samuel Drury (1847–1926), a farm labourer, and Mary Ann 'Polly' Mynett (1846–1913).[16] One of Kate's nieces recalls being told that Kate was called 'the Lark' when she was young because of her beautiful singing voice.[17] By the time that Kate was about 15 years of age, she was in domestic service, working as a kitchen maid in Kensington, an affluent area of London.[18] By 1901, when she was 24, Kate was working as a domestic for another family in Kensington.[19]

Ralph Klein's grandfather Andy Klein decided to sail to New York City in about 1906, hoping to continue working as a hotel chef, but he found that he had to change careers and locales after he experienced bronchial problems, due to the pollution in the city.[20] Since settlers were being sought for western Canada, he travelled west to Alberta and made entry for a homestead near Rocky Mountain House. He cleared land and prepared a cabin for Kate, who arrived in 1909.[21] Andy Klein married Kate Drury in October 1909, in Central Methodist Church in Calgary, before they journeyed to their new homestead.[22] By 1913, when he was 39, Andy had successfully secured the patent on the homestead.[23] While Andy Klein was raised in the Lutheran faith, Kate was raised in the Church of England (Anglican). The Kleins were involved in the Anglican church in their community, with Andy serving as the first Sunday school superintendent.[24] Following Kate's death in 1924,[25] Andy Klein continued to live on the homestead until 1944, when he moved to British Columbia.[26] Andy Klein died in Burnaby in 1953 and is buried in New Westminster.[27]

Ralph Klein's father, Phil Klein, supervised airfield and oil field construction and worked for some of Alberta's largest contractors, including Mannix Construction, Brown & Root and Bechtel.[28] However, he also pursued another occupation. Known in the arena as 'Killer Klein,' Phil competed as a semi-professional wrestler for Calgary's Stampede Wrestling, which was owned and managed by wrestling legend Stewart 'Stu' Hart.[29]

Ralph Klein's mother, Florence (b. ca. 1924, d. 2004), was the daughter of Hollins and Christine Harper.[30] Hollins was born on July 5, 1890, on the family farm in Fullarton Township, Perth County, Ontario, near the village of Carlingford.[31] Hollins was the ninth of the 12 children of James William Harper (1853–1918[32]), a farmer, and Emma Foster (b. 1853), both of whom were of English descent.[33] James Harper and Emma Foster (of Seneca Township, Haldimand County) were married in 1874, in Caledonia, Ontario.[34] James served as postmaster of Carlingford from 1877 to 1878.[35] By 1911, Hollins had moved to the Battleford district of Saskatchewan near Rosetown, where he was employed as a labourer.[36] Later that year, he made entry for a homestead near Oyen, which is located in southeastern Alberta, close to the Saskatchewan border.[37] Hollins volunteered for the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) in January 1916. At the time, he was single and farming near Donavon, Saskatchewan.[38] In May

---

* Hatfield Peverel is a village located midway between London and Colchester, near Witham.

1919, almost a year after being discharged from active service for medical reasons, Hollins was granted land through the *Soldier Settlement Act, 1917*.[39] After their marriage, the Harpers moved to Calgary and became staunch members of the United Church.[40]

Philip and Florence Klein were divorced on March 30, 1953.[41] Both would remarry. Florence Klein married railway engineer Lorne MacBeth in 1953.[42] Philip Klein married Helen Yamkovy (1934–1990) in 1960, and together they had two children, Cindy Lee (b. 1962) and Darren Philip (1965).[43]

## Education

Ralph Klein began his schooling in about 1948 at Calgary's Buchanan Elementary School, and upon moving in with his maternal grandparents, Hollins and Christine Harper, he continued his early education at Tuxedo Park Elementary School. He subsequently attended Crescent Heights High School in Calgary.[44] In November 1959, shortly after his 17th birthday, Ralph joined the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF). After three months of pre-flight training, he was posted to Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, for several more months of training at Advanced Flight School.[45] By late 1960, however, having decided that the RCAF was 'not the life for him,' Ralph returned to Calgary.[46] Shortly thereafter, he enrolled in the Canadian Vocational Training Program at the Calgary Business College, where he studied business administration and accounting.[47] He graduated with honours.[48] More recently, in 2000, Klein enrolled at Mount Royal College in Calgary to pursue a degree in Communications. In July 2001, he switched to a similar program at Athabasca University, and as of May 2005, was working towards a Bachelor of Arts degree (Communications) through that institution.[49]

## Marriage and Family

On April 29, 1961, Ralph Philip Klein married Hilda May Hepner, in Calgary. Ralph had met Hilda, "his first serious girl friend," while he was at flight school in Portage la Prairie.[50] The couple had two children, Bradley (b. 1961) and Angela (1964), who were born in Calgary.[51] Ralph and Hilda divorced in April 1972.[52]

On July 22, 1972, Ralph Klein married Colleen Evelyn Hamilton in Calgary and became stepfather to Colleen's daughters from a previous marriage, Christine Pinder (b. ca. 1960) [Robert Wardrobe] and Lisa Pinder (ca. 1966).[53] Colleen was born on November 26, 1940, in Victoria, British Columbia.[54] She was one of the three children* raised by her father, Ted Hamilton, and stepmother, Jessie Elizabeth McKenzie (b. ca. 1918, d. 1995).[55] Ted Hamilton was of Scottish and Cree ancestry, while Jessie McKenzie was of Scottish heritage.[56] Ralph and Colleen have one daughter together, Teresa Diana, born on October 23, 1973. Ralph Klein has been affiliated with the United Church of Canada, and Colleen Klein was raised in the Roman Catholic faith.[57]

---

* The two other children of Ted and Jessie Hamilton are William and Ted. "Hamilton, [Jessie Elizabeth]," [Obituary], *Calgary Herald*, 14 June 1995, p. C14.

### Early Career

Upon graduation from the Calgary Business College, Klein accepted an offer to teach at that school and eventually was promoted to principal, a position that he held until 1963.[58] From 1963 to 1969, Klein worked in public relations, with the Alberta Division of the Canadian Red Cross (1963–1966) and the Calgary and District United Way (1966–1969),[59] before turning to investigative journalism. As senior civic affairs reporter with Calgary's CFCN Radio and Television,[60] Klein was eager to report human interest stories and developed an open, dynamic reporting style.[61]

In the late 1970s, Klein arrived on the Siksika First Nation Reserve to report on social and living conditions. The assignment evolved into a powerful and moving experience, which Klein later called 'a spiritual awakening.'[62] Klein's assignment was to provide an unconventional approach to the coverage of the Treaty 7* centennial celebrations.[63] Consequently, Klein sought to shift public attention from the ceremony of an official royal visit† to the 'appalling conditions' endured by the Siksika Nation.[64] He immersed himself in the work, developing a dialogue of mutual respect with the First Nation residents and gaining an appreciation for Native food, culture, history and language.[65] Following the documentary's June 1977 broadcast, the Siksika Nation named Ralph Klein 'White Writer.'[66]

---

* Throughout the late-19th century, the Government of Canada, in the name of Queen Victoria, entered into a series of treaties with First Nations peoples regarding land rights. In so doing, the Government sought to secure lands for settlement and for the construction of a transcontinental railway. The Blackfoot, Blood, Peigan, Sarcee and Stony First Nations entered into Treaty 7 with the Crown in September 1877. In this treaty, the region's Native people ceded to the Crown their rights and title to the lands. In exchange, the Crown safeguarded Native hunting and fishing rights, provided annuities and established reserves of land. *Copy of Treaty and Supplementary Treaty No. 7, Made 22nd Sept. and 4th Dec., 1877, between Her Majesty the Queen and the Blackfeet and Other Indian Tribes, at the Blackfoot Crossing of the Bow River and Fort MacLeod*, [Transcription], [Internet], (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1966, reprint, 1887 ed.), accessed 26 December 2004, available from http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty7_e.html; Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer, *Alberta: A New History* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1990), pp. 41–42.

† In June 1977, Prince Charles and Prince Andrew visited Calgary, with Prince Charles participating in ceremonies at Blackfoot Crossing, during which the signing of Treaty 7 was re-enacted. Gillian Lindgren, "For the Natives, Hope Grows with Pageantry," *Calgary Herald*, 6 July 1977, p. 3.

Visitors to the Premier's office will notice braids of sweet grass[*] proudly displayed. Colleagues will speak of an eagle feather[†] carefully tucked into the Premier's briefcase as a tribute to Native traditions.[67] Colleen Klein shares her husband's concern for social issues related to Alberta's Aboriginal communities.[‡][68]

## Political Career

In the municipal election of October 15, 1980, Calgarians elected local reporter and grassroots candidate Ralph Klein over the incumbent, Mayor Ross P. Alger (1977–1980). Klein was 37 years old at the time. His campaign had been unusual in two respects: Klein was a first-time candidate for civic office and he had won on a 'shoestring budget' of less than $25,000.[69] Mayor-elect Klein sought to involve Calgarians in civic affairs:

> If ever there was a need for grass roots politics in Calgary, it is now. I think if we don't involve the new people in this city, they are going to come here and make what they can and get out. We need these people to build a strong industrial base.[70]

Calgary's new mayor initially presided over a booming petroleum industry and rapid development.[71] However, an economic downturn ensued shortly thereafter,[72] and Klein responded to the serious economic challenges by heavily promoting downtown construction and developing Calgary's Light Rail Transit (LRT) system.[73]

By the municipal election of October 1983, Klein had expanded his popular appeal to include Calgary's business community, helping him to capture 85 per cent of the popular vote.[74] Corporate Calgary applauded the mayor's proactive economic strategies.[75] For example, no longer satisfied to wait for economic recovery, in 1981, Klein and Chamber of Commerce business leader and former alderman Arthur R. Smith collaborated to create the Calgary Economic Development Authority (CEDA).[76] Establishing partnerships between government and the private sector would remain a hallmark of future Klein municipal and provincial administrations.

CEDA achieved the revamping of Calgary's 'Cowtown'[77] image and helped to transform the city into a sophisticated and confident financial and energy centre.[78] Its analysts applied sound demographic and economic research to successfully market Calgary to select international firms.[79]

---

[*] Sweet grass figures prominently in a First Nations ceremony of the same name. Dried sweet grass is set alight and offered to the Creator, then to the Spirit Keeper of the East, South, West and North. It is offered to Mother Earth and finally to Father Sky. The Sweet Grass Ceremony is a healing, cleansing and purification tradition. Individuals fan the sweet grass smoke over their heart, mind and body, and again to the heart. The sweet grass ceremony serves as an opening for First Nations gatherings. "Sweet Grass Ceremony," Community Past: Traditional Lifestyles, *Malpeque: People of a Sacred Bay*, [Internet], (Lennox Island Learning Centre, 1999), accessed 26 July 2006, available from http://collections.ic.gc.ca/malpeque/sgceremony.html

[†] The eagle is considered by First Nations peoples to be "the most sacred, and spiritually the most powerful, of all living nonhuman beings." Joseph Epes Brown and Emily Cousins, *Teaching Spirits: Understanding Native American Religious Traditions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 92.

[‡] In November 2002, Colleen Klein received an Honourary Doctor of Laws degree from the University of Calgary, "recognizing 20 years of improving life for Alberta's children." Melissa Ridgen, "U of C Honours Colleen Klein," *Calgary Sun*, 13 November 2002, p. 10.

With Mayor Klein's active participation, CEDA helped to attract new businesses and head offices to the city.[80] Speaking just prior to the 1988 Winter Olympics, Klein indicated that while Calgary's civic identity had its roots in the cowboy traditions celebrated by the Calgary Stampede, the Olympics would showcase Calgary as "a major player in oil, in communications, [and] in the financial world."[81]

Mayor Ralph Klein routinely sought public input as a matter of policy. Klein learned early the value of allowing the electorate to vet a potentially divisive issue in order to gauge public reaction and align policy development or initiatives accordingly. This practice proved to be the cornerstone of Klein's political success, later serving him well as both a provincial Cabinet Minister and Premier.[82] "I've been of the philosophy that the people are the bosses," Klein would later explain, "You find out which way the parade is going and try to get in front of it."[83]

During the early 1980s, Klein understood that Calgarians' support was the essential prerequisite to the successful outcome of the upcoming 1988 Winter Olympic Games. By 1986, he had sensed a withdrawal of Calgarians' enthusiasm owing in part to the Olympic organizing committee's private deliberations and the 'commercialization of the Games.'[84] Speaking about the importance of civic involvement to the Calgary Olympics, Klein indicated:[85]

> If we set out to sell the Olympic movement to Calgarians the way we once sold Calgary to the Olympic movement, then a spirit of volunteerism would sweep the city unlike anything ever seen before. That is our challenge.[86]

As the economic downturn persisted through 1986, Klein continued to pursue public spending as a means of lessening the negative effects of economic conditions on Calgarians.[87] That year Calgarians rewarded their mayor's pragmatism and leadership with a third term and 93 per cent of the popular vote.[88] Klein's faith in Calgarians' civic spirit had been well-founded. A full year before the opening ceremonies of the Olympics,* more than 22,000 Olympic volunteers had stepped forward, prompting an inundated organizing committee to close applications much sooner than had been anticipated.[89] For 16 days during February 1988, Calgarians offered the world a taste of their famous western hospitality. They opened their hearts and their homes to international visitors, even providing free bed and breakfast accommodations to athletes' parents.[90]

Civic legacies from the XV Olympic Winter Games include Canada Olympic Park, the Olympic Oval, the Olympic Saddledome, the Olympic Plaza and Calgary's reputation as a world-class destination for competition and sports training. The Calgary Olympics were lauded as a great social and economic success. In fact, the Calgary Games were the first Winter Olympics to make a profit.[91] The International Olympic Committee (IOC) presented to Mayor Ralph Klein and the City of Calgary its highest honour, the Olympic Order, in recognition of the Games' success.[92]

With a promise that he would be a "strong lieutenant in southern Alberta" in the Government of Donald 'Don' R. Getty (1985–1992), on January 10, 1989, Ralph Klein announced that he would seek the nomination as the Progressive Conservative candidate in the constituency of Calgary-Elbow.[93] In an emotional announcement at the downtown Rotary Club, Klein said that: "Simply put, I feel that from the standpoint of municipal government, I have done what I can for this city I love. I now have an opportunity to do the same work … on a bigger canvas."[94] The provincial general election was held on March 20, 1989, and Ralph Klein defeated Liberal candidate Gilbert J. Clark by 823 votes.[95] On the following day, Klein resigned as mayor of Calgary.[96] Following the election, he was appointed to the Cabinet of Premier Getty and sworn in as Minister of the Environment on April 14, 1989.[97]

---

* The opening ceremonies of the XV Olympic Winter Games took place on February 13, 1988, at Calgary's McMahon Stadium.

As Minister of the Environment, Klein continued to exhibit his mayoral hallmarks of pragmatism, inclusiveness and grassroots appeal.[98] He brought the public and various stakeholders together in extensive consultations and introduced his first legislation.[99] The *Environmental Protection and Enhancement Act*[100] mandated pollution fines and assessment guidelines, initiated a recycling program and almost doubled the acreage of protected land.[101] Next, Klein streamlined the Natural Resources Conservation Board and funded tire recycling through a new disposal tax.[102]

Klein's years at the helm of the Department of the Environment, however, were not without controversy. Only a few months after he became Environment Minister, there were high-profile protests against the building of a dam on the Oldman River[103] and a disagreement with Ottawa with respect to industrial pollution regulations.[104] Disputes erupted concerning the expansion of Alberta's pulp and paper industry into the northern boreal forests.[105] Environmentalists affirmed the merits of the Government's efforts toward economic diversification, but harboured serious misgivings with regard to the potential environmental impact of the $1.3 billion Alberta Pacific (Al-Pac) pulp mill. They joined First Nations communities, the federal government and the Government of the Northwest Territories in denouncing the project, and especially its anticipated negative effects on the Athabasca River system.[106] Klein commissioned impact studies and convened public meetings through which Albertans voiced their environmental concerns.[107] Critics praised Klein's order to delay the Al-Pac pulp mill project upon the advice of a review board report.[108]

In September 1992, Premier Don Getty announced his intention to resign from office, setting in motion a search for a new leader of the Progressive Conservative Party.[109] On December 5, Klein was elected leader[110] in the Party's first full membership vote.* After the first ballot of November 28, Minister of Health Nancy J. Betkowski led by a single vote. In

Premier R.P. Klein, centre. with former Premiers E.P. Lougheed, left, and D.R. Getty, right, during the visit of Queen Elizabeth II (May 23, 2005).

---

* In 1992, the one-member-one-vote ballot replaced the delegate voting system. Success under the new voting system hinged upon a candidate's broad-based popularity. A number of the candidates had extensive recent legislative experience, including Cabinet Ministers Nancy J. Betkowski (later MacBeth), Minister of Health (1988–1992); Douglas 'Doug' C. Main, Minister of Culture and Multiculturalism (1989–1992); Elaine J. McCoy, Minister of Labour (1989–1992); John A. Oldring, Minister of Family and Social Services (1989–1992); Richard 'Rick' D. Orman, Minister of Energy (1989–1992); and former Cabinet Minister David 'Dave' T. King, who had served as a Member of the Legislative Assembly from 1971 to 1986. Other candidates were Ruben Nelson, a futurist and consultant from Canmore, and Lloyd Quantz, an agricultural economist and educator from the Olds-Didsbury area.

the intervening week before the second ballot, scheduled for December 5, supporters of Klein and Betkowski solicited new party members. That night "almost 80,000 votes were cast [and] 60% were in support of Ralph Klein."[111]

Nine days later, on December 14, approximately 200 people comprising Members of the Legislative Assembly and their guests[112] made their way to Alberta's historic Government House to witness Lieutenant Governor T. Gordon Towers administer the oath of office to Ralph Philip Klein.[113] In a light-hearted moment, the Lieutenant Governor, referring to the members of the Klein Cabinet who were to be sworn in the following day, reminded Klein that, "in the speech from the throne, I refer to them as my government and my ministers." The smiling Premier immediately quipped, "I'm so glad, sir, that they are your ministers. I'm going to remember that when something goes wrong."[114]

### As Premier

By the end of January 1993, what would become known as 'The Klein Revolution'[115] had ushered in fundamental shifts in public policy and government administration, based upon the debt-elimination and fiscal-restraint program overseen by Sir Roger O. Douglas,[116] New Zealand's controversial Finance Minister[117] (1984–1988).[118] Denied credit by international lenders because of its difficult fiscal situation,[119] the Government of New Zealand, under the guidance of Douglas, had removed many controls over the economy, invoked measures to privatize public assets and "called aspects of the welfare state into question."[120] Influenced by the Douglas reforms, Klein took immediate steps to move Alberta Government policies closer to the New Zealand model.[121]

The day after he took office, Premier Klein downsized Cabinet from 26 to 17 Ministers and replaced 22 former Government committees with four 'super committees.'*[122] Klein knew that the longevity of his Government depended on shifting fiscal policy and realigning expenditures to respond to reduced provincial revenue and a large public debt.[123] Privatization of some government services, partnerships with the private sector and a considerable reduction in the size of the public-sector workforce were components of the Klein administration's approach to fiscal planning.[124] Cabinet Ministers, Members of the Legislative Assembly[125] and civil servants took a five-per-cent salary cut as Klein privatized government services and proposed further reductions within the civil service and other areas of the public sector.[126]

Provincial Treasurer James 'Jim' F. Dinning (1992–1997)[127] appointed Marshall M. Williams as Chair of the 1993 Alberta Financial Review Commission,[128] charged with reporting on the true state of public accounts.[129] Williams' final report identified "a structural deficit"[130] whereby Alberta's revenues were "permanently smaller than expenditures."[131] The Commission concluded that an approach wherein revenue and program spending were 'balanced' should be implemented to eliminate Alberta's $2.16 billion deficit and $22.96 billion debt.[132] Debt payments alone absorbed more than 10 per cent of the Government's annual budget.[133]

---

* During his tenure as Premier, Klein has held a number of Cabinet portfolios: Minister Responsible for the Personnel Administration Office (1992–1997), Minister Responsible for the Northern Alberta Development Council (1992–1999), Minister of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs (1993–1994), Minister Responsible for the Public Affairs Bureau (1993– ), Minister of Economic Development and Tourism (1994–1995) and Minister Responsible for the International Trade Offices (1994–1995).

On budget day, May 6, 1993, Provincial Treasurer Jim Dinning announced a 20-per-cent cut over four years in overall government spending in a bid to balance the budget.[134] The Legislative Assembly amended the provisions of the Members' pension plan by enacting the *Members of the Legislative Assembly Pension Plan Amendment Act, 1993*.[135] The sweeping changes to the Members' pensions originated from the deliberations of the Members' Services Committee of the Legislative Assembly.*[136] Throughout 1994, public-sector employees, students, medical professionals, teachers, artists and senior citizens protested the budget cuts.[137] Memorable amongst the 1994 demonstrations was the rally against the downgrading of the full-service, 520-bed Grey Nuns Hospital in southeast Edmonton into a 130-bed community health centre. On September 8, serious concern about health-care cuts drew an estimated 10,000 people to a park in south Edmonton close to the hospital grounds.[138] Additionally, in a show of 'Grey Power,' Alberta's seniors protested against cuts to housing, health-care benefits and other subsidies.[139] Such far-reaching reductions exposed the Government to intense scrutiny. In his 1993 annual report, the Auditor General questioned the Government's making $2.4 billion in cuts before determining the costs of basic services.[140]

On June 15, 1993, the Progressive Conservatives were returned to office, winning 51 of out of a total of 83 seats,†[141] with a mandate for fiscal reform, deficit and debt elimination. Klein would later indicate that his Government adopted a policy to "get out of the business of business,"[142] a philosophy consistent with the New Zealand privatization model.[143] On September 3, 1993, Minister of Municipal Affairs Dr. Stephen C. West‡ dismantled the Alberta Liquor Control

---

* The *Special Select Committee of the Legislature on Members' Services* ('Members' Services Committee') is an all-party committee, chaired by the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, which is authorized to administer all compensation and benefits owed to Members of the Legislative Assembly. It is empowered do so through the *Legislative Assembly Act*. Alberta. Legislative Assembly. Select Committee on the Rules, Orders and Forms of Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, *Report on House Rules*, vol. 1 (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 1973), pp. vi–vii; "Special Standing Committee: Members' Services Committee Mandate," Assembly Documents and Records, *Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta), accessed 10 March 2006, available from http://www.assembly.ab.ca/net/index.aspx?p=adr_home

† Although the Progressive Conservatives formed a majority government, Albertans elected 32 Opposition Members—the largest Opposition in the history of Alberta to date.

‡ First elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta as the representative for the constituency of Vermilion-Viking in the provincial general election of 1986, Dr. Stephen West, Doctor of Veterinary Medicine, held a number of Cabinet portfolios including: Minister of Recreation and Parks (1989–1992); Solicitor General (1992); Minister of Municipal Affairs (1992–1994); Minister of Transportation and Utilities (1994–1996); Minister of Economic Development and Tourism (1996–1997); Minister of Energy (1997–1999); Minister of Resource Development (1999–2000); and Provincial Treasurer (2000–2001).

Board, selling more than 200 liquor retail outlets and potentially eliminating 1,500 public-sector jobs.[144] Addressing Albertans on the evening of January 17, 1994, Ralph Klein explained the urgent need for 'fundamental change'[145] in order to 'preserve our quality of life.'[146] Spending for education,* health and social services, as well as transfers to municipalities, were all reduced.[147] By year's end, Klein sought what Minister of Labour Stockwell B. Day (1992–1996)† called a "recession-proof government operation."[148] The number of government departments had been reduced from 26 to 17,[149] while more than 200 health and hospital boards gave way to 17 "government-appointed regional health authorities."[150]

Alberta's civil service was charged with developing innovative, cost-effective measures for fiscal reform, which would preclude increases to personal taxes or a provincial sales tax.‡[151] To recognize success in these endeavours, Premier Klein inaugurated the Premier's Award of Excellence in 1995,[152] celebrating superior service and business excellence exhibited by the public service.[153]

Privatization efforts designed to improve service delivery for Albertans continued into 1994, when motor vehicle registration and driver testing, land titles, road construction and maintenance and provincial park operations were privatized.[154] The Government had acted on its commitment "to get out of the business of business."[155] There were, however, notable exceptions to the rule.[156] For example, in 1994, Ralph Klein consulted two senior Cabinet Ministers and Alberta Treasury Branches (ATB)§ with respect to refinancing negotiations for West Edmonton Mall.[157] Newspaper accounts described a memo in which Klein indicated to Provincial Treasurer Jim Dinning and Minister of Economic Development and Tourism Kenneth R. Kowalski,** that he favoured an 'Alberta solution'[158] to the mega-mall's faltering finances as an alternative to Ontario-based financing.[159] A refinancing package for West Edmonton Mall was eventually crafted by the Acting Superintendent of Treasury Branches, Elmer Leahy.[160] Four years later, Treasury Branches filed suit against the mall and Leahy, claiming that the 1994 refinancing terms were "not commercially reasonable and obtained by secret commissions or bribes paid to Leahy."[161] Concluding his investigation in February 1999, Provincial Auditor General C. Peter Valentine "could not find any evidence that any elected official gave a direct order for ATB to provide the October 1994 financing to WEM."[162] This issue embroiled the Government in controversy and involved the Premier and several key Ministers in more than four years of litigation.[163]

---

* The number of school boards was to be reduced from 160 to approximately 60. Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Talking with Albertans - Building on the Alberta Advantage: Reaching the Destination Together. Excerpts: Premier's Televised Address January 17, 1994* (Government of Alberta, 1994), [p. 3].

† Stockwell Day was Member of the Legislative Assembly for Red Deer North from 1986 to 2000. On July 11, 2000, he left provincial politics, later becoming leader of the newly formed federal Canadian Reform Conservative Alliance. After the 2000 federal election, Day became Leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Commons. Facing criticism from within his Party, Day resigned as leader on December 12, 2001 and was a candidate in the ensuing leadership convention, in which he was defeated by Stephen Harper. Alberta. Office of the Premier, Cabinet Changes Announced by Premier Klein, 2 June 2000, [News Release]; Norm Ovenden, "Day's Out … but Hints He's in," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 December 2001, p. A2; Larry Johnsrude, "First-Ballot Triumph Reflects Desire for Change," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 March 2002, p. A1.

‡ As of May 2005, Alberta is the only Canadian province that does not impose a provincial sales tax.

§ In November 1938, Alberta Treasury Branches (ATB) were established to work with the Alberta credit unions and co-operatives to maintain Albertans' access to funds. In those days, ATB was operated as part of the provincial Treasury Department. In 1997, this financial institution was restructured to operate as a Crown Corporation and a Board of Directors was appointed. Today, the institution operates as 'ATB Financial.' *The Treasury Branches Act*, S.A. 1938 (2nd Sess.), c. 3, ss. 3-5; Palmer and Palmer, *Alberta: A New History*, p. 274; *Alberta Treasury Branches Act*, R.S.A. 2000, c. A-37, ss. 2(1), 3; "ATB Becomes Crown Corporation," *Vancouver Sun*, 10 October 1997, p. E3; *ATB Financial*, [Internet], (ATB Financial: 2006), accessed 11 May 2006, available from http://www.atb.com

** Kowalski served as Deputy Premier from 1992 to 1994 and, since April 14, 1997, has held the position of Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

Throughout 1993 and 1994 Klein and Dinning pursued a balanced budget and debt-reduction program. Deficit budgeting was prohibited by means of the *Deficit Elimination Act.**[164] This law was followed in 1995 by the *Balanced Budget and Debt Retirement Act.*[165]

During speaking engagements in 1994, Premier Klein expanded upon the Government's concept of the 'Alberta Advantage,' emphasizing Alberta's potential as a 'haven for investment.'[166] Deregulation would result in job creation without government loan guarantees or subsidies.[167] Other investment incentives included "the youngest, most skilled, and most educated workforce in Canada."[168] Low personal income taxes and fuel taxes as well as the absence of a provincial sales tax were also heralded as key components of 'The Alberta Advantage.'[169] The phrase would be co-opted by Klein critics to highlight the negative social effects of deep budget cuts.[170] Protests rained down on the Klein Government from every sector because of the extensive cuts in social spending, which resulted in significant reductions in government services; the rollback of public-sector wages and benefits; and proposed "user fees for non-essential medical services."[171]

In the fall of 1995, the Premier's personal affairs were also subjected to public scrutiny. Liberal Member Frank Bruseker† (Calgary North-West)[172] raised the spectre of conflict of interest charges over the Premier's 1993 opening of the overseas offices of Alberta-based Multi-Corp Inc. two years previously[173] and Multi-Corp stock purchases in 1993 by the Premier's wife Colleen Klein. Two investigations by the Ethics Commissioner, however, exonerated the Kleins of any wrongdoing.[174]

As the 23rd Legislature drew to a close, Premier Klein contended with 'major challenges' in public health care, precipitated by escalating costs, an aging population and increased demand for specialty services:

> How do we deal with rising public expectations, on limited public resources? Exactly what can we afford? And how do we decide what gets funded? There are no easy answers. But unless we start looking for them, our ability to maintain comprehensive and reasonable access—the pillars of our health care system—will be threatened.[175]

---

* *The Deficit Elimination Act* stated, "expenditures during a fiscal year must not result in a deficit of more than the following: (a) for the 1993–94 fiscal year, $2,500,000,000; (b) for the 1994–95 fiscal year, $1,800,000,000; (c) for the 1995–96 fiscal year, $800,000,000; (d) for the 1996–97 and each subsequent fiscal year, $0." *Deficit Elimination Act*, S.A. 1993, c. D-6.5, s. 2.

† Bruseker was elected president of the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA) in 2003.

In Klein's view, solutions to health-care challenges lay, in part, within the private sector.[176] Although the issue of privatization of health services would later prove highly controversial, Albertans announced their support for Klein's fiscal reforms at the ballot box.[177] On March 11, 1997, the Progressive Conservatives were returned to power, with 63 out of a total of 83 seats, representing an increase of 12 seats as compared to the results of the 1993 election.[*][178]

Signalling a commitment to transparency, the Legislative Assembly had passed the *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act* (FOIPP),[179] which was granted Royal Assent on June 1, 1994, securing the rights of individuals to access public records subject to specific exceptions, such as those related to public security and personal privacy.[180] A suite of laws eventually expanded the FOIPP initiatives, including the *Health Information Act* (1999)[181] and the *Personal Information Protection Act* (2003).[182]

From 1997 onwards, the Klein Government regularly subjected proposed policies and initiatives to the litmus test of public consultation. Albertans participated in a series of summits, each dedicated to a specific aspect of the province's future. For instance, on February 4 and 5, 2002, in Red Deer, Klein convened the Future Summit, during which Albertans provided direct input concerning the future of the province with respect to governance, fiscal responsibility, communities, health, learning and the environment.[†] Recommendations emerging out of the Future Summit's final report of May 2002 were "incorporated into [the] government's plans and priorities."[183]

During the late 1990s there emerged within the Klein administration a "horizontal policy-making culture,"[184] in which knowledge and expertise were drawn from a variety of ministries to improve programming and service delivery and to promote efficiency and cost-savings across government departments.[185] This collaborative process employs sophisticated planning models to support initiative funding, the results of which are measured against projected outcomes. Premier Klein's leadership provided the original impetus for the development of these cross-ministry initiatives.[186]

In 1998, policies of fiscal restraint led the Government into conflict with Alberta's Provincial Court judges over salaries and pension benefits. That year, the Klein Government rejected the Judicial Compensation Commission's recommendations for increases to Provincial Court judges' salaries and adjustments to their pensions[187] and instead issued an Order in Council substituting alternative salary and pension terms.[188] The Alberta Provincial Judges' Association filed a statement of claim challenging the constitutionality of the Order in Council and arguing as legally insufficient the Government's reasons for setting aside the Commission's recommendations.[189] At issue was the principle of judicial independence. In his decision in *Provincial Judges' Association (Alberta) v. Alberta* (1999), Justice Gregory R. Forsyth of the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench explained:[190]

---

[*] The results of the 1997 provincial general election were: Progressive Conservatives: 63; Liberals: 18; and New Democrats: 2.

[†] Other summits included: Growth Summit (1997), Provincial Education Summit (1997), Justice Summit (1999) and the Health Summit (1999). Alberta. Public Affairs Bureau, Alberta Growth Summit Final Report Delivered to Premier Klein, 28 October 1997, [News Release]; Alberta. Dept. of Education, Provincial Education Summit Announced, 27 June 1997, [News Release]; Alberta. Dept. of Justice and Attorney General, Justice Summit Report Sets Blueprint for Future, 22 April 1999, [News Release]; Alberta. Health Summit '99, Health Summit '99 Opens, 25 February 1999, [News Release].

> Without judicial independence, political or economic pressure could be exerted on judges to decide certain matters in certain ways. The aspect of judicial independence at issue in this case is financial security. Judges are not constitutionally allowed to negotiate their own compensation. To ensure financial security for provincial court judges, the Supreme Court of Canada requires an independent, effective and objective 'compensation commission' to receive facts and submissions from both parties and from any members of the public who wish to be involved. That commission then makes recommendations.[191]

The Government was unsuccessful in its appeal of Justice Forsyth's decision, and in July 1999, the Alberta Court of Appeal imposed the 1998 Compensation Commission recommendations upon the Klein Government.[192]

Class-action litigation involving compensation for victims of a long-defunct government program would also be settled in November 1999. A settlement of $82 million was awarded to 246 Albertans[193] sterilized under *The Sexual Sterilization Act* of 1928,[194] which had been repealed in 1972.[195] On January 25, 1996, Justice Joanne B. Veit of the Court of Queen's Bench in Edmonton had awarded the single litigant, Lellani (Leilani) M. Muir, $740,780 in damages for the pain and suffering she had endured.[196] Justice Veit's judgment against the Province resulted in the Government's subsequently defending both class-action and individual suits. The Klein Government proposed an out-of-court resolution to the litigation.[197] On November 3, 1999, David G. Hancock,[198] Minister of Justice and Attorney General (1999–2004) and Government House Leader (1999– ), issued a "heartfelt apology on behalf of the province," regretting this sad chapter in Alberta's history, before announcing the settlement package.[199]

In 1998, the Government of Alberta endeavoured to proactively address the problem of child prostitution. On January 27, in the Second Session of the 24th Legislature, Premier Klein introduced Bill 1, the *Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act*.[200] This Act aimed to enable the authorities to remove underage youths from prostitution, place them into limited protective confinement and provide them with medical support and counselling to assist them in leaving prostitution.[201] This Bill was passed by the Legislative Assembly on February 24, 1998 and received Royal Assent on February 26.[202]

In 2000, Bill 11, the controversial *Health Care Protection Act*,[203] was passed during the May 10 evening sitting of the Legislative Assembly.[204] As Members debated, Albertans protested, registering their deep concern for the future of public health care. Government House Leader Hancock moved closure on the debate, which exposed the Alberta Government to pointed criticism.[205] The Bill 11 controversy pitted the Klein Government against federal forces in Ottawa, led by Prime Minister J. J. Jean Chrétien (1993–2003) and federal Minister of Health[206] Allan Rock (1997–2002),[207] and divided opinion amongst Canadians nationwide.[208]

By 1998, the Government of Alberta, in an initiative led by Minister of Energy Dr. Stephen West, commenced the deregulation of the province's electrical utility industry.[209] West articulated the Government's plans:

> A large part of Alberta's electricity industry can and will be deregulated. Regulation of a market that can be competitive is unnecessary, is costly to consumers, stifles innovation, and reduces the incentive to be more efficient.[210]

Such competition, stated West, would "give customers choice, encourage efficiency and mean a downward pressure on rates."[211] In the spring of 1998, West introduced Bill 27 (later the *Electric Utilities Amendment Act, 1998*[212]), mandating electricity deregulation, despite escalating protests from Opposition Members.[213] Critics warned that deregulation was proceeding under pressure from special interest groups and in the absence of a full understanding of its application in other jurisdictions.[214] Industry leader and ATCO Chair Ron Southern denounced deregulation as an 'unfair and unjust scheme.'[215]

Throughout the late summer and fall of 1998, the media reported that Albertans might face winter power interruptions threatening 'millions of dollars' in losses to businesses.[216] Alberta's growth had outstripped the region's power generation capabilities.[217] Power companies had been deferring electrical generator construction for some years owing to the uncertainty raised by deregulation. In the late 1990s, power-generation capacity did not keep up with the growth in demand, resulting in a marked shortage of supply.[218] Prices soared as residential and corporate consumers became increasingly concerned.[219] By November 2000, an Edmonton plastics manufacturer warned that the "potentially devastating" effects of "outrageous" electricity price increases might force the relocation of the plant.[220]

Reassuring Albertans that their concerns had been heard, West, now Provincial Treasurer, announced that more than two million government rebate cheques would arrive in mailboxes by November 30, "just as Albertans [would be] receiving energy bills for the first month of winter."[221] In December, Premier Klein candidly acknowledged that deregulation had not gone as planned and immediately introduced initiatives to protect Albertans from rising electricity costs and a "240% increase in the market price of natural gas."[222] Another measure established a one-year hiatus on rate increases and imposed limits on the base rate for small electricity users.[223] Despite the Government's intervention, Alberta businesses were still concerned about limited growth and cancelled research and expansion projects owing to rising energy costs.[224]

On February 12, 2001, at the opening of the Fifth Session of the 24th Legislature, Lieutenant Governor Lois E. Hole read the Speech from the Throne, highlighting the Government's vision for the economy, agriculture, energy, health care, learning and Alberta's communities.[225] Upon his return to the Chamber,* Premier Klein immediately informed those assembled that "Her Honour [had] consented to issuing a writ" for a March 12 provincial election.[226] Energy costs and electricity deregulation, together with education and health care, became the central issues of the ensuing campaign.[227] The Progressive Conservatives were returned for a third term with 74 out of a total of 83 seats,[228] their largest majority during Klein's tenure to date. During the First Session of the 25th Legislature, Royal Assent was given to the *Natural Gas Protection Act*,[229] shielding Albertans from sudden increases in natural gas costs.[230] Deregulation of electricity had posed significant problems, including increased electricity prices for industrial and residential customers.[231] Nevertheless, by April 2004, representatives of Alberta's power producers spoke openly of deregulation's having resulted in system efficiencies and competition in the energy marketplace.[232]

Health-care reform once again dominated the agenda in 2001 and 2002, as the Klein Government, "frustrated by the snail's pace of change," sought to address pressing issues, including rising medical costs.[233] To this end, Klein established an Advisory Council "to review Alberta's … health system." Former Deputy Prime Minister Donald 'Don' F. Mazankowski (1986–1993) was selected to chair the Council.[234] Released at the end of 2001, 'The Mazankowski Report' included what Klein termed 'pretty revolutionary' recommendations for covering the cost of health-care reforms.[235] On January 25, 2002, provincial Premiers and territorial leaders met in Vancouver to discuss strategies for reforming health care.[236] The reaction of the other Premiers to the Mazankowski Report was not entirely favourable. Instead, they opted to explore less drastic changes to the principles of Canada's publicly funded heath-care system.[237] Despite a long-standing and often polemical public debate, the Klein administration continues to emphasize a role for the private sector in health-care delivery.[238]

In 1997, many industrialized nations supported the international Kyoto Protocol,† which proposed reducing global greenhouse gas emissions an average of five per cent below 1990 levels by the year 2012.[239] Five years elapsed, however, before federal Environment Minister David Anderson (1999–2004)[240] announced Canada's plans to ratify the 1997 agreement by June 2002.[241] The Kyoto Accord came into force in Canada on February 16, 2005.[242]

Anderson's announcement generated a national debate on the economic risks versus the ecological benefits associated with the Kyoto Accord. Aside from emphasizing the environmental benefits of Kyoto, proponents of the Accord argued that government-sponsored environmental initiatives would contribute to Canada's economic prosperity and competitiveness in the global market.[243] Premier Klein held the opposing view. He maintained that the costs associated with meeting the Accord's ambitious 2012 emission targets would discourage investment—a significant risk to

---

* It is customary for the Premier to depart the Chamber, in the company of the Sergeant-at-Arms and the Clerk of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, in order to attend upon the Vice-Regal Party and escort it into and from (this time without the Clerk) the Chamber on the occasion of the Lieutenant Governor's delivery of the Speech from the Throne. A Speech from the Throne opens each Session of the Legislative Assembly.

† The full name of this document is: Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Alberta's resource-based economy.[244] Klein opposed the ratification of Kyoto in an open letter to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien[245] and proposed that Kyoto's economic risks be discussed at a First Ministers' Conference.[246] Supported by Alberta's municipal associations,[247] Klein convened an advisory committee of industry and government leaders, chaired by former Premier E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985), to "advise [the] government on the implications of ratifying the Kyoto Protocol, and [on] possible responses, including legal action and writing new laws to protect the province."[248]

Government of Alberta analysts insisted that the Kyoto Accord called for unrealistic reductions in emissions, which would be detrimental to Alberta's economic viability.[249] One report from the Conference Board of Canada concluded that a "lack of clarity around implementation specifics may lead some energy producers and large energy consumers to postpone or cancel major investments."[250] In November 2002, Husky Energy deferred plans for a $1.5 billion expansion of its Lloydminster, Saskatchewan, heavy-oil upgrader and contemplated delaying oil-sands projects in northern Alberta due to its apprehension about increased costs associated with Kyoto.[251] Despite Alberta's concerns, the Chrétien Government announced the ratification of the Kyoto Accord on December 17, 2002.[252]

Earlier that year, some of Alberta's teachers, having endured funding and wage cuts a decade earlier, staged a bitter strike, seeking salary increases and improved classroom conditions.[253] Polls indicated that two-thirds of Albertans supported the Government's declaring the strike a public emergency and ordering teachers back to their classrooms.[254] The back-to-work order, however, failed a judicial review. On March 1, 2002, Chief Justice Allan H. Wachowich of the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench ruled that the Government had acted prematurely in declaring the strike a public emergency.[255] The Klein Government responded by introducing Bill 12, the *Education Services Settlement Act*, which was granted Royal Assent on March 14, 2002, ordering the teachers to binding arbitration and effectively suspending their right to strike for 18 months.[256]

Starting in the early 21st century, the issue of same-sex marriage became a very significant social and legislative question in Alberta and throughout Canada. In the preamble to Alberta's *Marriage Act* (2000), marriage is defined as a union "between a man and a woman [that] has from time immemorial been firmly grounded in our legal tradition, one that is itself a reflection of long standing philosophical and religious traditions."[257] However, this traditional view was beginning to be challenged. An Ontario Superior Court of Justice decision of July 12, 2002 declared Canada's law on marriage to be unconstitutional, since it recognized only unions between members of the opposite sex.[258] In response to the ruling, the Klein Government declared itself prepared to invoke the notwithstanding clause,* contained within the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, so as to "use every legal means at its disposal to ensure the traditional meaning of marriage."[259]

---

* Under section 33(1) of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, Parliament or provincial Legislatures may declare that an "Act or provision … shall operate notwithstanding a provision" included in specified sections of the Charter. *Constitution Act, 1982*, being Schedule B to the *Canada Act 1982* (U.K.), 1982, c. 11, s. 33(1).

Over the next year, appeal courts in both Ontario and British Columbia ruled that prevailing definitions of marriage violated the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* by precluding the marriage of same-sex couples.[260] The Government of Canada announced that it would not appeal these rulings and, moreover, that it would "draft legislation to legally recognize the union of same-sex couples, while recognizing the freedom of churches and religious organizations not to perform marriages against their beliefs."[*][261]

In Alberta, by late 2002, the Klein Government had forged a compromise position.[262] On December 3, the Legislative Assembly of Alberta passed the *Adult Interdependent Relationships Act*, which recognized and protected financial and property rights of 'adult interdependent partner[s].'[263] Such partnerships were defined as "people in non-married relationships involving economic and emotional interdependency."[264] Furthermore, while acknowledging the traditional definition of marriage, the *Adult Interdependent Relationships Act* entrenched the rights of individuals living within a range of interdependent relationships, including same-sex relationships, and recognized the appropriateness of defining "a legal context for the nature of those interdependent relationships and [of setting] out the applicability of Alberta laws to them."[265]

The controversial issue of auto insurance rates, first raised in November 2002,[266] rose to the fore in 2003 and continued into 2004, as the Consumers' Association of Canada revealed that Albertans were subject to substantially higher premiums than those charged to publicly insured drivers in British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba.[†][267] Albertans were alarmed at rapidly rising insurance rates. The Klein administration commissioned a review committee headed by Robert 'Rob' W. Renner,[268] Member for Medicine Hat.[269] By late August 2003, the Government faced criticism with respect to the 'narrowly focused' makeup of the 'insurance industry all-star team'[270] review committee[‡][271] and the exclusion of the public from committee deliberations.[272]

---

[*] On December 9, 2004, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that the proposed federal legislation conformed to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. *Reference re: Same-Sex Marriage*, [2004] 3 S.C.R. 698.

[†] The provinces of British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Quebec each operate public auto insurance programs. The issue of auto insurance rates proved a critical election issue in the Province of New Brunswick. Premier Bernard J. Lord (1999– ) narrowly retained a two-seat majority in 2003 as voters registered their deep resentment over escalating auto insurance rates. Upon returning to power, Lord immediately struck a committee to investigate the best public insurance option for New Brunswick. The committee's final report was tabled in the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick on April 2, 2004. Richard Foot, "Lord Warns Fellow Premiers to Heed Auto Insurance Rage," *Ottawa Citizen*, 11 June 2003, p. C10; "N.B. Considers Public Auto Insurance Plan," *Daily News* (Halifax), 3 April 2004, p. 13.

[‡] Members of the Automobile Insurance Reform Implementation Team included: Co-chair and Member of the Legislative Assembly for Medicine Hat, Rob Renner; Co-chair and Calgary lawyer John 'Jack' Donahue, QC; Calgary lawyer Brian Kapusianyk; Edmonton lawyer Shelley Miller, QC; Gregg Hanson, chief executive officer of Wawanesa Insurance and deputy chair of the Insurance Bureau of Canada; Nick Geer, chair of the Insurance Company of British Columbia; and Alain Thibault, president of Meloche Monnex. Jerry Ward, "Tory Driven to Revolt!: MLA Raps Car Insurance Study Group," *Edmonton Sun*, 20 August 2003, p. 3.

Attempting to reassure the governing caucus, Finance Minister Patricia 'Pat' L. Nelson* announced that a new regulatory framework for the auto insurance industry, protecting injury victims' rights to sue for medical, rehabilitation, loss of income or other expenses,[273] could be expected as soon as October 2003.[274] Nevertheless, persistent concern expressed by government caucus members with respect to proposed limits of $4,000 for minor injury claims stalled the Government's plans for an October announcement on insurance reform.[275] Furthermore, Opposition Members complained that the Government-imposed freeze on auto insurance premiums, at an average rate that was 57 per cent higher than in the previous year, was a measure that would have little positive effect: "That's 57 per cent too high," stated New Democrat Opposition Member Brian Mason.[276] Finally, on December 3, 2003, the Legislative Assembly passed the *Insurance Amendment Act, 2003 (No. 2)*,[277] capping minor injury claims and enacting the premium-rate freeze, amongst other things.[278]

On the evening of January 27, 2003, Ralph Klein addressed Albertans in his 10th annual televised speech.[279] In his trademark plain-spoken style, the veteran Premier reiterated the Government's commitment to progress and its immediate priorities:

> Alberta is already a Canadian leader in so many areas, but we won't stay at the head of the pack if we stand still, if we stop looking for new and better ways to do things. In other words, 'good enough' isn't good enough. Not for this province, not for you, not for me. We've got a job to do, and we're going to do it.[280]

Alberta's long-term growth would be secured via the investment of government surpluses in a 'sustainability fund' to buffer provincial budgets from fluctuations in world energy prices.[281] Innovation in the provision of sustainable health care would remain on the Government agenda and form the basis of future federal-provincial discussions.[282] In Klein's view, Albertans would benefit from public-private partnerships in infrastructure development.[283]

From the spring of 2003 through 2005, the Klein Government contended with the economically devastating 'mad-cow' disease, or Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE),† first reported in Alberta on May 20, 2003.[284] With the United States, the largest export market for Canadian beef, closing its border to live Canadian cattle and other beef products, the Klein Government participated in a federal-provincial compensation program for beef producers while working to open the border to the south.[285] Controversy erupted over the Government's relief efforts as beef producers claimed that the majority of the compensation funds allotted to the industry had failed to reach Alberta ranchers and instead benefited large meat-packing plant operators.[286] Alberta's Auditor General, Frederick J. Dunn, investigated the ranchers' allegations and issued his report on July 27, 2004.[287] Dunn concluded that the goals of the program were met, although he conceded that "the value obtained from cattle" had shifted from cattle producers to Alberta's meat packers,[288] whose profits had almost tripled* since the first outbreak of BSE.[289]

---

* Pat Nelson, as Patricia L. Black, was first elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta in 1989 as the Member for Calgary-Foothills. Cabinet and senior legislative positions followed when she became Minister of Energy (1992–1997); Deputy Government House Leader (1993); Minister of Economic Development and Tourism (1997); Minister of Economic Development (1997–1999); Minister of Government Services (1999–2001); and Minister of Finance and Chair of Treasury Board (2001–2004).

† BSE is a chronic, progressive degenerative disease of the central nervous system, fatal to cattle. It was first officially recognized in the United Kingdom in 1986. BSE is linked to Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease in humans. "Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy," *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, [Internet Subscription Service], (Encylopaedia Britannica, 2006), accessed 14 February 2006, available from http://www.search.eb.com/eb/article-9002739; Gordon Macpherson, ed., *Black's Medical Dictionary*, 37th ed. (London: A & C Black, 1992), s.v. "Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy."

After the May discovery of BSE, Klein subsequently indicated that evidence suggested that no BSE-infected meat had entered the food system.[290] However, despite Government assurances regarding the safety of Alberta beef, the United States' border remained closed to Alberta and Canadian beef exports. The Klein Government vowed to actively support re-establishing live cattle and beef product exports to the United States. For this reason, amongst others, in December 2004, the Government appointed former Alberta Minister of Energy Murray D. Smith as director of the Alberta Office in Washington, DC, officially opened by Premier Klein in March 2005.[291] In late December 2004, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) announced that it would lift the ban on live imports from Canada for cattle younger than 30 months starting on or about March 7, 2005.[292] However, on March 2, 2005, the Ranchers-Cattlemen Action Legal Fund, United Stockgrowers of America (R-CALF), a Montana-based lobby group for American cattle interests, successfully petitioned the United States federal courts for an injunction preventing the reopening of the border to live Canadian cattle.[293]

At the close of 2003, public disagreements between Premier Klein and some of his senior Ministers[294] led to speculation of general discord within Cabinet.[295] In February 2004, Klein announced the return of former Cabinet Minister Dr. Stephen West as his Chief of Staff, commencing in June.[296] The appointment generated anxiety amongst Opposition Members,[297] who cited the appointment as clear evidence of a "strong shift to the right by the Tory government."[298] West had overseen many of the far-reaching cuts of 1993/1994, making the return of 'Dr. No' to the Alberta Legislature of particular concern to health-care advocates.[299]

Throughout his long career, Premier Klein has eschewed formalities preferring to introduce himself as 'Ralph.'[300] He displays an extraordinary openness regarding personal matters related to his role as Premier.[301] On December 18, 2001, Klein publicly acknowledged a long-standing 'drinking problem'[302] and gratefully accepted many messages of support from colleagues and constituents.[303] "It's been wonderful," Klein said; "It's given me even more resolve not to let these people down."[304]

As a former journalist, Premier Klein holds a keen insight into the workings of the media. Klein's ability to engage successfully with local, national and international press in both impromptu and highly structured interviews is well-known. Also undisputed is Klein's masterful management of public discourse. Klein's ability to connect with constituents flows from extensive travel throughout Alberta. Premier Klein describes his travels as an opportunity to 'take the pulse of

---

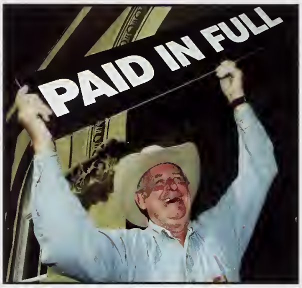
* Dunn explained that the large increase in profits was also due to "supply and demand forces at work in a 'distorted market'." Darcy Henton, "Mad Cow Triples Meat-Packer Profits," *Prince Albert Daily Herald*, 4 August 2004, p. 13.

[the] province.'[305] From unscheduled media scrums, to highly publicized annual 'fireside chats,' Premier Klein has established a new standard of broadcast savvy for Canadian politicians.

In 1997, in his book entitled *Shredding the Public Interest*, Dr. Kevin E. Taft described Alberta's Public Affairs Bureau (PAB), once a non-partisan public information service, as now including "trained and experienced specialists in public relations, the media, and political marketing."[306] The PAB reports not to Cabinet, but to the Premier directly.[307] Critics of Klein's structuring and expansion of the PAB, such as Taft, argue that it has become the *de facto* "marketing department"[308] of the Progressive Conservative Party, wherein staff "defend, deflect, and deny criticism."[309] Taft suggested that the private-sector approach to marketing had 'rubbed off on government.'[310] Later, as an Opposition Member (Edmonton-Riverview 2001– ) and as Leader of the Official Opposition (2004– ), Taft continued to question the Premier on the role and function of the PAB.[311] Klein explained that the PAB "help[s] government ministries to communicate with Albertans" by providing cost-efficient, centralized services[312] and that it "disseminates information relative to the myriad activities that take place within government."[313]

On July 12, 2004, Premier Klein, surrounded by his caucus, announced that Alberta had retired the remainder of the $23 billion provincial debt. Funds totalling $3 billion dollars would be set aside and protected by legislation to remit fully Alberta's debt, which a decade earlier had totalled $8,400 for "every man, woman and child in Alberta."[314] The jubilant Premier once again involved Albertans in the Government planning process through the *It's Your Future* survey, conducted in August 2004, in which Albertans announced their priorities to be health care, education and environmental issues:[315]

> We enjoy a vibrant economy and a quality of life second to none thanks to the hard work and wise choices of Albertans. Now, in a debt-free province, we have some more choices to make—exciting choices. And Albertans will again be involved and instrumental in shaping their future.[316]



Premier R.P. Klein announces the retirement of Alberta's debt (July 12, 2004).

Klein indicated that part of his reason for contesting the provincial general election in 2004 was the opportunity to preside over Alberta's 2005 Centennial Celebrations.[317] On November 22, 2004, Ralph Klein's Progressive Conservatives were elected to a fourth term, with another majority government. However, popular support for the Progressive Conservative Party had decreased compared with the 2001 election results: the Klein governing caucus now held 62 seats out of a total of 83 seats in the Legislative Assembly and 46.8 per cent of the popular vote, compared with 74 seats out of a total of 83 seats and 61.9 per cent in the 2001 provincial general election.[318] Following the November 2004 election, Klein indicated that "he would not be leading the Conservatives into another election."[319]

Premier R.P. Klein welcomes Queen Elizabeth II to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta (May 24, 2005). Left to Right: Premier Klein; Speaker of the Legislative Assembly K.R. Kowalski; and Queen Elizabeth II.

As the province turned 100, Klein had the opportunity to play a primary role in the Centennial celebrations, a key event in which was the royal visit to Saskatchewan and Alberta of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip in May 2005. On May 24, 2005, the Queen rededicated the Alberta Provincial Museum, which was henceforth named the Royal Alberta Museum. Premier Ralph P. Klein presided over the rededication and accompanied the Queen as she talked to Museum staff and patrons and toured the exhibits. Later that day, the Queen addressed the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, the first reigning monarch to do so.[320] Prior to the Address, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly Kenneth R. Kowalski and Premier Klein greeted the Queen and escorted her to the main doors of the Legislature Building, where Her Majesty unveiled six stained glass windows, five of which commemorate the monarchs who have reigned since Alberta became a province in 1905, and the last of which displays the various emblems of Alberta. After pausing in the Lieutenant Governor's Suite, the Queen was escorted into the Chamber by the Speaker.[321] In her Address, Her Majesty spoke of Alberta's pioneering history, its dynamic spirit and its bright future. She reaffirmed the commitment of the Crown "to represent everything that is best and most admired in the Canadian ideal" and wished Albertans a happy 100th birthday.[322] The Premier remarked that the Queen's visit to Alberta made the Centennial "all the more special and memorable. Her visit is indeed a great honour."[323]

## Honours and Awards

Ralph Klein "became the second white person in history to be adopted into the Siksika (Blackfoot) Nation" and was named 'Otskoipiiksi' or 'Blue Bird.'[324] In addition, Klein was awarded the Order of St. John (1986)[325] and accepted the International Olympic Committee's highest honour, the Olympic Order, on behalf of the City of Calgary (1988). He was the recipient of the Alberta Achievement Award and the Lion's Club Medal of Distinction for Service to Humanity.[326] The *Calgary Herald* named Ralph Klein 'Calgarian of the Decade' in 1989.[327] In 1992, he received the Governor General's Award.[328] In 1994, he received the Man of the Year Award from the International Young Entrepreneurs Organization,[329] the Colin M. Brown Freedom Medal from the National Citizens Coalition,[330] and the B'nai B'rith's Citizen of the Year Award.[331] In 1995, Klein was named the City of Calgary's 'Outstanding Citizen of the Century' and was the first recipient of the Fraser Institute's International Fiscal Performance Award.[332] In 1996, the Blood Nation made him an Honourary Chief in the Kainai Chieftainship.[333]

An Honourary Applied Technology degree was conferred upon the Premier by the Southern Alberta Institute of Technology (SAIT) in 1998.[334] In 2000, Klein was the recipient of an Honourary Applied degree (Olds College, Alberta).[335] In 2001, he received the Public Sector Leader Award at the Canadian Advanced Technology Alliance's Globetech Conference for contributions to a positive Canadian business environment.[336] During a June 2004 overseas tour, Premier Klein received an Honourary Doctor of Philosophy degree in Political Science from Kangwon National University of Korea.[337] At the September 1, 2004 commencement of Alberta's Centennial celebrations, Premier Klein was named an Honourary Centennial Ambassador.[338]

### Tributes

In 1989, Hal Joffe, president of the Calgary's Jewish Community Council, praised Premier Klein's accomplishments as mayor: "When he was needed he was there. He's the most memorable mayor in recent history in terms of accomplishment. He made great strides in moving this city toward a better footing on tolerance and understanding of one another."[339]

With respect to Klein's tenure as Premier, former Member for Calgary-West Elaine J. McCoy was quoted as saying that Klein "has the ability to zero in on issues that matter to the majority."[340] She further indicated: "He's got incredible instincts for identifying the issues on which there is huge consensus and acting in accordance. That's a talent and if you want a responsible government what more could you ask for?"[341] Peter Elzinga, former Deputy Premier and Member for Sherwood Park, said of Klein: "His openness and honesty is his greatest success. That's what people like."[342]

Alluding to the difficult period of fiscal restructuring in Alberta during the mid-1990s, Deputy Premier Shirley McClellan remarked that "as a government and a province we were incredibly fortunate to have at the helm a man of courage, a man of vision, and a man of conviction."[343] Brian Mason, leader of the New Democrat caucus, made the following comment about the Premier's fiscal achievements:

> [T]he Premier's most significant accomplishment has been his single-minded determination to pay off the debt. … While we may disagree on many things, I will say that this opens up many wonderful opportunities for our children and grandchildren.[344]

Of Klein's personal popularity, McClellan has said: "Above all else it's been his incredible connection with ordinary Albertans that has defined this man and his career and made him the most unique political leader of his time."[345] On a similar note, Dr. Kevin Taft, Leader of the Official Opposition, has remarked: "Most of us who have chosen careers in public life would love to have the same kind of rapport with the people that our Premier has."[346] In fact, Klein has been referred to as "the most popular Premier in Canadian history."[347]

---

### Postscript:

On September 20, 2006, the Honourable Ralph P. Klein announced his intention to resign from the Office of Premier of Alberta, this resignation to be effective when his successor is sworn in. On the Premier's last day in the Chamber, August 31, 2006, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, the Honourable Kenneth R. Kowalski, presented Klein with the chair that he occupied as Premier. "Klein Hands in Resignation Letter," *CBC.ca*, [Internet], (20 September 2006), accessed 21 September 2006, available from http://www.cbc.ca/canada/edmonton/story/2006/09/20/klein-resignation.htm; "Premier Klein Submits Resignation Letter, Proud to Serve Albertans," Premier Ralph Klein: News Stories for the Year 2006, *Government of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2006), accessed 21 September 2006, available from http://www.gov.ab.ca/premier/archived_stories.cfm?lnk=331#lnk331; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 26th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 31 August 2006, p. 1853.

## Notes

[1] Larry Johnsrude, "Alberta's New Premier: Klein Promises Open, Accessible Government," *Ottawa Citizen*, 15 December 1992, p. A3; "The Province Selects a New Party Leader," PC Alberta History, *Progressive Conservative Association of Alberta*, [Internet], (PC Association of Alberta, 2004), accessed 20 July 2004, available from http://www.albertapc.ab.ca/admin/contentx/default.cfm?PageId=4039

[2] Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 2001 ed. (Detroit: Gale Group, 2001), p. 610; Don Martin, *King Ralph: The Political Life and Success of Ralph Klein* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2002), pp. 23, 28.

[3] Pedigree of the Klein Family, May 2004, [Genealogy Chart], p. 6, [Klein and Drury Family History], comp. Donna Gieck McKinnon; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 28; Frank Dabbs, *Ralph Klein: A Maverick Life* (Vancouver: Greystone Books, 1995), p. 5; Tom Olsen, "Flo Gray a Major Ingredient in the Making of the Premier," *Calgary Herald*, 1 November 2004, p. A6.

[4] Pedigree of the Klein Family, p. 6; Martin, *King Ralph*, pp. 28, 30; Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, p. 8.

[5] Pedigree of the Klein Family, p. 6.

[6] Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 25; Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Andrew Klein, no. 2746354, for SW 22 39 7 W5, 25 July 1912, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2408, 1970.313. The closest post office was Prairie Grange.

[7] Pedigree of the Klein Family, p. 3; British Columbia. Vital Statistics Agency, "Andrew Klein," Burnaby, 14 October 1953, no. 1953-09-009968, [Death Registration], British Columbia Archives, Victoria, microfilm B13217.

[8] Pedigree of the Klein Family, pp. 1, 3-4; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 25; Freeda Fleming, ed., *The Days Before Yesterday* (Rocky Mountain House, AB: Rocky Mountain House Reunion Historical Society, 1977), p. 489.

[9] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Andrew Klein Household, 1911 Census of Canada, Alberta, district no. 5, Red Deer, sub-district 78, Township 39, Range 7, W5, schedule 1, p. 5, household 43, microfilm T-20330, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, accessed 5 May 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 25; Fleming, ed., *The Days Before Yesterday*, p. 489; Pat McDonald, *Where the River Brought Them: 200 Years at Rocky Mountain House &Area* (Rocky Mountain House, AB: Town of Rocky Mountain House, 2001), pp. 284–285.

[10] Wilhelmina Ethier, The Klein Family, May 2004, p. 1, [Klein and Drury Family History], comp. Donna Gieck McKinnon.

[11] Pedigree of the Klein Family, p. 1.

[12] Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 24; Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, p. 1.

[13] Ethier, The Klein Family, p. 1; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 24; Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, p. 1.

[14] Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, p. 1; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 24; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Kate Drury Record, 1901 British Census, London, district no. 25, Kensington, Brompton, St. Philip, folio 55, p. 17, household 70, Public Records Office Reference RG13, piece 38, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 16 May 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca

[15] United Kingdom. General Register Office, "Kate Drury," County of Essex, Witham, 15 February 1877, no. 303, [Certified Copy of Birth Registration], reproduced 7 June 2006; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Samuel Drury Household, 1881 British Census, Essex, district no. 7, Draintree, Witham, Hatfield Peverel, folio 95, p. 4, household 24, Public Records Office Reference RG11, piece 1809, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 12 May 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; Pedigree of the Klein Family, p. 3; The Family Drury, May 2004, p. 1, [Klein and Drury Family History], comp. Donna Gieck McKinnon.

[16] The Family Drury, pp. 1–3; United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Samuel Drury Household, 1881 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service].

[17] Marg Snow, The Drury Family, 29 June 1969, unpaginated, [Klein and Drury Family History], comp. Donna Gieck McKinnon.

[18] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Kate Drury Record, 1891 British Census, London, district no. 24, Kensington, Brompton, St. Cuthberts, folio 22, p. 40, household 199, Public Records Office Reference RG 12, piece 34, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 17 May 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca

[19] United Kingdom. Public Records Office, Kate Drury Record, 1901 British Census, [Internet Subscription Service].

[20] Ethier, The Klein Family, p. 1; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 24.

[21] Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, pp. 1–2; Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Andrew Klein, no. 2746354, for SW 22 39 7 W5; Ethier, The Klein Family, p. 1; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 25.

[22] Pedigree of the Klein Family, pp. 1, 3; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 25.

[23] Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Andrew Klein, no. 2746354, for SW 22 39 7 W5.

[24] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Andrew Klein Household, 1911 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Ethier, The Klein Family, p. 1.

[25] "Unexpected Death of Mrs. Andrew Kline," *Mountaineer* (Rocky Mountain House, AB), 11 June 1924, p. 1.

[26] Ethier, The Klein Family, pp. 1–2.

[27] British Columbia. Vital Statistics Agency, "Andrew Klein," [Death Registration]; "Klein, [Andrew]," [Obituary], *Vancouver Province*, 10 October 1953, p. 33; Pedigree of the Klein Family, p. 3; Ethier, The Klein Family, p. 1.

[28] Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, p. 5.

[29] Marsha Erb, *Stu Hart: Lord of the Ring, an Inside Look at Wrestling's First Family* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2002), pp. xi, 135.

[30] Martin, *King Ralph*, pp. 29–30; "Klein's Mother Florence Gray Dies at Age 80 amid Alberta Election Campaign," *Canadian Press NewsWire*, 31 October 2004.

[31] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Hollins Harper," Perth, Fullarton, 30 April 1891, no. 031762, p. 607, [Birth Registration], Archives of Ontario, Toronto, MS929_107, *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 4 May 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James W. Harper Household, 1891 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 108, Perth, Township of Fullarton, schedule 1, p. 23, household 97, microfilm T-6362, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James W. Harper Household, 1901 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 105, South Perth, sub-district c-1, Fullarton, schedule 1, p. 11, household 102, microfilm T-6491, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 30 May 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02012202_e.html

[32] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James W. Harper Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "Harper, James," County of Perth, Logan Township, 10 October 1918, no. 031640, p. 105, [Death Registration], *Ancestry.ca*, [Internet Subscription Service], accessed 4 May 2006, available from http://www.ancestry.ca

[33] Ontario Vital Statistics, "Hollins Harper," [Birth Registration]; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James W. Harper Household, 1881 Census of Canada, Ontario, district no. 171, South Perth, sub-district f-1, Fullarton, schedule 1, p. 31, household 137, microfilm C-13271, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James W. Harper Household, 1891 Census of Canada; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, James W. Harper Household, 1901 Census of Canada, [Internet]; Ontario Vital Statistics, "James William Harper - Emma Foster," County of Haldimand, Caledonia, 30 September 1874, no. 003885, [Marriage Registration].

[34] Ontario Vital Statistics, "James William Harper - Emma Foster," [Marriage Registration].

[35] "James Harper, Carlingford, Huron - Perth," *ArchiviaNet: Post Offices and Post Masters*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 11 May 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/post-offices/index-e.html

[36] Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Holens Harper Record, 1911 Census of Canada, Saskatchewan, district no. 208, Battleford, sub-district 3, Township 30, Range 17, W3, schedule 1, p. 17, household 1, microfilm T-20451, *ArchiviaNet*, [Internet], Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, RG31, Statistics Canada, accessed 30 May 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/1911/006003-100.01-e.html

[37] Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Hollins Harper, no. 2111226, for SW 19 26 2 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2917, 1970.313; Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Hollins Harper, no. 2496912, for SE 19 26 2 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2999, 1970.313.

[38] "Harper, Hollins," *ArchiviaNet: Soldiers of the First World War (1914–1918)*, [CEF Attestation Paper], [Internet], (Ottawa: Library and Archives Canada), accessed 10 May 2006, available from http://www.collectionscanada.ca/archivianet/02010602_e.html

[39] Canada. Dominion Lands Office, Homestead Records for Hollins Harper, no. 2399427, for NW 19 25 3 W4, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton, microfilm 2981, 1970.313.

[40] Martin, *King Ralph*, pp. 29–30.

[41] Pedigree of the Klein Family, p. 6.

[42] Information provided by the Office of the Premier of Alberta, October 2004; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 29.

[43] Pedigree of the Klein Family, pp. 7–8.

[44] Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, pp. 9, 11.

[45] Ibid., pp. 11–13.

[46] Philip A. Klein, quoted in Ibid., p. 13; Information provided by the Office of the Premier, October 2004.

[47] Information provided by the Office of the Premier, October 2004; Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, p. 14; Jeff Holubitsky and Carol Howes, "Winning by Instinct," *Edmonton Journal*, 15 March 1995, p. A8.

[48] Information provided by the Office of the Premier, October 2004.

[49] "Klein Is Thinking About a Return to School in the Fall—to Study Communications," *National Post*, 1 July 2000, p. A7; "Premier Aiming for an 'A'," *National Post*, 2 January 2001, p. A4; Sorcha McGinnis, "Students Get to Pick Premier's Brain," *Calgary Herald*, 25 July 2001, p. B3; Information provided by the Office of the Premier, October 2004.

[50] Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, p. 13.

[51] Pedigree of the Klein Family, p. 6; Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, p. 13.

[52] Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, pp. 13, 32, 182.

[53] Ibid., p. 32; Information provided by the Office of the Premier, October 2004.

[54] Pedigree of the Klein Family, p. 6.

[55] Information provided by the Office of the Premier, October 2004; "Hamilton, [Jessie Elizabeth]," [Obituary], *Calgary Herald*, 14 June 1995, p. C14.

[56] Information provided by the Office of the Premier, October 2004.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Martin, *King Ralph*, pp. 34–35; Holubitsky and Howes, "Winning by Instinct," p. A8.

[59] Elizabeth Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, vol. 38 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), p. 728.

[60] Elizabeth Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2001*, vol. 36 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 610; Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, p. 728.

[61] Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 49.

[62] Information provided by the Office of the Premier, October 2004; Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, pp. 26–29; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 49.

[63] Copy of Treaty and Supplementary Treaty No. 7, Made 22 Sept., and 4th Dec., 1877, between Her Majesty the Queen and the Blackfeet and Other Indian Tribes, at the Blackfoot Crossing of Bow River and Fort MacLeod, [Transcription], [Internet], (Ottawa: Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, 1966; reprint, 1877 ed.), accessed 26 December 2004, available from http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty7_e.html; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 49.

[64] Martin, *King Ralph*, pp. 48–49.

[65] Ibid., p. 49.

[66] Ibid., p. 50.

[67] Ibid., p. 51.

[68] "EnCana Contribution Jump-Starts Success Initiative," *Windspeaker* vol. 21, no. 10 (January 2004): p. 19; Rick Bell, "It's Time We Dared to Act," *Calgary Sun*, 2 July 1999, p. 5; "Holiday Gala Raises Cash For Youth," *Alberta Sweetgrass* vol. 9, no. 1 (31 December 2001): p. 7.

[69] "Former Reporter Upsets Incumbent in Calgary Mayoralty Race," *United Press International* (Washington), PM Cycle ed., 16 October 1980.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Gordon Cope, "Ralph Klein: Calgarian of the Decade - The Heart of the City," *Herald Sunday Magazine* (Calgary), 31 December 1989, pp. 6–9.

[72] Ibid.; "Economic Slump Seen Continuing for West in 1987," *Toronto Star*, 26 December 1986, p. 15; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 83.

[73] Cope, "Ralph Klein: Calgarian of the Decade," pp. 6–9.

[74] Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 80; Peter Morton, "Klein Landslide Buries Challengers," *Calgary Herald*, 18 October 1983, p. 1.

[75] Martin, *King Ralph*, pp. 80–81.

[76] Ibid., p. 81.

[77] Don Martin, "Newest Olympic City Set to Shake Cowtown Image," *Windsor Star*, 21 December 1987, p. D10; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 81.

[78] Larry Siddons, "[Klein on Olympics and Calgary Economy]," *Associated Press*, 6 February 1988; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 81.

[79] Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 81.

[80] Cope, "Ralph Klein: Calgarian of the Decade," pp. 6, 8–9.

[81] Siddons, "[Klein on Olympics and Calgary Economy]."

[82] Martin, *King Ralph*, pp. 244, 247.

[83] Neil Waugh, "Survey Sets the Stage for a Provincial Vote," *Edmonton Sun*, 26 August 2004, p. 11.

[84] Peter Bakogeorge, "Olympic Organizers Trying to Correct Mistakes in Calgary," *Ottawa Citizen*, 27 November 1986, p. E8.

[85] Martin, *King Ralph*, pp. 85–86.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid., p. 87.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid., p. 90.

[90] Moira Farrow, "Sharing the Home," *Vancouver Sun*, 12 January 1988, p. B1.

[91] *XV Olympic Winter Games: Official Report* (Calgary: XV Olympic Winter Games Organizing Committee, 1988), pp. 81, 83, 85, 87; Calgary Olympic Development Association, *Financial Statements* (n.p.: Price Waterhouse (Canada), 1989).

[92] Cope, "Ralph Klein: Calgarian of the Decade," p. 10; Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, p. 728.

[93] Bob Bergen, "Klein Promised Cabinet Job," *Calgary Herald*, 11 January 1989, p. A1.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *The Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the General Election of the Twenty-Second Legislative Assembly Monday, March 20, 1989* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1989), p. B2.

[96] *Historical Mayor's Gallery*, [Internet], (Calgary: City of Calgary Archives), accessed 2 May 2006, available from http://www.calgary.ca/DocGallery/BU/cityclerks/amayors.pdf; Don Martin, "Ralph Says Goodbye: But Will There Be Some Regrets?" *Calgary Herald*, 22 March 1989, p. A3.

[97] "Getty Puts Ex-Mayor of Calgary in Cabinet," *Toronto Star*, 14 April 1999, p. A8; Ralph P. Klein, Minister of Environment, 14 April 1989, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[98] Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, pp. 80–81; Martin, *King Ralph*, pp. 100, 101, 103.

[99] Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 101.

[100] *Environmental Protection and Enhancement Act*, S.A. 1992, c. E-13.3.

[101] *Environmental Protection and Enhancement Act*, S.A. 1992, c. E-13.3; Paul Jackson, "Lord Says Energy Comes in All Colours," *Edmonton Sun*, 10 August 2004, p. 11.

[102] Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 101.

[103] Hal Quinn, et al., "Greening the Provinces: The Environment is the Top Issue," *Maclean's* vol. 102, no. 26 (26 June 1989): p. 44.

[104] "Canada [Ottawa Will Ensure New Environmental Standards]," *Platt's Oilgram News* vol. 67, no. 208 (27 October 1989): p. 6.

[105] Rae Corelli and John Howse, "The Forest Fight," *Maclean's* vol. 102, no. 46 (13 November 1989): p. 60.

[106] George Oake, "Alberta's Pulp Mill Plans Raise a Stink," *Toronto Star*, 2 December 1989, p. D5.

[107] Ibid.

[108] "A Courageous Move," *Edmonton Journal*, 3 March 1990, p. A10; Don Braid, "Environment Now a Top Priority, and Klein Wins," *Calgary Herald*, 3 March 1990, p. A3.

[109] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Getty Announces Plans to Leave Office, 9 September 1992, [News Release].

[110] Patrick Nagle, "Klein Wins Race for Premier: Albertan [*sic*] Must Reunite Tories," *Gazette* (Montreal), 6 December 1992, p. A1.

[111] "The Province Selects a New Party Leader," [Internet].

[112] Johnsrude, "Alberta's New Premier," p. A3.

[113] Ibid.; Ralph P. Klein, President of the Council, 14 December 1992, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; Alberta. Office of the Premier-elect, Correction [Swearing-in of Ralph Klein as Premier], 10 December 1992, [News Release].

[114] Johnsrude, "Alberta's New Premier," p. A3.

[115] Mark Lisac, "Tories Sow Uncertainty and Fear," *Edmonton Journal*, 16 October 1993, p. A12; Mark Lisac, "Klein Follows Tory Tradition," *Edmonton Journal*, 11 March 1993, p. A14; Mark Lisac, *The Klein Revolution* (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1995), p. 81.

[116] Joan Crockatt, "Klein Eager to Avoid Kiwi Credit Squeeze," *Edmonton Journal*, 26 March 1993, p. A7.

[117] Rod Ziegler, "Cutback King Heading for Alberta," *Edmonton Journal*, 6 November 1993, p. D1.

[118] "Political Career," History: Parliamentary Career, *Roger Douglas*, [Internet], (Auckland, NZ: Alex Wong, Silicon Logic, 2004), accessed 27 December 2005, available from http://www.rogerdouglas.org.nz/political.htm; "Curriculum Vitae: Honourable Sir Roger Douglas," *Progress Foundation*, [Internet], (Zurich: Progress Foundation), accessed 27 December 2005, available from http://www.progressfoundation.ch/english/conferences/cvdouglas.pdf

[119] Rod Ziegler, "Alberta Should Note How New Zealand Handled Economic Crisis," *Edmonton Journal,* 19 October 1993, p. D7.

[120] John Wilson, "The Later 20th Century," History, *Te Ara: The Encyclopedia of New Zealand,* [Internet], accessed 10 July 2006, available from http://www.teara.govt.nz/NewZealandInBrief/History/6/en

[121] Ziegler, "Cutback King Heading for Alberta," p. D1.

[122] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Klein Announces Reduced Cabinet, 15 December 1992, [News Release]; Alberta. Office of the Premier-elect, Klein to Be Sworn in Monday - Revamps Government Decision Making Process, 9 December 1992, [News Release]; Johnsrude, "Alberta's New Premier," p. A3.

[123] Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, p. 99; Martin, *King Ralph*, pp. 116–117.

[124] Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 117.

[125] Alberta. Special Select Standing Committee of the Assembly on Members' Services, *Executive Council Salaries Order*, order no. MSC 1/93, 5 March 1993; Alberta. Special Select Standing Committee of the Assembly on Members' Services, *Executive Council Salaries Order*, order no. 2/93, 5 March 1993; Alberta. Special Select Standing Committee of the Assembly on Members' Services, *Members' Committee Allowances Amendment Order (No. 1)*, order no. 4/93, 1993; Alberta. Special Select Standing Committee of the Assembly on Members' Services, *Members' Allowances Amendment Order (No. 2)*, order no. 6/93, 1993.

[126] "Alta-Auditor, DL," *Canadian Press*, 13 January 1994.

[127] Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1996 ed. (Scarborough: Gale Canada, 1996), p. 563; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 21st Legislature, 1st Session*, vol. XCIV, 12 June 1986, p. 13.

[128] The Alberta Financial Review Commission, *Report to Albertans* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1993), pp. iv, 17.

[129] Lisac, *The Klein Revolution*, pp. 81–82.

[130] Ibid., p. 88; The Alberta Financial Review Commission, *Report to Albertans*, pp. iv, 17.

[131] Lisac, *The Klein Revolution*, p. 88.

[132] The Alberta Financial Review Commission, *Report to Albertans*, p. 6; Lisac, *The Klein Revolution*, pp. 88–89; Alberta. Treasury Dept., *Public Accounts 1991–92* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1992), pp. 1.4, 1.18.

[133] Lisac, *The Klein Revolution*, pp. 88–89.

[134] Alberta. Treasury Dept., *A Financial Plan for Alberta: Budget '93* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1993).

[135] *Members of the Legislative Assembly Pension Plan Amendment Act, 1993*, S.A. 1993, c. 5; Government of Alberta, Bill 66 Scraps the MLA Pension Plan, 4 May 1993, [News Release].

[136] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *The 22nd Legislature, Fourth Session, Standing Committee on Members' Services*, Transcript, no. 22-4-6, 5 March 1993, p. 72; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *The 22nd Legislature Fourth Session, Standing Committee on Members' Services*, Transcript, no. 22-4-7, 18 March 1993, pp. 81, 86–96.

[137] "Hospital Rally," *Canadian Press* (Edmonton), 9 September 1994; "Alberta Civil Servants Reach Tentative Deal with Province," *Canadian Press* (Calgary), 19 August 1994; Monte Stewart, "Foothills Workers Cry Foul," *Calgary Herald*, 19 May 1994, p. B3; Robert Walker, "Doctors Split over Provincial Fee Rollbacks," *Edmonton Journal*, 13 May 1994, p. A7; Corinna Schuler, "Don't Mess with Us," *Edmonton Journal*, 19 March 1994, p. E1; Corinna Schuler, Joan Crockatt and Diana Coulter, "'Down with Ralph' - Students; 900 Protest Education Cutbacks," *Edmonton Journal*, 29 October 1993, p. A1; Lisa Dempster, "Hundreds Gather to Discuss Cuts," *Calgary Herald*, 28 October 1993, p. B1; Corinna Schuler and Diana Coulter, "Tories Unfazed by Huge Rally: 'Just an Outing' - Kowalski," *Edmonton Journal*, 26 October 1993, p. A11; Allen Panzeri, "Arts Backers Gather to Express Concern about Cuts, Censorship," *Edmonton Journal*, 11 February 1993, p. B1.

[138] "Hospital Rally."

[139] "Grey Power: Alberta Seniors Rally against Cutbacks," *Windsor Star*, 12 April 1994, p. A4.

[140] "Alta-Auditor, DL"; Alberta. Office of the Auditor General, *Annual Report of the Auditor General 1992–93* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1993).

[141] Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 2002 ed. (Detroit: Gale Group, 2002), p. 644.

[142] "Honourable Ralph Klein, Premier of Alberta, Keynote Address, September 21, 2000, Banff," Global Business Forum: News and Media, *Alberta Economic Development*, [Transcription], [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2000), accessed 20 July 2004, available from http://www.alberta-canada.com/gbf00/speech.html

[143] Roman Cooney, "Hitting the Wall: What to Do When the Bills Come Due," *Calgary Herald*, 8 January 1994, p. A5.

[144] "Liquor-Privatization," *Canadian Press*, 22 October 1993; Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 2000 ed. (Detroit: Gale Group, 2000), p. 612.

[145] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Talking with Albertans - Building on the Alberta Advantage: Reaching the Destination Together. Excerpts: Premier's Televised Address January 17, 1994* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1994), p. 1.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Ibid., pp. 2, [7].

[148] "Ripples across Ralph Klein's Revolution: 'Mr. Teflon' Still Popular, but There Are Signs Albertans Are Getting Fed Up," *Toronto Star*, 10 December 1994, p. D5.

[149] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 22nd Legislature, 4th Session*, 12 May 1993, p. 2716.

[150] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *'Going West to the Alberta Advantage': Speech by the Honourable Ralph Klein, Premier of Alberta at the Annual Toronto Conference on Alberta Real Estate, Toronto, Ontario, September 19, 1994* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1994); Alberta. Dept. of Health, Boundaries for 17 Health Regions Finalized, 21 April 1994, [News Release]; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 139; *Regional Health Authorities Act*, S.A. 1994, c. R-9.07; "Make Way for 'Super' Hospital Boards: Alberta Hopes to Save Money on 'Regionalization,' Even though Saskatchewan Didn't," *Western Report* vol. 8, no. 48 (27 December 1993): p. 10.

[151] Alberta. Personnel Administration Office, *Making History: Alberta's Public Service, 1995–2004* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2004), pp. 1–3.

[152] Alberta. Office of the Premier, "Premier's Award of Excellence: PAE Program," Performance Management and Recognition, *Personnel Administration Office*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2004), accessed 3 January 2006, available from http://www.pao.gov.ab.ca/performance/premier/pae/premier-award-of-excellence.htm

[153] Ibid.

[154] Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 141.

[155] "Honourable Ralph Klein, Premier of Alberta, Keynote Address, September 21, 2000, Banff," [Internet].

[156] Brent Jang, "Memo Links Klein to Controversial Loans," *Globe and Mail*, 20 August 1998, pp. A1, A8.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Bob Gilmour, "Nothing Sinister or Illegal in WEM Memo, Klein Insists," *Edmonton Journal*, 23 August 1998, p. A5.

[159] Jang, "Memo Links Klein to Controversial Loans."

[160] *Alberta Treasury Branches v. Leahy* (1999), 254 A.R. 280 (Q.B.).

[161] *Alberta Treasury Branches v. Leahy* (1999), 254 A.R. 280 (Q.B.).

[162] Alberta. Office of the Auditor General, *Report of the Auditor General on the 1994 Refinancing of West Edmonton Mall* (Edmonton: Office of the Auditor General, February 1999), p. 7.

[163] Jac MacDonald, "Cast of Characters behind Controversial Mall Financing," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 December 2002, p. A2.

[164] *Deficit Elimination Act*, S.A. 1993, c. D-6.5, ss. 2–11.

[165] *Balanced Budget and Debt Retirement Act*, S.A 1995, c. B-0.5.

[166] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *'Building on the Alberta Advantage': Speech by the Honourable Ralph Klein Premier of Alberta to the Vancouver Board of Trade, Vancouver, B.C., May 24, 1994* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1994); Alberta. Office of the Premier, *'Deficit Elimination and the Alberta Advantage': Speech by the Honourable Ralph Klein, Premier of Alberta, to the St. John's Board of Trade, St. John's, Newfoundland, September 27, 1994* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1994); Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Going West to the Alberta Advantage*.

[167] Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 142.

[168] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Building on the Alberta Advantage*, p. 8.

[169] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Going West to the Alberta Advantage*, pp. 8–9.

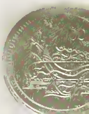
[170] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 23rd Legislature, 3rd Session*, 23 October 1995, p. 2104.

[171] Dabbs, *A Maverick Life*, pp. 117–119.

[172] Kathryn O'Handley, ed., *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1994 ed. (Toronto: Globe and Mail Publishing, 1994), p. 534.

[173] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 23rd Legislature, 3rd Session*, 25 October 1995, p. 2158; Ibid., 26 October 1995, pp. 2193–2194; Ibid., 31 October 1995, pp. 2248–2249.

[174] Alberta. Office of the Ethics Commissioner, *Report of Investigation into Allegations Relating to the Hon. Ralph Klein, Premier* (Edmonton: Office of the Ethics Commissioner, 10 November 1995), p. 16; Alberta. Office of the Ethics Commissioner, *Report to the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the Investigation by the Ethics Commissioner into Allegations Involving the Honourable, the Premier* (Edmonton: Office of the Ethics Commissioner, 19 December 1996), pp. 14–18.



[175] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *'Meeting Canada's Health Challenge': Speech by the Honourable Ralph Klein, Premier of Alberta, at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Canadian Medical Colleges, Edmonton, Alberta, April 29, 1996* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 1996), p. 2.

[176] Janice Tibbetts, "Battle over Privatizing Hospitals Begins in Rural Alberta: Hotel de Health to Take Over Hospitals in Galahad and Islay," *Canadian Press NewsWire* (Toronto), 13 March 1996.

[177] "Provincial Political Scene in Alberta," Press Center: Recent Press Releases, *Ipsos News Center*, [Internet Subscription Service], (Ipsos, 11 February 1997), accessed 21 July 2005, available from http://www.ipsos-na.com/news

[178] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *The Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the 2000 Provincial Confirmation Process and Monday, March 12, 2001 Provincial General Election of the Twenty-Fifth Legislative Assembly* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 2001), p. 35.

[179] *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act*, S.A. 1994, c. F-18.5.

[180] *Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act*, S.A. 1994, c. F-18.5, ss. 2, 15–28.

[181] *Health Information Act*, S.A. 1999, c. H-4.8.

[182] *Personal Information Protection Act*, S.A. 2003, c. P-6.5.

[183] *Imagine Our Tomorrow: A Report to the Government of Alberta, Delivered by the Future Summit Co-Chairs and the External Advisory Committee* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, May 2002); Alberta. Dept. of Revenue, Future Summit Input Is a Part of Government Business, 5 June 2003, [News Release].

[184] Ian Peach, *Managing Complexity: The Lessons of Horizontal Policy-Making in the Provinces*, The Scholar Series (Regina: Saskatchewan Institute of Public Policy, University of Regina, 2004), pp. 17–19.

[185] John Dingwall, "Alberta's Cross-Ministry Initiatives," *Canadian Government Executive* vol. 8, no. 6 (2002): pp. 6–10.

[186] Ibid., p. 7.

[187] Alberta. Dept. of Justice and Attorney General, *Report and Recommendations of the 1998 Judicial Compensation Commission, Presented to the Minister of Justice and Attorney General* (Edmonton: Alberta Justice Communications, 19 June 1998), pp. 38–41; Bob Beaty, "Lawyer Queries Order in Judges' Pay Case," *Calgary Herald*, 30 April 1999, p. B7; Bob Beaty, "Unrest Brews over Judges' Pay Raise," *Calgary Herald*, 27 August 1998, p. A1.

[188] O.C. 346/98, Alberta.

[189] *Provincial Judges' Association v. Alberta*, (1999) 237 A.R. 276, 71 Alta. L.R. (3d) 269 (C.A.).

[190] *Provincial Judges' Association (Alberta) v. Alberta*, (1999) 236 A.R. 251, 70 Alta. L.R. (3d) 177 (Q.B.).

[191] *Provincial Judges' Association (Alberta) v. Alberta*, (1999) 236 A.R. 251, 70 Alta. L.R. (3d) 177 (Q.B.).

[192] *Provincial Judges' Association v. Alberta*, (1999) 237 A.R. 276, 71 Alta. L.R. (3d) 269 (C.A.); Kenny Eoin, "Alberta Judges to Get Major Pay Raise," *Canadian Press NewsWire* (Toronto), 26 June 1998.

[193] Darcy Henton and Helen Dolik, "Victims of Sterilization Welcome $82M Settlement," *Calgary Herald*, 3 November 1999, p. A3.

[194] *The Sexual Sterilization Act*, S.A. 1928, c. 37.

[195] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 17th Legislature, 1st Session*, 1 June 1972, p. 59–48; *The Sexual Sterilization Repeal Act*, 1972, S.A. 1972, c. 87.

[196] *Muir v. Alberta* (1996), 179 A.R. 321, 36 Alta. L.R. (3d) 305 (Q.B.).

[197] Larry Johnsrude, "Alberta Offers to Pay Sterilization Victims," *Calgary Herald*, 10 March 1998, p. A1.

[198] O'Handley, ed., *CPG 2002*, p. 612.

[199] Henton and Dolik, "Victims of Sterilization Welcome $82M Settlement," p. A3.

[200] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta, 24th Legislature, 2nd Session*, vol. CVI, 27 January 1998, p. 8; *Protection of Children Involved in Prostitution Act*, S.A. 2000, c. P–28.

[201] Holly Johnson et al., "Sexual Offences in Canada," *Juristat: Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics* vol. 23, no. 6 (1 July 2003): pp. 34–35.

[202] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Journals, 24th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 24 February 1998, p. 111; Ibid., 26 February 1998, pp. 119–120.

[203] *Health Care Protection Act*, S.A. 2000, c. H-3.3.

[204] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 24th Legislature, 4th Session*, 2 May 2000, p. 1283.

[205] "Push to Approve Alberta Health Bill Sparks Protest," *CBC.ca*, [Internet], (2 May 2000), accessed 27 December 2005, available from http://cbc.ca/cgi-bin/templates/view.cgi?/news/2000/05/02/health000502

[206] Canada. Dept. of Health, Health Minister Responds to Bill 11, 11 May 2000, [News Release].

[207] Canada. Library of Parliament, "Rock, The Hon. Allan, P.C., LL.B," Federal Political Experience, *Senators and Members, House of Commons - Historical Information*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 16 April 2006, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp

[208] "Canadians and Albertans Speak on Alberta's Bill 11," Press Center: Recent Press Releases, *Ipsos News Center*, [Internet], (Angus Reid Group, 20 April 2000), accessed 29 December 2005, available from http://www.ipsos-na.com/news/pdf/media/ap000420_2.pdf

[209] George Koch, "Power Politics: Steve West Pushes Electricity Deregulation Forward," *Alberta Report* vol. 25, no. 11 (2 March 1998): p. 17.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Ibid.

[212] *Electric Utilities Amendment Act, 1998*, S.A. 1998, c. 13.

[213] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 24th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 17 March 1998, pp. 943–948.

[214] Keith Provost, "Gov't Electricity 'Cure' May Be Shock," *Edmonton Journal*, 21 November 1998, p. A15.

[215] "Alberta Bill Moves, Foes or No," *The Electricity Daily* vol. 10, no. 64 (6 April 1998).

[216] Carol Harrington, "Albertans Fear Freezing in the Dark: Electricity Supply Unstable as Province Deregulates," *Gazette* (Montreal), 2 November 1998, p. A12; Nova Pierson, "Blackout Angst Businesses Fear Outages Will Cost Millions," *Calgary Sun*, 26 September 1996, p. 5.

[217] Pierson, "Blackout Angst," p. 5; *Canadian Electricity Trends and Issues: An Energy Market Assessment* (Ottawa: National Energy Board, May 2001), pp. 20–25.

[218] *Canadian Electricity Trends and Issues*, pp. 20–21; Todd Nogier, "Lights Out on Prosperity: Alberta Firms Powerless to Stop Problem," *Calgary Sun*, 15 December 2000, p. 5.

[219] Nogier, "Lights Out on Prosperity," p. 5; Lyle Harvey, "Ralph Shocked: Premier Admits Energy Rate Hikes Weren't Expected," *Calgary Sun*, 17 December 2000, p. 4.

[220] Timothy Le Riche, “Power Shocker: City Plastics Plant May Relocate Due to Doubling of Its Electricity Rates,” *Edmonton Sun*, 11 November 2000, p. 6.

[221] Alberta. Treasury Dept., Alberta’s Energy Tax Refund Cheques Start Going Out November 27, 1 November 2000, [News Release].

[222] Harvey, “Ralph Shocked,” p. 4.

[223] Dan Healing, “Rates Jolt Klein and Co.: Politicians Scramble to Patch Up Power Plan,” *Edmonton Sun*, 4 December 2000, p. 37.

[224] “Election-Deregulation-Business,” *Broadcast News*, 17 February 2001.

[225] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 24th Legislature, 5th Session*, 12 February 2001, pp. 1–6.

[226] Ibid., pp. 5–6.

[227] Bill Kaufmann, “The Platforms: Where the Big 3 Stand,” *Calgary Sun*, 11 February 2001, p. 2.

[228] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on the 2001 General Election*, pp. 34–35.

[229] *Natural Gas Price Protection Act*, S.A. 2001, c. N-1.5.

[230] Alberta. Dept. of Energy, Regulations Governing Future Natural Gas Rebates Announced, 8 August 2001, [News Release].

[231] Mike Byfield, “Alberta’s Self-Inflicted Crisis,” *Report Newsmagazine*, Alberta ed. vol. 28, no. 2 (22 January 2001): pp. 36, 39, 40.

[232] Jerry Ward, “Power Sale Defended,” *Calgary Sun*, 8 April 2004, p. 20.

[233] Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 240; Alberta. Dept. of Health and Wellness, Health Leads Alberta Government’s New Year Agenda, 28 December 2001, [News Release]; Alberta. Dept. of Health and Wellness, Investment and Initiatives Aimed to Improve the Health of Albertans in 2000/2001, 28 September 2001, [News Release].

[234] Alberta. Premier’s Advisory Council on Health, *A Framework for Reform: Report of the Premier’s Advisory Council on Health* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, December 2001), pp. 1–2, 54.

[235] Ibid., p. 54; “Alberta Premier Ralph Klein Warns More Cuts Coming as Deficit Looms,” *Canadian Press NewsWire* (Toronto), 13 December 2001.

[236] Greg Joyce, “Provincial Leaders Conclude Health-Care Conference with Hope for Future,” *Canadian Press* (Toronto), 27 January 2002; Graham Thomson and Norm Ovenden, “Premiers Unite for Health Fight: April Deadline Set for Mechanism to Settle Disputes with Ottawa, PR Campaign in Works,” *Edmonton Journal*, 26 January 2002, p. A1.

[237] “Klein Clutches Copy of Health Care Reform Plan,” *Guelph Mercury*, 25 January 2002, p. A7.

[238] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Premier Klein’s Speech to the Canadian Club, January 11, 2005, Calgary Alberta* (Calgary: Government of Alberta, 2005), pp. 3–4; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 26th Legislature, 1st Session*, 2 March 2006, pp. 9–10.

[239] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Why Alberta Opposes the Kyoto Protocol* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2002), pp. 1, 3; United Nations. Framework Convention on Climate Change, *Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change* (1998), article 3.1.

[240] Canada. Library of Parliament, “Anderson, The Hon. David, P.C., L.L.B.,” House of Commons - Current Information, *Senators and Members*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Library of Parliament), accessed 30 December 2005, available from http://www.parl.gc.ca/common/SenatorsMembers.asp

[241] Martin Mittelstaedt, “Canada May Ratify Kyoto Deal by June 1,” *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 7 February 2002, p. A13.

[242] Canada. Dept. of the Environment, Achieving Our Kyoto Targets - A First Step toward a Greener Canada, 15 February 2005, [News Release].

[243] Sylvie Boustie, Marlo Raynolds and Matthew Bramley, *How Ratifying the Kyoto Protocol Will Benefit Canada's Competitiveness* (Drayton Valley, AB: Pembina Institute for Appropriate Development, 2002), p. 13.

[244] Alberta. Dept. of Environment, *Albertans and Climate Change: An Assessment of the Economic Impacts of the Kyoto Protocol* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2002), pp. 1–2.

[245] "Excerpts from Klein's Letter to Prime Minister Jean Chretien," *Edmonton Journal*, 4 September 2002, p. A2.

[246] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Alberta Opposes Kyoto Ratification, Says Premier, 6 September 2002, [News Release].

[247] Alberta. Dept. of Municipal Affairs, Municipal Associations Support Alberta's Position on Kyoto, 20 September 2002, [News Release].

[248] Alberta. External Advisory Committee on the Kyoto Protocol, Kyoto Committee Conducts First Meeting in Calgary, 1 October 2002, [News Release].

[249] Alberta. Dept. of Environment, *Albertans and Climate Change*, pp. 1–2.

[250] Allan C. Howatson and Gilles Rheaume, *Implementing Kyoto Risks and Choices* (Ottawa: Conference Board of Canada, 2003), p. 3.

[251] "Kyoto Forces Husky to Delay $1.5 Billion Project," Canadian News, *Atlantic Oil & Gas Works Online*, [Internet], (St. John's, NL: The Oil & Gas Magazine, 1 November 2002), accessed 30 December 2005, available from http://www.oilworks.com/New/c110402.html; *Broadening the Horizon: Annual Report Husky Energy Inc.* (Calgary: Husky Energy, 2002), p. 9.

[252] Canada. Dept. of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Government of Canada Ratifies Kyoto Protocol, 17 December 2002, [News Release]; Joe Paraskevas, "PM Signs Kyoto Accord with Little Fanfare," *Calgary Herald*, 17 December 2002, p. A5.

[253] "Momentum Continues to Build for Strike Action," Media Room: News Releases 2002, *The Alberta Teachers' Association*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Alberta Teachers' Association, 11 January 2002), accessed 30 December 2005, available from http://www.teachers.ab.ca/Media+Room/News/2002/Momentum+continues+to+build+for+strike+action.htm; Jeff Holubitsky, "An Upheaval with Few Precedents: Schools Have Been Stilled by Strikes Just Twice in 76 Years," *Edmonton Journal*, 4 February 2002, p. B1.

[254] "Albertans Give Government Thumbs Up for Ending Teachers' Strike," Press Center: Recent Press Releases, *Ipsos News Center*, [Internet Subscription Service], (Ipsos, 15 March 2002), accessed 21 July 2005, available from http://www.ipsos-na.com/news/pressrelease.cfm?id=1452&content=full; Martin, *King Ralph*, p. 242; Alberta. Dept. of Human Resources and Employment, Government Declares an Emergency to End Teachers' Strike, 21 February 2002, [News Release].

[255] *Alberta Teachers' Assn. v. Alberta*, (2002) 1 Alta. L.R. (4th) 309, 1 Alta. L.R. (4th) 361 (Q.B.).

[256] *Education Services Settlement Act*, S.A. 2002, c. E-0.5, ss. 2–28; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 25th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 18 March 2002, p. 395.

[257] *Marriage Act*, R.S.A. 2000, c. M-5, Preamble.

[258] *Halpern v. Canada (Attorney General)*, [2002] 60 O.R. (3d) 321, 215 D.L.R. (4th) 223 (Ont. S.C.D.C.); "Alberta Backs Ottawa's Appeal: Local Gay Community Disappointed," *Edmonton Sun*, 30 July 2002, p. 6.

[259] Ibid.

[260] *EGALE Canada Inc. v. Canada (Attorney General)* (2003), 13 B.C.L.R. (4th) 1, [2003] 225 D.L.R. (4th) 472 (B.C.C.A.); *Synopsis of Halpern et al v. Attorney General of Canada et al*, [Internet, PDF document], (Toronto: Court of Appeal for Ontario, 2003), p. 3, accessed 17 November 2004, available from http://www.ontariocourts.on.ca/decisions/2003/june/halpernsynopsis.pdf; *Halpern v. Canada (Attorney General)*, [2003] 65 O.R. (3d) 161; (2003), 225 D.L.R. (4th) 529 (Ont. C.A.).

[261] Canada. Dept. of Justice, "Backgrounder: Reference to the Supreme Court of Canada," News Room, *Department of Justice Canada*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada, July 2003), accessed 30 December 2005, available from http://canada.justice.gc.ca/en/news/nr/2003/doc_30946.html

[262] Alberta. Dept. of Justice, Legislation Addresses Needs of Albertans in Committed Interdependent Relations, 7 May 2002, [News Release].

[263] *Adult Interdependent Relationships Act*, S.A. 2002, c. A-4.5.

[264] Alberta. Dept. of Justice, Legislation Addresses Needs of Albertans in Committed Interdependent Relations, [News Release]; *Adult Interdependent Relationships Act*, S.A. 2002, c. A-4.5, s. 1(1)(f).

[265] "Alberta Law Establishes Interdependent Relationships as Legal Unions," *Community Action* vol. 18, no. 10 (9 May 2003); *Adult Interdependent Relationships Act*, S.A. c. A-4.5, Preamble.

[266] "[Liberal MLA Wants Auto Insurance Investigated]," *Broadcast News*, 5 November 2002.

[267] *Auto Insurance Rate Comparison Study: 17 Cities in Four Western Provinces: Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia*, Release 3 (Delta, BC: Consumer's Association of Canada, 2003).

[268] "Gov't Quells Anger with Auto Insurance Review," *Fort McMurray Today*, 16 June 2003, p. 2.

[269] O'Handley, ed., *CPG 2002*, p. 629.

[270] Ward Jerry, "Tory Driven to Revolt!: MLA Raps Car Insurance Study Group," *Edmonton Sun*, 20 August 2003, p. 3.

[271] Ibid.

[272] Darcy Henton, "Auto Insurance Fat in the Fire: Klein Getting Static from Within Tory Caucus," *Daily Herald-Tribune* (Grande Prairie), 21 August 2003, p. 7.

[273] Jerry Ward, "Pat Pens Premium Letter to Tory MLAs," *Edmonton Sun*, 27 August 2003, p. 17.

[274] Ibid.

[275] Darcy Henton, "Alberta Plan to Cut Auto Insurance Premiums Stalls over Cap on Injury Claims," *Canadian Press Newswire* (Toronto), 15 October 2003.

[276] "Alta Freezes Auto Insurance Rates," *Times Journal* (St. Thomas, ON), 4 November 2003, p. 15; "Consumer Price Index: December 2002," The Daily, *Statistics Canada*, [Internet], (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 2003), accessed 30 December 2005, available from http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/030122/d030122a.htm

[277] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 25th Legislature, 3rd Session*, 3 December 2003, pp. 2097–2104.

[278] *Insurance Amendment Act, 2003 (No. 2)*, S.A. 2003, c. 40, ss. 13, 17.

[279] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Steady as We Grow: The Government's Plan for 2003*, [Transcript of Televised Address] (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2003).

[280] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Managing Growth the Theme of Government's Plan for 2003, Klein Says in Televised Address, 27 January 2003, [News Release]; Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Steady as We Grow: The Government's Plan for 2003.*

[281] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Steady as We Grow: The Government's Plan for 2003*; Alberta. Office of the Premier, Managing Growth the Theme of Government's Plan for 2003, Klein Says in Televised Address, [News Release].

[282] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Steady as We Grow: The Government's Plan for 2003*; Alberta. Office of the Premier, Managing Growth the Theme of Government's Plan for 2003, Klein Says in Televised Address, [Internet].

[283] Alberta. Office of the Premier, *Steady as We Grow: The Government's Plan for 2003*; Alberta. Office of the Premier, Managing Growth the Theme of Government's Plan for 2003, Klein Says in Televised Address, [News Release].

[284] Alberta. Dept. of Agriculture Food and Rural Development, Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy Investigation in Alberta, 20 May 2003, [News Release].

[285] Alberta. Dept. of Agriculture Food and Rural Development, BSE Compensation Program Showing Results, 26 June 2003, [News Release]; Alberta. Office of the Premier, Canadian Beef is Safe, Klein Says in a Statement on B.S.E. Case, 29 December 2003, [News Release].

[286] Neil Waugh, "There's Only One Thing Left to Say," *Edmonton Sun*, 5 August 2004, p. 11.

[287] Alberta. Office of the Auditor General, *Report of the Auditor General on the Alberta Government's BSE-Related Assistance Programs* (Edmonton: Office of the Auditor General, 27 July 2004), p. 3.

[288] Ibid., p. 4.

[289] Darcy Henton, "Mad Cow Triples Meat-Packer Profits," *Prince Albert Daily Herald*, 4 August 2004, p. 13.

[290] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Canadian Beef is Safe, Klein Says in a Statement on B.S.E. Case, [News Release].

[291] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Premier Officially Opens Alberta Office during Mission to Washington, D.C. and Boston, 16 March 2005, [News Release]; Alberta. Dept. of International and Intergovernmental Relations, Murray Smith Named Alberta Representative in Washington, D.C., 22 December 2004, [News Release].

[292] "U.S. Set to Open Border to Beef: Cattle Might Move March 7," *Calgary Herald*, 30 December 2004, p. A1.

[293] Gina Teel and Jim Gransbery, "U.S. Court Blocks Cattle: Hope Fades for Reopening Border on Monday," *Calgary Herald*, 3 March 2005, p. A1.

[294] Neil Waugh, "Another Minister Out of Step with Ralph," *Edmonton Sun*, 12 December 2003, p. 11.

[295] Ibid.

[296] Alberta. Office of the Premier, Klein Announces Change in Chief of Staff, 26 February 2004, [News Release].

[297] Tom Barrett, "Political Life 'Always in Your Blood'," *Edmonton Journal*, 27 February 2004, p. A2.

[298] Ibid.

[299] "Alberta Appointment of 'Dr. No' Bad News for Health Care," *Moose Jaw Times Herald*, 27 February 2004, p. 20.

[300] Don Martin, "The Man We All Call Ralph Has Served for 20 Years," *Calgary Herald*, 15 October 2000, p. A1.

[301] "Klein Cuts Back Consumption: Alberta Premier Admits to Having a Nip or Two over Holidays," Canoe News, *CNEWS: Canada's Web Source for News and Information*, [Internet], (9 January 2002), accessed 21 July 2004, available from http://www.canoe.ca/CNEWSPolitics0201/09_klein-cp.html; Don Martin, "Despite Failings, Albertans still Love Their Klein," *Windsor Star*, 20 December 2001, p. A7.

[302] Bob Weber, "Klein Urged to Seek Help: Receives Calls of Support from Chretien, Premiers," *Canadian Press Newswire*, 19 December 2001.

[303] Ibid.

[304] Ibid.

[305] "Honourable Ralph Klein, Premier of Alberta, Keynote Address, September 21, 2000, Banff," [Internet].

[306] Kevin Taft, *Shredding the Public Interest: Ralph Klein and 25 Years of One-Party Government* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press and Parkland Institute, 1997), pp. 74–75.

[307] Ibid.

[308] Ibid., p. 78; Charles Rusnell, "Public Business or Propaganda?" *Edmonton Journal*, 1 August 2004, p. D3.

[309] Taft, *Shredding the Public Interest: Ralph Klein and 25 Years of One-Party Government*, p. 78.

[310] Ibid., p. 79.

[311] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 25th Legislature, 3rd Session*, 15 April 2003, pp.1031–1032; Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 25th Legislature, 4th Session*, 16 March 2004, pp. 528–529; Ibid., 5 May 2004, pp. 1279–1280.

[312] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 25th Legislature, 3rd Session*, 15 April 2003, pp. 1031–1032.

[313] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 25th Legislature, 4th Session*, 5 May 2004, p. 1279.

[314] Alberta. Dept. of Finance, Government Announces Debt Free Alberta: Alberta First Province in Canada to Eliminate Debt, 12 July 2004, [News Release].

[315] Ibid.; Alberta. Dept. of Finance, *Budget 2005: Investing in the Next Alberta* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2005), pp. 153–169.

[316] Alberta. Dept. of Finance, Government Announces Debt Free Alberta, [News Release].

[317] Michelle Mark, "Four-Gone Conclusion," *Calgary Sun*, 28 May 2003, p. 7.

[318] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *The Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the 2004 Provincial Enumeration and Monday, November 22, 2004 Provincial General Election of the Twenty-sixth Legislative Assembly* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 2005), pp. 61–62.

[319] "Ralph Klein: Alberta's Populist Premier," *CBC.ca*, [Internet], (19 May 2000), accessed 24 May 2006, available from http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/klein-ralph/

[320] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Hansard, 26th Legislature, 1st Session*, 24 May 2005, pp. 1617–1618.

[321] Ibid., p. 1617.

[322] Ibid., pp. 1617–1618.

[323] Jason Markusoff, David Howell and Elizabeth Withey, "Queen Praises Alberta's Past, Future as She Delivers 'Real' Speech from the Throne," *CanWest News*, 25 May 2005.

[324] "Biography for Honourable Ralph Klein (PC)," Elected Members, *Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 2005), accessed 4 May 2006, available from http://www.assembly.ab.ca/net/index.aspx?p=mla_bio&rnumber=08; "Premier Klein: Biography," *Government of Alberta*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2006), accessed 5 April 2006, available from http://www.gov.ab.ca/premier/biography.cfm

[325] Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, p. 728.

[326] Ibid.

[327] Cope, "Ralph Klein: Calgarian of the Decade," p. 6.

[328] Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, p. 729.

[329] Ibid., p. 728.

[330] Murray Campbell, "Alberta Premier Receives Medal: Right-Wing Group Praises Klein as 'Best Political Leader in Canada'," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 22 November 1994, p. A9.

[331] O'Handley, ed., *CPG 2001*, p. 610.

[332] Lumley, ed., *Canadian Who's Who 2003*, p. 728.

[333] Ibid.

[334] E-mail from Susan Boland, CAPP Technical Specialist, Customer Services Dept., Southern Institute of Technology (SAIT), 3 September 2004.

[335] E-mail from Kerry Moynihan, Executive Director, External Affairs, Olds College, Olds, AB, 2 September 2004.

[336] "Alberta Premier Ralph Klein to Receive CATAAlliance's Public Sector Leader Award, Being Honoured June 12th at Globetech Conference in Ottawa," Media and Events: Press Releases, *CATAAlliance: Advancing the Business of Technology*, [Internet], (Ottawa: CATAAlliance, 29 May 2001), accessed 30 December 2005, available from http://209.87.231.94/Media_and_Events/Press_Releases/cata_pr05290101.html

[337] "Biography for Honourable Ralph Klein (PC)," [Internet].

[338] "Ambassador's Program: Ambassadors by Community," Programs and Projects, *Alberta Centennial*, [Internet], (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, 2004), accessed 30 December 2005, available from http://www.albertacentennial.ca/programs/honourary.aspx

[339] Carol Howes, "Ethnic Group Praises 'A Man of the People'," *Calgary Herald*, 11 January 1989, p. B1.

[340] Holubitsky and Howes, "Winning by Instinct," p. A8.

[341] Ibid.

[342] David Sands, "Ten Years After," *Edmonton Sun*, 5 December 2002, p. 9.

[343] Alberta. Legislative Assembly, *Alberta Hansard, 26th Legislature, 2nd Session*, 18 May 2006, p. 1666.

[344] Ibid., p. 1668.

[345] Ibid., p. 1667.

[346] Ibid., p. 1668.

[347] Ibid., p. 1666.

*the mantle of leadership*

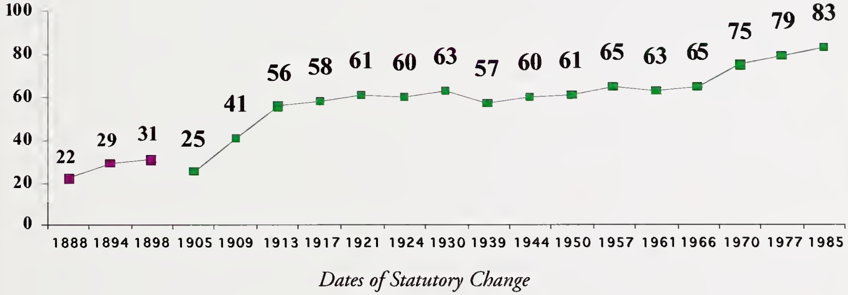
# APPENDICES

# Appendices

A – Elections ....................................639
B – Election Results ................................645
C – Party Affiliation ...............................663
D – Tenures ........................................665
E – Maps of Constituency Areas of Premiers .............669
F – Sessions of the Legislative Assembly ...............671
G – Officials by Legislature ..........................685
H – Premiers' Ages ...................................695
I – Cabinet and Legislative Positions ..................697
J – Places of Birth and Death ..........................701
K – Educational Attainments ..........................703
L – Occupations ......................................707
M – Maps ...........................................709
N – Glossary ........................................713

Reflecting population growth, the number of constituencies in Alberta has increased from 25 in 1905 to 83 by 1985. Based primarily on population growth and distribution, the boundaries of these constituencies change after regular reviews. Since 1969, a five-member body, called the Electoral Boundaries Commission, has determined the location of electoral boundaries, using guidelines contained in the *Electoral Boundaries Commission Act.*[1]

**Figure 1. Number of Members in the Legislative Assemblies of the North-West Territories (1888–1905) and Alberta (1905–2005)**



Alberta uses the single-Member plurality electoral system and has done so since the 1959 general election.[2] Also known as the 'first-past-the-post' system, this method requires that the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes within a constituency be declared the winner even if that candidate has received less than half of the votes cast.[3] Prior to the adoption of this electoral system, Albertans experimented with different electoral systems, including Members-at-large and two forms of single transferable voting.*

---

* At the time, this electoral approach was sometimes referred to as 'proportional representation.' John D. Hunt, "A Key to P.R.: Being an Explanation of the Transferable Ballot, and of Proportional Representation as adopted by *The Alberta Election Act*, with Full Directions for the Counting of the Ballots," in *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 191–204; William Hurlbert, "Alberta's Old Electoral System Was Just Fine: Single, Transferable Voting System Gave Better Effect to the Will of the Majority of Voters Than the Current System Does," *Edmonton Journal*, 12 January 2005, p. A15.

By 1921, the number of constituencies throughout the province had grown to 61.[4] Each of these constituencies elected one Member to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, except for the constituencies of Edmonton and Calgary, each of which returned five Members, and Medicine Hat, which returned two Members.[5] In these multi-Member constituencies, each voter could cast as many votes as there were candidates.[6] Medicine Hat was a multi-Member constituency for only the 1921 election, but the Edmonton and Calgary multi-Member constituencies continued to return between five and seven representatives each until 1956, when the electoral districts were divided into smaller single-Member constituencies.

The single transferable vote system was used from 1926 through 1955 during the period in which the Edmonton and Calgary constituencies returned multiple candidates to the Legislative Assembly.[7] Under this electoral system, voters marked their ballots by writing '1' for their first choice, '2' for their second, and so on. Voters retained the option of voting for one, some or all of the candidates listed on the ballot. The votes were then tallied according to the first choice indicated on each ballot. The proportion of votes necessary to win a seat varied depending on the number of seats available. When five seats were available, then any candidate who obtained more than one sixth of the vote was assured a seat. When six seats were available, anything over one seventh of the vote was sufficient for a candidate to win, and so forth. After the results were tallied based on the first preference vote, any candidate who had received the required proportion of votes was deemed to have won a seat in the Legislative Assembly. At this point, an elected candidate's surplus votes (i.e. those in excess of the number needed to win a seat) were distributed to the other candidates in the same proportion as each candidate had been selected as the second choice on all of the elected candidate's ballots. Once the votes had been recounted and distributed proportionally, any remaining candidates who had now received the required proportion of the vote also won a seat in the Legislative Assembly. This process continued until the number of seats available in the constituency was filled.[8] In the case of a tie, the candidate with the most first-preference votes won the seat.[9]

The Premiers who ran for election under the multi-Member single transferable vote system were William Aberhart and Ernest C. Manning. Aberhart was elected in Calgary in the 1940 election. Six of Manning's nine consecutive electoral successes were either in the constituency of Calgary (1935) or the constituency of Edmonton (1940, 1944, 1948, 1952 and 1955).

Between 1926 and 1959, other constituencies in Alberta (those outside of Edmonton and Calgary) used a preferential single-Member electoral system,[10] also known as the 'transferable ballot.'[11] This system, also referred to as the 'alternative-vote' system, allowed voters to rank the candidates on the ballot by preference.[12] Using this system, the vote was tallied according to the first preference indicated on the ballot. If no candidate received an absolute majority, then the candidate with the fewest votes was eliminated, and all ballots for the eliminated candidate were redistributed according to the voter's second preference. This process was repeated as many times as necessary until one candidate emerged with more than 50 per cent of the vote.[13] Both John E. Brownlee and Richard G. Reid were elected to the Legislative Assembly of Alberta under this system, for the constituencies of Ponoka and Vermilion respectively.

During the First and Second World Wars, with a substantial number of Albertans serving in the military, it was felt that their interests needed to be represented in the Assembly. As a result, changes in the composition of the Assembly were enacted to provide representation to members

of the armed forces who were normally resident in Alberta. In 1917, during the First World War, the *Statutes of Alberta* were modified to allow for the election of two Members-at-large to represent soldiers and nurses, in addition to the single Member elected to serve each constituency.[14] The two Members elected under this provision were Captain Robert Pearson and Lieutenant Roberta C. MacAdams, an Army nurse.[15]

In September 1944, during the Second World War, an Order in Council was issued which directed that three Members be elected "to represent the members of the navy, army and air force respectively who are serving outside Alberta, to serve as members of the 10th Legislative Assembly, one member to represent the navy, one the army, and one the air force."*[16] Thus, by representing an armed-forces branch, the Members did not represent specific constituencies in Alberta. The three Members elected under this provision were J. Harper Prowse (Army), Loftus D. Ward (Navy) and Frederick C. Colborne (Air Force), all of whom served in the 10th Legislature without party affiliation and were therefore seated on the Opposition side of the Chamber.[17]

---

* The Order in Council was affirmed by an Act of the Legislative Assembly that was granted Royal Assent on February 26, 1945. *An Act to Validate and Confirm Order in Council No. 1515-44 dated the 26th Day of September, 1944, as amended by Order in Council No. 1581-44 dated the 4th Day of October, 1944, and Order in Council No. 1886-44 dated the 13th Day of December, 1944, Whereby Regulations were Made to Provide for the Election of Three Members to Represent the Members of the Navy, Army and Air Force respectively in the Tenth Legislative Assembly of the Province*, S.A. 1945, c. 3.

## General Elections and By-Elections Contested at the Territorial and Provincial Levels, 1887–2005

| *Premier* | *Elections Contested* | *Elections Won* |
|---|---|---|
| | *North-West Territories* | |
| Frederick W.A.G. Haultain[*] | 7 | 7 |
| | *Alberta* | |
| Alexander C. Rutherford[†] | 3 | 2 |
| Arthur L.W. Sifton[‡] | 3[§] | 3 |
| Charles Stewart[**] | 5 | 5 |
| Herbert Greenfield | 1 | 1 |
| John E. Brownlee | 4 | 3 |
| Richard G. Reid | 5 | 4 |
| William Aberhart | 2 | 2 |
| Ernest C. Manning | 9 | 9 |
| Harry E. Strom | 5 | 5 |
| E. Peter Lougheed | 5 | 5 |
| Donald R. Getty | 7 | 6 |
| Ralph P. Klein | 5 | 5 |

Most elections contested: Ernest C. Manning (9)
Most elections won: Ernest C. Manning (9)
More than half of the Premiers (9) won every election that they contested.

---

[*] In addition to the seven elections that Haultain contested and won in the North-West Territories, he contested and won three elections in the Province of Saskatchewan.

[†] In addition to the three elections that Rutherford contested in the Province of Alberta, he had previously contested three elections, with one victory and two losses, in the North-West Territories, prior to 1905.

[‡] In addition to the three elections that Sifton contested in the Province of Alberta, he had previously contested four elections, with three victories and one loss, in the North-West Territories. Sifton also successfully contested one election at the federal level after he had served as Premier.

[§] In the general election of April 17, 1913, Premier Sifton contested two constituencies—Vermilion and Macleod. He was elected in Vermilion, but was defeated in Macleod.

[**] In addition to the five elections that Stewart contested in Alberta, he also contested six elections at the federal level. He was elected in five of these.

## Notes

[1] *Electoral Boundaries Commission Act*, R.S.A. 2000, c. E-3, ss. 2–3.

[2] The amendment Act came into force on May 9, 1959. *An Act to amend The Election Act*, S.A. 1957, c. 21; “Proclamation,” *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 55, no. 9, 15 May 1959, p. 785.

[3] John McMenemy, *The Language of Canadian Politics: A Guide to Important Terms and Concepts*, 3rd ed. (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001), p. 112.

[4] *An Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, S.A. 1909, c. 2, as am. by *The Statute Law Amendment Act*, S.A. 1921, c. 5, s. 36(1).

[5] *An Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta,* as am. by *The Statute Law Amendment Act*, s. 36(2).

[6] *The Alberta Election Act*, S.A. 1924, c. 34, s. 82.

[7] Dave Obee, “B.C. Recycles Alberta’s Old Vote System,” *Edmonton Journal*, 30 December 2004, p. A16.

[8] John D. Hunt, “A Key to P.R.: Being an Explanation of the Transferable Ballot, and of Proportional Representation as Adopted by The Alberta Election Act, with Full Directions for the Counting of the Ballots,” in *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), pp. 195–196.

[9] Ibid., p. 194.

[10] Rand Dyck, *Provincial Politics in Canada: Towards the Turn of the Century*, 3rd ed. (Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1996), p. 519.

[11] Obee, “B.C. Recycles Alberta’s Old Vote System,” p. A16.

[12] F. Leslie Seidle, *Electoral System Reform in Canada: Objectives, Advocacy and Implications for Governance* (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2002), p. 40.

[13] Brian O’Neal, *Electoral Systems*, Background Paper BP-334E (Ottawa: Library of Parliament, Research Branch, 1993); Hunt, “A Key to P.R.,” p. 193.

[14] *An Act respecting the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, as am. by *An Act amending The Election Act respecting Members of the Legislative Assembly on Active Service*, S.A. 1917, c. 38; *The Alberta Military Representation Act*, S.A. 1917, c. 12.

[15] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* (Edmonton: Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, 1983), p. 31.

[16] “O.C. 1515-44; as amended by O.C. 1581-44,” *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 40, no. 19, 14 October 1944, p. 880; “O.C. 1886-44,” *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 40, no. 24, 30 December 1944, pp. 1115–1116.

[17] Alberta. Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*, p. 9.

### North-West Territories, 1887–1905

No official election results are available for the North-West Territories. Results have been compiled from *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories*, the *Saskatchewan Executive and Legislative Directory*, newspaper reports, the *Canadian Parliamentary Companion* and the *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*. Premiers are indicated in bold on a beige background. The formatting of their names has been altered as necessary from that used in the source in order to provide consistency. Successful candidates are indicated with '(E)' after their names. Members of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories were considered non-partisan at the Territorial level, although individual Members did have party affiliations at the Dominion level.

Election Results for Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (Premier 1897–1905)

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | *Candidate* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|
| September 5, 1887*<br>(by-election) | Macleod | **Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (E)** | **301** |
| | | C. F .P. Conybeare | 156 |
| June 20, 1888 | Macleod | **Frederick W. A .G. Haultain (E)** | **Acclamation** |
| October 31, 1891 | Macleod | **Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (E)** | **Acclamation** |
| October 31, 1894 | Macleod | **Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (E)** | **Acclamation** |
| October 26, 1897<br>(by-election) | Macleod | **Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (E)** | **Acclamation** |
| November 4, 1898 | Macleod | **Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (E)** | **Acclamation** |
| May 21, 1902 | Macleod | **Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (E)** | **477** |
| | | C. F. Harris | 199 |

---

* In September 1887, Haultain was elected to the Council of the North-West Territories. The North-West Council was presided over by the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories and had no legislative authority of its own. In 1888, the North-West Council was replaced by the Legislative Assembly. "Public Meeting: Mr. Haultain Addresses the Electors in the Town Hall," *Macleod Gazette*, 27 June 1888, p. 4.

## Province of Alberta, 1905–2004

Results for Alberta general elections, dates, and the spelling of names are taken from *General Election Returns*. By-election results are taken from *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982*.* In the event that there are any discrepancies between the results printed here and those from the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer, the latter should be considered authoritative.

Premiers are indicated in bold on a beige background. The formatting of their names has been altered as necessary from that used in the source in order to provide consistency. Successful candidates are indicated with '(E)' after their names. The following abbreviations are used to indicate party affiliations:

| | |
|---|---|
| AA | Alberta Alliance |
| Com | Communist |
| CCF | Cooperative Commonwealth Federation |
| Con | Conservative |
| GPA | Green Party of Alberta |
| HPA | Heritage Party of Alberta |
| ICAA | Independent Citizens' Association of Alberta |
| Ind | Independent |
| Ind Chr | Independent Christian |
| Ind Lab | Independent Labour |
| Lab | Labour |
| Lab Prog | Labour Progressive |
| Lib | Liberal |
| ND | New Democrat Party |
| NLP | Natural Law Party |
| PC | Progressive Conservative |
| RPA | Representative Party of Alberta |
| SC | Social Credit |
| UFA | United Farmers of Alberta |
| V&AF | Veterans and Active Forces |
| WCC | Western Canada Concept |

---

* *Report on Alberta Elections 1905–1982* has been revised and updated and forms part of this four-volume set.

## Election Results for Alexander C. Rutherford (Premier 1905–1910)*

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| November 9, 1905 | Strathcona | **Alexander C. Rutherford (E)** | **Lib** | **625** |
| | | F. W. Crang | Con | 306 |
| March 22, 1909 | Strathcona | **Alexander C. Rutherford (E)** | **Lib** | **1,034** |
| | | Rice Sheppard | Con | 173 |
| April 17, 1913 | Edmonton (South) | H. H. Crawford (E) | Lib | 1,523 |
| | | **Alexander C. Rutherford** | **Con** | **1,275** |

## Election Results for Arthur L. W. Sifton (Premier 1910–1917)†

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| June 29, 1910 (by-election) | Vermilion | **Arthur L. W. Sifton (E)** | **Lib** | **1,018** |
| | | J. G. Clark | Con | 710 |
| April 17, 1913 | Vermilion | **Arthur L. W. Sifton (E)** | **Lib** | **772** |
| | | J. G. Clark | Con | 571 |
| | | G. Krikevsky | Ind | 276 |
| | Macleod | Robt. Patterson (E) | Con | 579 |
| | | **Arthur L. W. Sifton** | **Lib** | **560** |
| June 7, 1917 | Vermilion | **Arthur L. W. Sifton (E)** | **Lib** | **2,063** |
| | | John B. Burch | Con | 1,210 |

---

[*] Rutherford had previously contested elections for the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories. He was unsuccessful in the constituency of Edmonton in a by-election held on August 4, 1896, and in the November 4, 1898 general election, losing both times to Matthew McCauley. In the general election of May 21, 1902, Rutherford was elected to represent the new constituency of Strathcona.

[†] Sifton had previously contested elections for the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories. In the general election of November 4, 1898, he narrowly defeated Dr. Robert G. Brett in the constituency of Banff. Brett challenged the results, and the courts ruled that Brett had won by a slim margin. Sifton appealed the ruling, and a by-election was ordered for June 27, 1899. On this occasion Sifton defeated Brett by a considerable margin. Upon appointment to the Executive Council, Sifton was required to run again in a by-election held on March 22, 1901, which he won by acclamation. He was re-elected in the general election of May 21, 1902.

## Election Results for Charles Stewart (Premier 1917–1921)

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| March 22, 1909 | Sedgewick | **Charles Stewart (E)** | **Lib** | **Acclamation** |
| May 27, 1912 (by-election) | Sedgewick | **Charles Stewart (E)** | **Lib** | **2,022** |
| | | W. J. Blair | Con | 963 |
| April 17, 1913 | Sedgewick | **Charles Stewart (E)** | **Lib** | **889** |
| | | W. Watson | Con | 371 |
| June 7, 1917 | Sedgewick | **Charles Stewart (E)** | **Lib** | **1,657** |
| | | J. R. Lavell | Con | 971 |
| July 18, 1921 | Sedgewick | **Charles Stewart (E)** | **Lib** | **Acclamation** |

## Election Results for Herbert Greenfield (Premier 1921–1925)

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| December 9, 1921 (by-election) | Peace River | **Herbert Greenfield (E)** | **UFA** | **Acclamation** |

## Election Results for John E. Brownlee (Premier 1925–1934)

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| December 9, 1921 (by-election) | Ponoka | **John E. Brownlee (E)** | **UFA** | **Acclamation** |
| June 28, 1926 | Ponoka | **John E. Brownlee (E)** | **UFA** | **1,357** |
| | | A. Beaumont | Con | 347 |
| | | M. Crandall | Lib | 453 |
| June 19, 1930 | Ponoka | **John E. Brownlee (E)** | **UFA** | **Acclamation** |
| August 22, 1935 | Ponoka | Mrs. Edith Rogers (E) | SC | 2,295 |
| | | **John E. Brownlee** | **UFA** | **879** |
| | | Robt. McLaren | Lib | 696 |

## Election Results for Richard G. Reid (Premier 1934–1935)

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| July 18, 1921 | Vermilion | | **Richard G. Reid (E)** | **UFA** | **2,955** |
| | | | A.W. Ebbett | Lib | 939 |
| December 9, 1921 (by-election) | Vermilion | | **Richard G. Reid (E)** | **UFA** | **Acclamation** |
| June 28, 1926 | Vermilion | | **Richard G. Reid (E)** | **UFA** | **1,981** |
| | | | W. J. MacNab | Con | 592 |
| | | | A. W. Ebbett | Lib | 492 |
| June 19, 1930 | Vermilion | | **Richard G. Reid (E)** | **UFA** | **2,551** |
| | | | Robt. B. Hall | Lib | 815 |
| August 22, 1935 | Vermilion | 1st Count | Wm. A. Fallow | SC | 2,452 |
| | | | A. P. Hunter | Lib | 1,062 |
| | | | **Richard G. Reid** | **UFA** | **876** |
| | | | Wm. Halina | Com | 838 |
| | | | A. E. Williams | Con | 244 |
| | | Last Count | Wm. A. Fallow (E) | SC | 2,664 |
| | | | A. P. Hunter | Lib | 1,437 |

## Election Results for William Aberhart (Premier 1935–1943)

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| November 4, 1935 (by-election) | Okotoks-High River | | **William Aberhart (E)** | **SC** | **Acclamation** |
| March 21, 1940 | Calgary (5 Members) | 1st Count | Andrew Davison | Ind | 12,465 |
| | | | **William Aberhart** | **SC** | **12,122** |
| | | | James C. Mahaffy | Ind | 3,645 |
| | | | J. J. Bowlen* | Ind | 3,447 |
| | | | F. J. White | CCF | 2,846 |
| | | | J. T. Shaw | Ind | 2,685 |
| | | | Fred Anderson | SC | 1,939 |
| | | | Mrs. Edith Gostick† | SC | 1,605 |
| | | | N. D. Dingle | Ind | 1,480 |
| | | | H. D. Tarves | SC | 1,386 |
| | | | R. Alderman | CCF | 1,298 |
| | | | H. Pryde | Ind | 576 |
| | | | D. V. Mitchell | Ind Lab | 251 |
| | | | J. F. M. Moodie | Ind | 169 |
| | | Last Count | Andrew Davison (E) | Ind | 7,653 |
| | | | **William Aberhart (E)** | **SC** | **7,653** |
| | | | Fred Anderson (E) | SC | 8,020 |
| | | | James C. Mahaffy (E) | Ind | 9,449 |
| | | | J. J. Bowlen (E) | Ind | 7,247 |

---

* John J. Bowlen was Alberta's seventh Lieutenant Governor (1950–1959).

† Edith H. Gostick was the fourth Provincial (Legislature) Librarian (1940–1959).

## Election Results for Ernest C. Manning (Premier 1943–1968)

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| August 22, 1935 | Calgary (6 Members) | 1st Count | **Ernest C. Manning** | **SC** | **6,087** |
| | | | F. Anderson | SC | 5,058 |
| | | | J. J. Bowlen | Lib | 3,874 |
| | | | Mrs. Edith H. Gostick | SC | 3,787 |
| | | | J. W. Hugill | SC | 3,152 |
| | | | O. G. Devenish | SC | 3,032 |
| | | | W. Little | SC | 2,963 |
| | | | J. Irwin | Con | 2,529 |
| | | | H. C. Farthing | Con | 2,090 |
| | | | R. H. Weir | Lib | 1,774 |
| | | | G. W. H. Millican | Lib | 1,566 |
| | | | F. J. White | Lab | 1,024 |
| | | | J. V. Follett | Con | 886 |
| | | | P. Lenihan | Com | 820 |
| | | | R. W. Watson | Lib | 786 |
| | | | C. F. Jamieson | Ind | 469 |
| | | | J. V. H. Milvain | Con | 451 |
| | | | A. J. E. Liesemer | Lab | 449 |
| | | | R. H. Parkyn | Ind Lab | 224 |
| | | | W. G. Southern | Lab | 172 |
| | | Last Count | **Ernest C. Manning (E)** | **SC** | **5,885** |
| | | | J. Irwin (E) | Con | 5,885 |
| | | | F. Anderson (E) | SC | 5,885 |
| | | | J. J. Bowlen (E) | Lib | 5,885 |
| | | | Mrs. Edith H. Gostick (E) | SC | 5,885 |
| | | | J. W. Hugill (E) | SC | 4,399 |

## Election Results for Ernest C. Manning *(Continued)*

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| March 21, 1940 | Edmonton (5 Members) | 1st Count | **Ernest C. Manning** | **SC** | **10,066** |
| | | | J. Percy Page* | Ind | 5,607 |
| | | | H. J. MacDonald | Ind | 4,128 |
| | | | Gerald O'Connor | Ind | 3,972 |
| | | | D. M. Duggan | Ind | 3,878 |
| | | | L. Y. Cairns | Ind | 3,316 |
| | | | E. E. Roper | CCF | 1,984 |
| | | | H. D. Ainley | CCF | 1,840 |
| | | | E. C. Fisher | Ind | 1,607 |
| | | | C. Gould | SC | 1,192 |
| | | | E. East | SC | 1,117 |
| | | | J. A. MacPherson | Com | 1,067 |
| | | | N. B. James | SC | 967 |
| | | | C. B. Wills | SC | 948 |
| | | | Mrs. Marjorie Pardee | Ind | 822 |
| | | | W. H. Miller | CCF | 442 |
| | | | G. F. Hustler | Ind | 400 |
| | | | S. A. G. Barnes | Ind Prog | 282 |
| | | | J. H. Green | Ind Prog | 108 |
| | | Last Count | **Ernest C. Manning (E)** | **SC** | **7,291** |
| | | | J. Percy Page (E) | Ind | 7,291 |
| | | | N. B. James (E) | SC | 7,133 |
| | | | D. M. Duggan (E) | Ind | 6,731 |
| | | | H. J. MacDonald (E) | Ind | 6,649 |

---

* J. Percy Page was Alberta's eighth Lieutenant Governor (1959–1966).

## Election Results for Ernest C. Manning *(Continued)*

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| August 8, 1944 | Edmonton (5 Members) | 1st Count | **Ernest C. Manning** | **SC** | **14,271** |
| | | | Elmer E. Roper | CCF | 5,253 |
| | | | J. Percy Page | Ind | 4,603 |
| | | | Wm. J. Williams | V&AF | 3,532 |
| | | | Johnnie T. Caine | Ind | 1,400 |
| | | | Henry D. Carrigan | SC | 1,188 |
| | | | Orvis A. Kennedy | SC | 876 |
| | | | Clifford E. Lee | CCF | 854 |
| | | | Norman B. James | SC | 781 |
| | | | John B. Gilles | SC | 755 |
| | | | James A. MacPherson | Lab Prog | 742 |
| | | | James B. Enright | CCF | 649 |
| | | | Mrs. M. E. Butterworth | CCF | 549 |
| | | | Joseph H. Dowler | CCF | 545 |
| | | | William Halina | Lab Prog | 496 |
| | | | Cecil H. Chapman | Ind | 476 |
| | | | Clarence W. Richards | Ind | 422 |
| | | | Jan Lakeman | Lab Prog | 251 |
| | | | Alex M. Herd | Lab Prog | 119 |
| | | | Mrs. G. V. Murdoch | Lab Prog | 72 |
| | | Last Count | **Ernest C. Manning (E)** | **SC** | **6,306** |
| | | | Elmer E. Roper (E) | CCF | 6,345 |
| | | | J. Percy Page (E) | Ind | 6,333 |
| | | | Wm. J. Williams (E) | V&AF | 5,535 |
| | | | Norman B. James (E) | SC | 3,532 |

## Election Results for Ernest C. Manning *(Continued)*

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| August 17, 1948 | Edmonton (5 Members) | 1st Count | **Ernest C. Manning** | **SC** | **22,014** |
| | | | Elmer E. Roper | CCF | 6,511 |
| | | | J. Harper Prowse | Lib | 6,303 |
| | | | J. Percy Page | ICAA | 2,723 |
| | | | P. F. Lazarowich | Lib | 1,234 |
| | | | Jack Hampson | CCF | 1,046 |
| | | | Clayton Adams | SC | 946 |
| | | | Mary Scullion | Lib | 942 |
| | | | Lou W. Heard | SC | 890 |
| | | | John B. Gilles | SC | 772 |
| | | | Mary R. Crawford | CCF | 618 |
| | | | Francis Armour Ford | Lib | 565 |
| | | | Walter M. Crockett | SC | 523 |
| | | | Art E. Thornton | CCF | 498 |
| | | | J. H. Dowler | CCF | 370 |
| | | | William R. Brownlee | Lib | 195 |
| | | Last Count | **Ernest C. Manning (E)** | **SC** | **7,692** |
| | | | J. Harper Prowse (E) | Lib | 7,692 |
| | | | Elmer E. Roper (E) | CCF | 8,684 |
| | | | Lou W. Heard (E) | SC | 7,746 |
| | | | Clayton Adams (E) | SC | 7,559 |

## Election Results for Ernest C. Manning *(Continued)*

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| August 5, 1952 | Edmonton (7 Members) | 1st Count | **Ernest C. Manning** | **SC** | **17,022** |
| | | | J. Harper Prowse | Lib | 7,264 |
| | | | Elmer E. Roper | CCF | 6,632 |
| | | | J. Percy Page | PC | 2,212 |
| | | | J. Donovan Ross | SC | 1,757 |
| | | | Ambrose Holowach | SC | 1,381 |
| | | | Andre Milville Dechene | Lib | 1,340 |
| | | | Peter J. Lazarowich | Lib | 1,136 |
| | | | Harry D. Carrigan | SC | 1,135 |
| | | | Mrs. Stella M. Baker | SC | 1,126 |
| | | | Marshall E. Manning | PC | 1,060 |
| | | | Harold E. Tanner | Lib | 875 |
| | | | Williston Haszard | SC | 834 |
| | | | Bernard R. Swankey | Lab Prog | 824 |
| | | | Cora T. Casselman | Lib | 819 |
| | | | Edgar H. Gerhart | SC | 769 |
| | | | Robert Atkin | CCF | 658 |
| | | | Mrs. Laurette C. Douglas | Lib | 632 |
| | | | Roy Jamha | CCF | 619 |
| | | | Arthur E. Thornton | CCF | 612 |
| | | | Duncan Innes | Lib | 608 |
| | | | Floyd A. Johnson | CCF | 500 |
| | | | Marcel J. A. Lambert | PC | 432 |
| | | | Frederick J. Mitchell | PC | 430 |
| | | | Norman P. Finnemore | CCF | 413 |
| | | | Winnifred E. Scott | CCF | 383 |
| | | | Mrs. Arnold Taylor | PC | 272 |
| | | | John A. L. Smith | PC | 189 |
| | | | Edward N. Sturrock | PC | 105 |

## Election Results for Ernest C. Manning *(Continued)*

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Last Count | **Ernest C. Manning (E)** | **SC** | **6,505** |
| | | | J. Harper Prowse (E) | Lib | 6,505 |
| | | | Elmer E. Roper (E) | CCF | 6,505 |
| | | | J. Donovan Ross (E) | SC | 6,505 |
| | | | Edgar H. Gerhart (E) | SC | 5,895 |
| | | | J. Percy Page (E) | PC | 5,504 |
| | | | Harold E. Tanner (E) | Lib | 4,921 |

## Election Results for Ernest C. Manning *(Continued)*

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| June 29, 1955 | Edmonton (7 Members) | 1st Count | **Ernest C. Manning** | **SC** | **23,216** |
| | | | J. Harper Prowse | Lib | 18,755 |
| | | | Elmer E. Roper | CCF | 4,444 |
| | | | J. Percy Page | Con | 4,086 |
| | | | Edgar Bailey | Lib | 2,971 |
| | | | Andre Dechene | Lib | 2,877 |
| | | | Abe Wm. Miller | Lib | 2,787 |
| | | | Anthony Hlynka | SC | 1,896 |
| | | | J. L. Payment | Lib | 1,640 |
| | | | H. E. Tanner | Lib | 1,604 |
| | | | J. D. Ross | SC | 1,575 |
| | | | Edgar H. Gerhart | SC | 1,320 |
| | | | Gifford Main | Con | 1,064 |
| | | | Wm. Harasym | Lab Prog | 947 |
| | | | Robert Atkin | CCF | 940 |
| | | | W. J. M. Henning | SC | 785 |
| | | | Gerard Amerongen* | Con | 692 |
| | | | Cyril G. Havard | SC | 602 |
| | | | Mrs. C. M. Hattersley | SC | 555 |
| | | | Lois Grant | Lib | 552 |
| | | | R. F. Lambert | Con | 548 |
| | | | Floyd Johnson | CCF | 458 |
| | | | F. J. Mitchell | Con | 405 |
| | | | Mary Crawford | CCF | 383 |
| | | | Ivor G. Dent | CCF | 328 |
| | | | Mrs. J. A. L. Smith | Con | 299 |
| | | | Art Thompson | CCF | 290 |
| | | | Robert L. Brower | Con | 221 |
| | | | H. M. Smith | CCF | 177 |
| | | | C. E. Payne | Ind | 127 |

---

* Gerard J. Amerongen was the eighth Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta (1972–1986).

## Election Results for Ernest C. Manning *(Continued)*

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Last Count | **Ernest C. Manning (E)** | **SC** | **9,569** |
| | | | J. Harper Prowse (E) | Lib | 9,569 |
| | | | Abe Wm. Miller (E) | Lib | 9,569 |
| | | | H. E. Tanner (E) | Lib | 9,569 |
| | | | J. D. Ross (E) | SC | 9,483 |
| | | | J. Percy Page (E) | Con | 9,224 |
| | | | Edgar H. Gerhart (E) | SC | 9,121 |
| June 18, 1959 | Strathcona-East | | **Ernest C. Manning (E)** | **SC** | **7,337** |
| | | | James E. Simpson | PC | 3,812 |
| | | | George Johnson | Lib | 2,610 |
| | | | Hugh Smith | CCF | 999 |
| June 17, 1963 | Strathcona-East | | **Ernest C. Manning (E)** | **SC** | **6,842** |
| | | | James A. Cox | Lib | 1,890 |
| | | | Oscar H. Kruger | PC | 2,630 |
| | | | Dennis A. Wood | ND | 1,457 |
| May 23, 1967 | Strathcona-East | | **Ernest C. Manning (E)** | **SC** | **6,314** |
| | | | C. Jack Thorpe | PC | 2,976 |
| | | | Ray Field | ND | 1,909 |
| | | | Percy Marshall | Lib | 1,458 |

## Election Results for Harry E. Strom (Premier 1968–1971)

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| June 29, 1955 | Cypress | **Harry E. Strom (E)** | **SC** | **2,668** |
| | | John Flaig | Lib | 1,205 |
| June 18, 1959 | Cypress | **Harry E. Strom (E)** | **SC** | **3,199** |
| | | Wayne N. Anderson | PC | 831 |
| June 17, 1963 | Cypress | **Harry E. Strom (E)** | **SC** | **3,030** |
| | | Alvin H. Reiman | Lib | 861 |
| May 23, 1967 | Cypress | **Harry E. Strom (E)** | **SC** | **2,577** |
| | | William G. McFall | ND | 769 |
| August 30, 1971 | Cypress | **Harry E. Strom (E)** | **SC** | **2,777** |
| | | Dave Berntson | PC | 1,635 |
| | | Tony de Souza | ND | 196 |

## Election Results for E. Peter Lougheed (Premier 1971–1985)

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May 23, 1967 | Calgary-West | **E. Peter Lougheed (E)** | **PC** | **8,548** |
| | | Donald S. Fleming | SC | 4,028 |
| | | Allan M. Early | ND | 868 |
| | | Natalie Chapman | Lib | 402 |
| August 30, 1971 | Calgary-West | **E. Peter Lougheed (E)** | **PC** | **7,049** |
| | | Charles Grey | SC | 4,319 |
| | | Joe Yanchula | ND | 1,066 |
| | | Brian Stevenson | Lib | 333 |
| March 26, 1975 | Calgary-West | **E. Peter Lougheed (E)** | **PC** | **8,983** |
| | | Charles Grey | SC | 1,213 |
| | | Neil Ellison | ND | 674 |
| | | Steve Shaw | Lib | 564 |
| March 14, 1979 | Calgary-West | **E. Peter Lougheed (E)** | **PC** | **7,825** |
| | | Frank Cottingham | SC | 930 |
| | | Barb Scott | Lib | 874 |
| | | Ed Smith | ND | 699 |
| | | Jacob H. Binnema | Ind Chr | 406 |
| November 2, 1982 | Calgary-West | **E. Peter Lougheed (E)** | **PC** | **11,668** |
| | | Ed Smith | ND | 1,175 |
| | | Bruce Roper | WCC | 1,106 |
| | | Barb Scott | Lib | 598 |
| | | Leonard Petterson | SC | 251 |

## Election Results for Donald R. Getty (Premier 1985–1992)

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| May 23, 1967 | Strathcona West | **Donald R. Getty (E)** | **PC** | **6,764** |
| | | Randolph H. McKinnon | SC | 5,153 |
| | | Frank Kuzemski | ND | 1,115 |
| | | Edmund H. Leger | Lib | 890 |
| August 30, 1971 | Edmonton-Whitemud | **Donald R. Getty (E)** | **PC** | **8,201** |
| | | Donald M. Hamilton | SC | 4,690 |
| | | Joseph Mercredi | ND | 936 |
| | | James N. Tanner | Lib | 235 |
| March 26, 1975 | Edmonton-Whitemud | **Donald R. Getty (E)** | **PC** | **9,614** |
| | | Lila Fahlman | ND | 2,645 |
| | | Phil Dickson | SC | 1,101 |
| | | Dilys Anderson | Lib | 830 |
| December 11, 1985 (by-election) | Edmonton-Whitemud | **Donald R. Getty (E)** | **PC** | **5,955** |
| | | Tony Higgens | ND | 2,100 |
| | | Richard Mather | RPA | 800 |
| | | Lucien Maynard | Ind | 355 |
| | | Eric Wolfman | Lib | 637 |
| | | Mike Pawlus | HPA | 53 |
| May 8, 1986 | Edmonton-Whitemud | **Donald R. Getty (E)** | **PC** | **7,436** |
| | | Tony Higgens | ND | 3,875 |
| | | Eric Wolfman | Lib | 1,135 |
| | | Bert Beinert | RPA | 366 |
| | | Walter Stack | WCC | 92 |
| March 20, 1989 | Edmonton-Whitemud | Percy Wickman (E) | Lib | 8,350 |
| | | **Donald R. Getty** | **PC** | **8,005** |
| | | Nao Fernando | ND | 2,099 |
| May 9, 1989 (by-election) | Stettler | **Donald R. Getty (E)** | **PC** | **5,558** |
| | | Frank Pickering | Lib | 1,598 |
| | | Grant Bergman | ND | 633 |

### Election Results for Ralph P. Klein (Premier 1992– )

| *Date of Election* | *Constituency* | *Candidate* | *Party Affiliation* | *Votes Received* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| March 20, 1989 | Calgary-Elbow | **Ralph P. Klein (E)** | **PC** | **4,505** |
| | | Gilbert J. Clark | Lib | 3,682 |
| | | David Jones | ND | 719 |
| | | Larry Heather | Ind | 174 |
| June 15, 1993 | Calgary-Elbow | **Ralph P. Klein (E)** | **PC** | **10,061** |
| | | Madeline King | Lib | 6,142 |
| | | Eileen Clancy Teslenko | ND | 617 |
| | | Steve Tobler | SC | 312 |
| | | Miel S. R. Gabriel | Ind | 101 |
| | | Bruce Hansen | NLP | 85 |
| March 11, 1997 | Calgary-Elbow | **Ralph P. Klein (E)** | **PC** | **8,237** |
| | | Harold Swanson | Lib | 5,195 |
| | | Lera Shirley | SC | 421 |
| | | Shawn Christie | ND | 307 |
| | | Frank Haika | NLP | 75 |
| March 12, 2001 | Calgary-Elbow | **Ralph P. Klein (E)** | **PC** | **10,213** |
| | | Harold Swanson | Lib | 4,533 |
| | | Mathew Zachariah | ND | 369 |
| | | Monier Rahall | Ind | 166 |
| November 22, 2004 | Calgary-Elbow | **Ralph P. Klein (E)** | **PC** | **6,958** |
| | | Stephen Brown | Lib | 4,938 |
| | | Allison Roth | GPA | 668 |
| | | Diana-Lynn Brooks | AA | 488 |
| | | Becky Kelly | ND | 345 |
| | | Trevor Grover | SC | 69 |
| | | Lloyd Blimke | Ind | 51 |

# Appendix C – Party Affiliation

Members of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories were considered non-partisan at the Territorial level, although individual Members did have party alignments at the Dominion level. With the establishment of the province and the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, elected Members had official party affiliations.

Many historians and political scientists have noted that one of Alberta's defining political characteristics has been the electorate's long-term support for one political party. Alberta has had four distinct, and long-lived, periods of governance—Liberal (1905–1921), United Farmers of Alberta (1921–1935), Social Credit (1935–1971) and Progressive Conservative (1971– ). However, it would be inaccurate to single out Alberta as the only province with this characteristic, as other provinces have experienced similar periods of long-term popular support for individual parties in government. A characteristic that does tend to distinguish Alberta from the other provinces is the electorate's historical tendency to periodically switch its allegiance in large numbers to another political party.

Party Affiliation

*North-West Territories*

| *Premier* | *Dominion Party Affiliation* |
|---|---|
| Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (1897–1905) | Conservative* |

*Alberta*

| *Premier* | *Provincial Party Affiliation* |
|---|---|
| Alexander C. Rutherford (1905–1910) | Liberal |
| Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917) | Liberal† |
| Charles Stewart (1917–1921) | Liberal |
| Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) | United Farmers of Alberta |
| John E. Brownlee (1925–1934) | United Farmers of Alberta |
| Richard G. Reid (1934–1935) | United Farmers of Alberta |
| William Aberhart (1935–1943) | Social Credit |
| Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) | Social Credit |
| Harry E. Strom (1968–1971) | Social Credit |
| E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985) | Progressive Conservative |
| Donald R. Getty (1985–1992) | Progressive Conservative |
| Ralph P. Klein (1992– ) | Progressive Conservative |

---

* After September 1, 1905, Haultain was not appointed Premier of either Alberta or Saskatchewan. He entered Saskatchewan politics and ran under the banner of the Provincial Rights Party, but continued to advocate a non-partisan Legislative Assembly. He was Leader of the Official Opposition from 1906 to 1912.

† Sifton resigned the premiership and as a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta on October 12, 1917. He was sworn into the Union Cabinet of Prime Minister Sir Robert L. Borden (1911–1920) on the same day.

# Appendix D – Tenures

To date, the Alberta Premier with the shortest tenure is Richard G. Reid. After leading the Province for one year, one month and 24 days, Reid resigned after losing his seat in the general election of 1935. Ernest C. Manning holds the record for the longest tenure as Premier of Alberta, serving as Premier for 25 years, six months and 12 days. Manning is the second-longest-serving Premier in Canadian history.*

The tenures of the Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta are as follows:

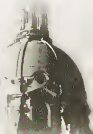
**Tenures–North-West Territories**

| *Premier* | *Dates of Tenure* | *Length of Service (Calendar Days)* | *Event Marking End of Service* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Frederick W. A. G. Haultain | October 7, 1897–August 31, 1905† | 2,884 | Final prorogation of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories |

---

* The longest-serving Premier was Nova Scotia Premier George H. Murray (1896–1923), who served for 26 years, six months. Following Manning are Ontario Premier Sir Oliver Mowat (1872–1896), who served for 23 years, nine months, and Newfoundland and Labrador's Joseph R. Smallwood (1949–1972), with just over 22 years, nine months in office. By comparison, the longest-serving Prime Minister of Canada is W. L. Mackenzie King (1921–1926, 1926–1930, 1935–1948), who served for approximately 21 years, five months. The Prime Minister who served for the longest uninterrupted period was Sir Wilfrid Laurier (1896–1911), with a tenure of almost 15 years, three months.

† On August 31, 1905, the Government of the North-West Territories ceased to exist. "Government Notices," *North-West Territories Gazette*, vol. 22, no. 17, 31 August 1905, p. 8; *North-west Territories Amendment Act*, S.C. 1905, c. 27, ss. 14-15.



## Tenures–Alberta

| *Premier* | *Dates of Tenure* | *Length of Service (Calendar Days)* | *Event Marking End of Service* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alexander C. Rutherford | September 8, 1905[*]–May 26, 1910 | 1,721 | Resignation |
| Arthur L. W. Sifton | May 26, 1910–October 12, 1917 | 2,706 | Resignation |
| Charles Stewart | October 13, 1917[†]–August 12, 1921[‡] | 1,399 | Resignation after the Liberals lost election (July 18, 1921)[§] |
| Herbert Greenfield | August 13, 1921–November 23, 1925 | 1,563 | Resignation |
| John E. Brownlee | November 23, 1925–July 10, 1934 | 3,151 | Resignation |
| Richard G. Reid | July 10, 1934–September 3, 1935[**] | 420 | Resignation after the United Farmers of Alberta lost election (August 22, 1935)[††] |

---

[*] There are some discrepancies amongst reports of the date on which Alexander C. Rutherford took office. Some accounts state that he was named Premier-Designate on September 2, 1905. However, the Executive Council Roll Book shows that Rutherford was officially sworn in as President of the Executive Council on September 8, 1905, and the *Alberta Gazette* lists the date of his appointment as September 9, 1905. Alexander C. Rutherford, "Three Years of Autonomy: 1905-1908," *Alberta History* vol. 53, no. 4 (Autumn 2005): pp. 8-9; D. R. Babcock, *Alexander Cameron Rutherford: A Gentleman of Strathcona* (Calgary: Friends of Rutherford House and University of Calgary Press, 1989), p. 27; Alexander C. Rutherford, President of the Council, 8 September 1905, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 1, no. 1, 31 October 1905, p. 3.

[†] Some historical sources list the date of Premier Charles Stewart's taking office as October 30, 1917. The following sources, however, indicate a date of October 13, 1917: Charles Stewart, President of the Council, 13 October 1917, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton; "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 3, no. 20, 31 October 1917, p. 661; Ernest J. Chambers, *Canadian Parliamentary Guide*, 1917 ed. (Ottawa: Mortimer Co., 1917), p. 445; "Stewart Called," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 13 October 1917, p. 1.

[‡] Between July 18 and August 12, 1921, former Premier Charles Stewart served as Acting Premier.

[§] Although the Liberal Party lost the 1921 election, Stewart was re-elected as Member of the Legislative Assembly for the constituency of Sedgewick. However, before the start of the next Legislature, Stewart resigned his seat and entered federal politics.

[**] Between August 22 and September 3, 1935, former Premier Richard G. Reid served as Acting Premier.

[††] Reid also lost his seat as Member of the Legislative Assembly for the constituency of Vermilion.

## Tenures–Alberta *(Continued)*

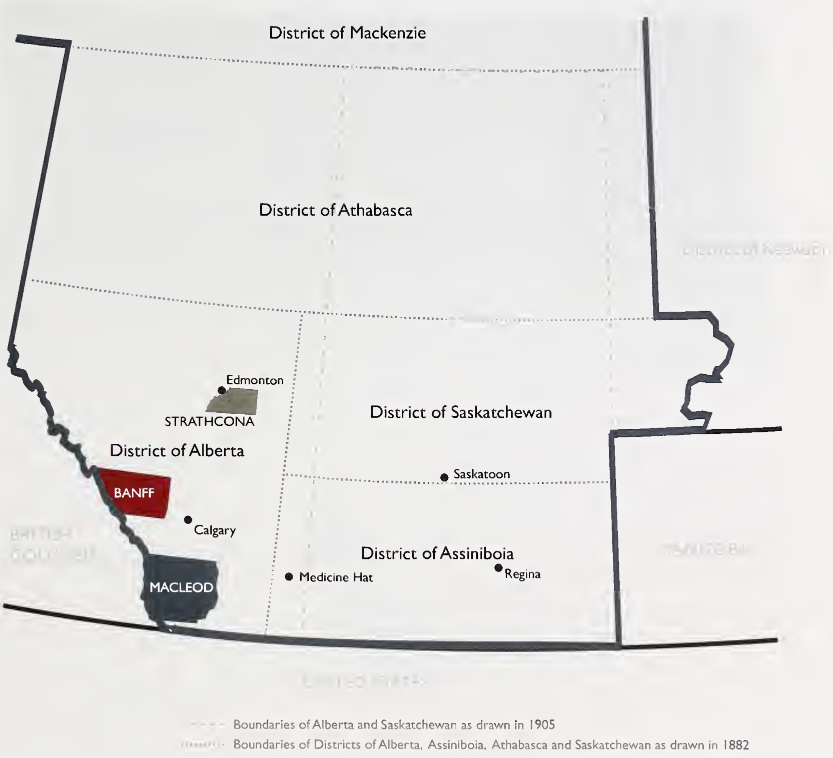
| *Premier* | *Dates of Tenure* | *Length of Service (Calendar Days)* | *Event Marking End of Service* |
|---|---|---|---|
| William Aberhart | September 3, 1935–May 23, 1943 | 2,819 | Died in Office |
| Ernest C. Manning | May 31, 1943*–December 12, 1968 | 9,327 | Resignation |
| Harry E. Strom | December 12, 1968–September 10, 1971 | 1,002 | Resignation after Social Credit Party lost election (August 30, 1971)[†] |
| E. Peter Lougheed | September 10, 1971–November 1, 1985 | 5,166 | Resignation |
| Donald R. Getty | November 1, 1985–December 14, 1992 | 2,600 | Resignation |
| Ralph P. Klein | December 14, 1992– | 4,551<br>(to May 31, 2005) | Premier at time of writing |

---

[*] Premier William Aberhart died in office, on May 23, 1943, while vacationing in Vancouver, British Columbia. Newspaper reports surrounding the funeral and memorial arrangements for Premier Aberhart refer to Provincial Secretary Ernest C. Manning as 'acting Premier' from Aberhart's death until Manning's swearing-in on May 31, 1943. However, while most of the Cabinet and the Acting Premier were attending Aberhart's funeral in Vancouver, the Government of Alberta was administered by D. Bruce MacMillan, Member for Lacombe and Minister of Agriculture (1940–1948). British Columbia Archives, "William Aberhart," City of Vancouver, 26 May 1943, no. 1943-09-624678, microfilm B13179, [Death Registration]; "Pays Tribute: Manning Says Premier's Loss Is Irreparable," *Edmonton Bulletin*, 24 May 1943, pp. 1–2; "Pay Tribute to Aberhart," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), 27 May 1943, p. 2; "Premier to Be Buried at Coast," *Edmonton Journal*, 24 May 1943, p. 1; "Ministerial Appointment," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 36, no. 23, 14 December 1940, p. 1030; Ernest C. Manning, President of the Council, 31 May 1943, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

[†] Although the Social Credit Party lost the 1971 election, Strom was re-elected as Member of the Legislative Assembly for the constituency of Cypress. He served as Leader of the Official Opposition from 1971 to 1972, and resigned as a Member of the Legislative Assembly in 1975.

## North-West Territories 1887-1905

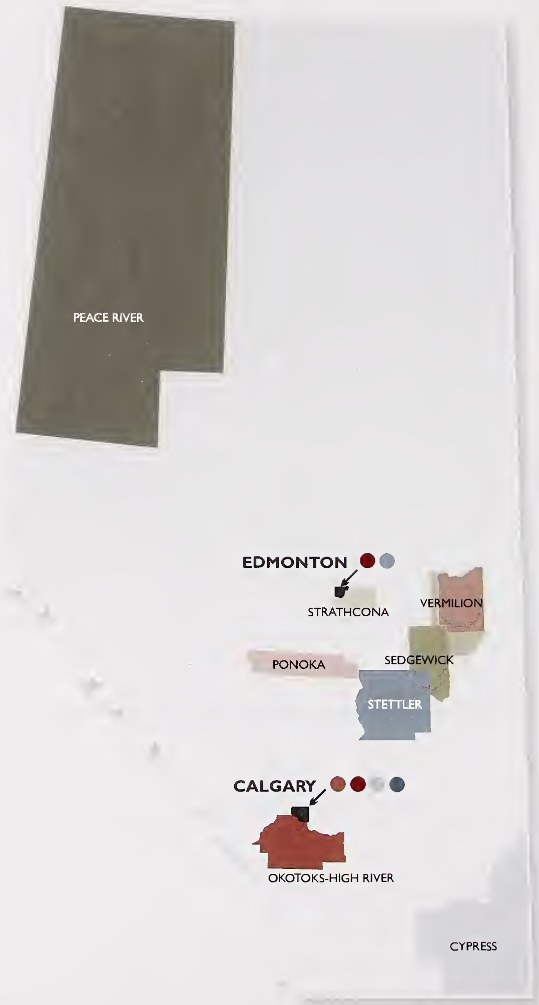

District of Mackenzie
District of Athabasca
District of Keewatin
Edmonton
STRATHCONA
District of Saskatchewan
District of Alberta
BANFF
Saskatoon
Calgary
BRITISH COLUMBIA
District of Assiniboia
MANITOBA
MACLEOD
Medicine Hat
Regina
UNITED STATES
Boundaries of Alberta and Saskatchewan as drawn in 1905
Boundaries of Districts of Alberta, Assiniboia, Athabasca and Saskatchewan as drawn in 1882

■ **Frederick W.A.G. Haultain**
**Premier from 1897-1905**
1887-1905 MACLEOD

■ **Alexander C. Rutherford**
1902-1904 STRATHCONA

■ **Arthur L.W. Sifton**
1899-1904 BANFF

# Alberta 1905-2005


PEACE RIVER
EDMONTON
STRATHCONA
VERMILION
PONOKA
SEDGEWICK
STETTLER
CALGARY
OKOTOKS-HIGH RIVER
CYPRESS

■ **Alexander C. Rutherford**
**Premier from 1905-1910**
1905-1910 STRATHCONA

■ **Arthur L.W. Sifton**
**Premier from 1910-1917**
1910-1917 VERMILION

■ **Charles Stewart**
**Premier from 1917-1921**
1909-1921 SEDGEWICK

■ **Herbert Greenfield**
**Premier from 1921-1925**
1921-1925 PEACE RIVER

■ **John E. Brownlee**
**Premier from 1925-1934**
1921-1935 PONOKA

■ **Richard G. Reid**
**Premier from 1934-1935**
1921-1935 VERMILION

■ **William Aberhart**
**Premier from 1935-1943**
1935-1940 OKOTOKS-HIGH RIVER
1940-1943 CALGARY

■ **Ernest C. Manning**
**Premier from 1943-1968**
1935-1940 CALGARY
1940-1959 EDMONTON
1959-1968 STRATHCONA-EAST

■ **Harry E. Strom**
**Premier from 1968-1971**
1955-1975 CYPRESS

■ **E. Peter Lougheed**
**Premier from 1971-1985**
1967-1985 CALGARY-WEST

■ **Donald R. Getty**
**Premier from 1985-1992**
1967-1971 STRATHCONA-WEST
1971-1979 EDMONTON-WHITEMUD
1985-1989 EDMONTON-WHITEMUD
1989-1992 STETTLER

■ **Ralph P. Klein**
**Premier from 1992-**
1989- CALGARY-ELBOW

# Appendix F – Sessions of the Legislative Assembly

The number of Bills introduced in the Legislative Assembly in any given Session can vary greatly, depending on various factors, including the length of the Session. The greatest number of Bills introduced in one Session was 196. This record was set during the Fourth Session of the 22nd Legislature, which occurred at the end of the tenure of Premier Donald R. Getty (1985–1992) and the beginning of the tenure of Premier Ralph P. Klein (1992– ), and which was 116 days in duration. There have been some notably short Sessions, mostly called for a specific purpose. For example, the Second Session of the Fifth Legislature, which lasted seven days, saw only three Bills introduced and two of these granted Royal Assent. This Session was convened by the United Farmers of Alberta Government, under Premier Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925), to enact legislation to create a wheat board. Similarly, the Social Credit Government, under Premier William Aberhart (1935–1943), convened the Fourth Session of the Eighth Legislature in order to introduce important Social Credit legislation. This Session, which lasted only four days, resulted in 12 Bills being passed.

## Sessions—North-West Territories

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st/1st | October 31, 1888–December 11, 1888 | 8 | 8* | December 11, 1888 | | n/a |
| 1st/2nd | October 16, 1889–November 22, 1889 | 41 | 31 | November 22, 1889 | | n/a |
| 1st/3rd | October 29, 1890–November 29, 1890 | 29 | 24 | November 29, 1890 | No record | n/a |
| 2nd/1st | December 10, 1891–January 25, 1892 | 43 | 38 | January 25, 1892 | | n/a |
| 2nd/2nd | August 2, 1892–September 1, 1892 | 28 | 0† | September 1, 1892 | | n/a |
| 2nd/3rd | December 7, 1892–December 31, 1892 | 43 | 38 | December 31, 1892 | | n/a |

---

* Ordinance No. 1, "An Ordinance respecting the Revised Ordinances of the North-west Territories, 1888," was a compilation of 60 previously enacted Ordinances that were revised and re-enacted under a single piece of legislation.

† In August 1892, the Advisory Council, led by Frederick W. A. G. Haultain, lost a vote of no-confidence in the Legislative Assembly. This was followed by a period of deadlock in the Assembly which prevented any Government business from being accomplished. Lieutenant Governor Joseph Royal (1888–1893) prorogued the Session early. At the time of prorogation, 10 Bills had been passed and were awaiting Royal Assent. At the start of the next Session, the existing Advisory Council resigned, and Haultain was asked to form the Advisory Council. Lewis Herbert Thomas, *Struggle for Responsible Government in the North-West Territories, 1870–97*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), pp. 216–219, 225–226.

## Sessions—North-West Territories *(Continued)*

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2nd/4th | August 17, 1893–September 16, 1893 | 45 | 33 | September 16, 1893 | | n/a |
| 2nd/5th | August 2, 1894–September 7, 1894 | 47 | 42 | September 7, 1894 | October 1, 1894 | n/a |
| 3rd/1st | August 29, 1895–September 30, 1895 | 38 | 35 | September 30, 1895 | | n/a |
| 3rd/2nd | September 29, 1896–October 30, 1896 | 38 | 31 | October 30, 1896 | | n/a |
| 3rd/3rd | October 28, 1897–December 15, 1897 | 45 | 44 | December 15, 1897 | | Frederick Haultain |
| 3rd/4th | August 16, 1898–September 19, 1898 | 44 | 44 | September 19, 1898 | October 13, 1898 | Frederick Haultain |
| 4th/1st | April 4, 1899–April 29, 1899 | 32 | 31 | April 29, 1899 | | Frederick Haultain |
| 4th/2nd | March 29, 1900–May 4, 1900 | 57 | 45 | May 4, 1900 | | Frederick Haultain |
| 4th/3rd | May 2, 1901–June 12, 1901 | 47 | 43 | June 12, 1901 | | Frederick Haultain |
| 4th/4th | March 20, 1902–April 19, 1902 | 30 | 25 | April 19, 1902 | April 26, 1902 | Frederick Haultain |
| 5th/1st | April 16, 1903–June 19, 1903 | 48 | 44 | June 19, 1903 | | Frederick Haultain |
| 5th/2nd | October 29, 1903–November 21, 1903 | 38 | 35 | November 21, 1903 | | Frederick Haultain |
| 5th/3rd | September 22, 1904–October 8, 1904 | 37* | 35 | October 8, 1904 | No record | Frederick Haultain |

---

* Following the Speech from the Throne, Premier Haultain (1897–1905) introduced "A Bill concerning Succession Duties" for first reading. This Bill was not assigned a number and was not brought forward for second reading. It was, most likely, a *pro forma* Bill. The *pro forma* Bill was intended to be a demonstration of the Legislative Assembly's ability and right to determine its own agenda independent from the influence of the Crown.

## Sessions – Alberta

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced** | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier*† |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1st/1st | March 15, 1906–May 9, 1906 | 84 | 76 | May 9, 1906 | | Alexander C. Rutherford |
| 1st/2nd | January 24, 1907–March 15, 1907 | 55 | 49 | March 15, 1907 | | Alexander C. Rutherford |
| 1st/3rd | January 16, 1908–March 5, 1908 | 48 | 43 | March 5, 1908 | | Alexander C. Rutherford |
| 1st/4th | January 14, 1909–February 25, 1909 | 59 | 51 | February 25, 1909 | February 26, 1909 | Alexander C. Rutherford |
| 2nd/1st | February 10, 1910–May 26, 1910 | 55 | 21 | May 26, 1910 | | Alexander C. Rutherford |
| 2nd/2nd | November 10, 1910–December 16, 1910 | 65 | 55 | December 16, 1910 | | Arthur L. W. Sifton |
| 2nd/3rd | November 30, 1911–February 16, 1912 | 87 | 80 | February 16, 1912 | | Arthur L. W. Sifton |
| 2nd/4th | February 11, 1913–March 25, 1913 | 94 | 88 | March 25, 1913 | March 25, 1913 | Arthur L. W. Sifton |

---

* Amongst the total number of Bills shown in the Table for the First Legislature to the Fifth Legislature is included a *pro forma* Bill presented after the Speech from the Throne was read, but before it was considered and debated. The *pro forma* Bill, normally *A Bill respecting the Administration of Oaths of Office for Persons appointed as Justices of the Peace*, was introduced for first reading, but was not dealt with further. In Alberta, this Bill, although occasionally referred to as Bill No. 1, was not usually assigned an official number and was never listed in the index of the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Alberta*. Typically, the Bill was presented by the Premier, but there have been some notable exceptions. Robert Marleau and Camille Montpetit, eds., *House of Commons Procedure and Practice* (Ottawa: Chenelière/McGraw-Hill, 2000), pp. 315, 615; Alistair Fraser, W. F. Dawson, and John A. Holtby, eds., *Beauchesne's Rules & Forms of the House of Commons of Canada*, 6th ed. (Toronto: Carswell Co., 1989), pp. 74–75.

† The Premier of Alberta has typically introduced the first Bill in each Session of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. On a few notable occasions this Bill has been introduced by another member of Cabinet. Premier Charles Stewart (1917–1921) was not able to attend the opening of the Fourth Session of the Fourth Legislature due to a recent appendectomy, so the first Bill was introduced by Charles R. Mitchell, Provincial Treasurer (1913–1921), Minister of Municipal Affairs (1920–1921) and Minister of Health (1920–1921). At the opening of the Third Session of the Fifth Legislature, Premier Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) was suffering from laryngitis, which he had developed after a long speaking tour of the province. Although Greenfield was present in the Chamber, the first Bill was introduced by Richard G. Reid, Minister of Municipal Affairs (1921–1923, 1925–1934) and Minister of Public Health (1921–1923). For reasons that are not clear, the first Bills of the Fourth Session of the Sixth Legislature, the First Session and the Third Session of the Seventh Legislature, the Second Session, Third Session, Fourth Session and Fifth Session of the Eight Legislature, the Second Session of the Ninth Legislature and the Third Session of the 10th Legislature were all presented by a member of Cabinet other than the Premier.

## Sessions – Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3rd/1st | September 16, 1913–October 25, 1913 | 79 | 66 | October 25, 1913 | | Arthur L. W. Sifton |
| 3rd/2nd | October 7, 1914–October 22, 1914 | 62 | 53 | October 22, 1914 | | Arthur L. W. Sifton |
| 3rd/3rd | February 25, 1915–April 17, 1915 | 46 | 39 | April 17, 1915 | | Arthur L. W. Sifton |
| 3rd/4th | February 24, 1916–April 19, 1916 | 52 | 44 | April 19, 1916 | | Arthur L. W. Sifton |
| 3rd/5th | February 6, 1917–April 5, 1917 | 58 | 56 | April 5, 1917 | May 14, 1917 | Arthur L. W. Sifton |
| 4th/1st | February 7, 1918–April 13, 1918 | 64 | 59 | April 13, 1918 | | Charles Stewart |
| 4th/2nd | February 4, 1919–April 17, 1919 | 72 | 65 | April 17, 1919 | | Charles Stewart |
| 4th/3rd | February 17, 1920–April 10, 1920 | 56 | 50 | April 10, 1920 | | Charles Stewart |
| 4th/4th | February 15, 1921–April 19, 1921 | 92 | 78 | April 19, 1921 | June 23, 1921 | Charles Stewart |
| 5th/1st | February 2, 1922–March 28, 1922 | 101* | 91 | March 28, 1922 | | Herbert Greenfield |
| 5th/2nd | July 25, 1922–July 31, 1922 | 3 | 2 | July 31, 1922 | | Herbert Greenfield |
| 5th/3rd | January 23, 1923–April 21, 1923 | 76† | 68 | April 21, 1923 | | Herbert Greenfield |
| 5th/4th | January 28, 1924–April 12, 1924 | 55 | 47 | April 12, 1924 | | Herbert Greenfield |

---

* Bill No. 7, *An Act to amend the Acts constituting The Edmonton Charter and to empower the Council to adjust the Special Assessments respecting the Wadhurst Park Sewer*, was withdrawn after second reading. Bill No. 9, *An Act to provide for a System of Highways in the Province*, and Bill No. 14, *An Act to establish a Bureau of Labour*, were withdrawn after first reading. All three Bills were re-introduced later in the same Session under the same names and numbers. They all passed and were granted Royal Assent. These three Bills have been counted twice as each version went through a first reading.

† Bill No. 73, *An Act to amend The Statute Law*, was withdrawn after second reading. It was re-introduced with the same name and number later in the Session. It was passed and was granted Royal Assent. This Bill has been counted twice as each version went through a first reading.

## Sessions – Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5th/5th | February 19, 1925–August 6, 1925<br>Sittings:<br>February 19–April 10<br>August 3–August 6 | 85 | 72 | August 6, 1925 | | Herbert Greenfield |
| 5th/6th | February 11, 1926–May 22, 1926<br>Sittings:<br>February 11–April 8<br>May 20–May 22 | 90 | 81 | May 22, 1926 | May 25, 1926 | John E. Brownlee |
| 6th/1st | February 10, 1927–April 2, 1927 | 91* | 83 | April 2, 1927 | | John E. Brownlee |
| 6th/2nd | February 2, 1928–March 21, 1928 | 83 | 79 | March 21, 1928 | | John E. Brownlee |
| 6th/3rd | January 31, 1929–March 20, 1929 | 84 | 75 | March 20, 1929 | | John E. Brownlee |
| 6th/4th | January 30, 1930–April 3, 1930<br>Sittings:<br>January 30–March 21<br>April 2–April 3 | 83 | 72 | April 3, 1930 | May 10, 1930 | John E. Brownlee |
| 7th/1st | January 29, 1931–March 28, 1931 | 94 | 85 | March 28, 1931 | | John E. Brownlee |
| 7th/2nd | February 4, 1932–April 6, 1932 | 77† | 75 | April 6, 1932 | | John E. Brownlee |

---

* Starting with the First Session of the Sixth Legislature, the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) abolished the practice of introducing the *pro forma* Bill. The official UFA newspaper reported that one of the many innovations to be brought about was "the elimination of that old 'dud' known as Bill No. 1–an act respecting the oath of office of justices of the peace, which has come up for first reading at the opening session of the Legislature since 1905. Instead there was read a first time, a real, honest-to-goodness measure intended to amend the Insurance Act, which measure will run the gamut of all processes up to final enactment or defeat." "First Session of Sixth Legislature of Alberta Opens," *U.F.A.* (Calgary), 22 February 1927, p. 4. From this point forward, the first Bill introduced was a piece of actual legislation. However, the first Bill presented was not necessarily given the designation of Bill No. 1. Typically, the Premier introduced the first Bill, although there continued to be exceptions.

† Bill No. 11, *An Act Respecting Unemployment*, was withdrawn after first reading. It was re-introduced under the same name and number later in the Session. It was passed and granted Royal Assent. It has been counted twice as each version went through a first reading.

## Sessions – Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7th/3rd | February 9, 1933–April 11, 1933 | 69 | 65 | April 11, 1933 | | John E. Brownlee |
| 7th/4th | February 8, 1934–April 16, 1934 | 83[*] | 76 | April 16, 1934 | | John E. Brownlee |
| 7th/5th | February 7, 1935–April 23, 1935 | 99 | 89 | April 23, 1935 | July 22, 1935 | Richard G. Reid |
| 8th/1st | February 6, 1936–April 7, 1936 | 114 | 108 | April 7, 1936 | | William Aberhart |
| 8th/2rd | August 25, 1936–September 1, 1936 | 20 | 17 | September 1, 1936 | | William Aberhart |
| 8th/3rd | February 25, 1937–June 17, 1937 | 106 | 91 | June 17, 1937 | | William Aberhart |
| 8th/4th | August 3, 1937–August 6, 1937 | 12 | 12 | August 6, 1937 | | William Aberhart |
| 8th/5th | September 24, 1937–October 5, 1937 | 11 | 8[†] | October 5, 1937 | | William Aberhart |
| 8th/6th | February 10, 1938–April 8, 1938 | 114 | 103 | April 8, 1938 | | William Aberhart |
| 8th/7th | November 15, 1938–November 22, 1938 | 8 | 8 | November 22, 1938 | | William Aberhart |
| 8th/8th | February 9, 1939–April 3, 1939 | 105 | 102 | April 3, 1939 | | William Aberhart |
| 8th/9th | February 8, 1940–February 16, 1940 | 35 | 35 | February 16, 1940 | February 16, 1940 | William Aberhart |
| 9th/1st | February 20, 1941–April 8, 1941 | 124 | 123 | April 8, 1941 | | William Aberhart |
| 9th/2nd | January 29, 1942–March 19, 1942 | 73 | 71 | March 19, 1942 | | William Aberhart |

---

[*] Bill No. 32, *An Act to confer certain Powers relating to the Control and Marketing of Wheat*, was withdrawn after first reading. It was re-introduced under the same name and number later in the Session. It was passed and granted Royal Assent. It has been counted twice as each version went through a first reading.

[†] Three Bills from this Session were passed by the Legislative Assembly, but were reserved by the Lieutenant Governor. The Bills were Bill No. 1, *An Act respecting The Taxation of Banks*; Bill No. 8, *An Act to amend and Consolidate The Credit of Alberta Regulation Act*; and Bill No. 9, *An Act to ensure The Publication of Accurate News and Information*. All three Bills were found to be *ultra vires* the Legislative Assembly.

## Sessions – Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 9th/3rd | February 18, 1943–March 30, 1943 | 47 | 44 | March 30, 1943 | | William Aberhart |
| 9th/4th | February 10, 1944–March 24, 1944 | 82 | 81 | March 24, 1944 | July 7, 1944 | Ernest C. Manning |
| 10th/1st | February 22, 1945–April 6, 1945 | 79 | 75 | April 6, 1945 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 10th/2nd | July 24, 1945–July 26, 1945 | 8 | 8 | July 26, 1945 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 10th/3rd | February 14, 1946–March 27, 1946 | 82 | 82 | March 27, 1946 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 10th/4th | February 20, 1947–March 31, 1947 | 88 | 87 | March 31, 1947 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 10th/5th | February 19, 1948–March 31, 1948 | 96 | 94 | March 31, 1948 | July 16, 1948 | Ernest C. Manning |
| 11th/1st | February 17, 1949–March 29, 1949 | 124 | 119 | March 29, 1949 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 11th/2nd | July 4, 1949–July 7, 1949 | 8 | 8 | July 7, 1949 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 11th/3rd | February 23, 1950–April 5, 1950 | 85 | 84 | April 5, 1950 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 11th/4th | February 22, 1951–April 7, 1951 | 117 | 113 | April 7, 1951 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 11th/5th | February 21, 1952–April 10, 1952 | 113 | 111 | April 10, 1952 | July 3, 1952 | Ernest C. Manning |
| 12th/1st | February 19, 1953–April 2, 1953 | 129 | 127 | April 2, 1953 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 12th/2nd | February 18, 1954–April 8, 1954 | 122 | 121 | April 8, 1954 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 12th/3rd | February 17, 1955–May 12, 1955 | 93 | 92 | May 12, 1955 | May 12, 1955 | Ernest C. Manning |
| 13th/1st | August 17, 1955–August 25, 1955 | 8 | 8 | August 25, 1955 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 13th/2nd | February 9, 1956–March 29, 1956 | 77 | 76 | March 29, 1956 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 13th/3rd | February 14, 1957–April 11, 1957 | 124 | 117 | April 11, 1957 | | Ernest C. Manning |

## Sessions – Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13th/4th | February 20, 1958–April 14, 1958 | 107 | 104 | April 14, 1958 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 13th/5th | February 5, 1959–April 7, 1959 | 110 | 105 | April 7, 1959 | May 9, 1959 | Ernest C. Manning |
| 14th/1st | February 11, 1960–April 11, 1960 | 129 | 125 | April 11, 1960 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 14th/2nd | February 16, 1961–April 12, 1961 | 108 | 107 | April 12, 1961 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 14th/3rd | November 28, 1961–November 29, 1961 | 2 | 1 | November 29, 1961 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 14th/4th | February 15, 1962–April 5, 1962 | 120 | 117 | April 5, 1962 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 14th/5th | February 14, 1963–March 29, 1963 | 91 | 89 | March 29, 1963 | May 9, 1963 | Ernest C. Manning |
| 15th/1st | February 13, 1964–April 15, 1964 | 157 | 151 | April 15, 1964 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 15th/2nd | February 18, 1965–April 12, 1965 | 132 | 131 | April 12, 1965 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 15th/3rd | February 17, 1966–April 18, 1966 | 130 | 125 | April 18, 1966 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 15th/4th | November 16, 1966–November 17, 1966 | 2 | 1 | November 17, 1966 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 15th/5th | February 9, 1967–April 11, 1967 | 103 | 100 | April 11, 1967 | April 14, 1967 | Ernest C. Manning |

## Sessions – Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16th/1st | February 15, 1968–May 2, 1968 | 116 | 114 | May 2, 1968 | | Ernest C. Manning |
| 16th/2nd | February 13, 1969–May 7, 1969 | 125 | 123 | May 7, 1969 | | Harry E. Strom |
| 16th/3rd | January 29, 1970–April 15, 1970 | 147 | 121 | April 15, 1970 | | Harry E. Strom |
| 16th/4th | February 11, 1971–April 27, 1971 | 142 | 120 | April 27, 1971 | July 22, 1971 | Harry E. Strom |
| 17th/1st | March 2, 1972–November 22, 1972<br>Sittings:<br>March 2–June 2<br>October 25–November 22 | 153* | 131 | November 22, 1972 | | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 17th/2nd | February 15, 1973–December 14, 1973<br>Sittings:<br>February 15–May 10<br>October 10–October 30<br>December 3–December 14 | 119 | 104 | December 14, 1973 | | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 17th/3rd | March 7, 1974–November 6, 1974<br>Sittings:<br>March 7–June 6<br>October 23–November 6 | 137 | 84 | November 6, 1974 | | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 17th/4th | January 23, 1975–February 14, 1975 | 48 | 2 | February 14, 1975 | February 14, 1975 | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 18th/1st | May 15, 1975–December 15, 1975<br>Sittings:<br>May 15–June 25<br>November 12–December 15 | 120 | 93 | December 15, 1975 | | E. Peter Lougheed |

---

* Starting with the First Session of the 17th Legislature, the first Bill introduced was given the official designation of Bill No. 1.

## Sessions – Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18th/2nd | March 4, 1976–<br>November 4, 1976<br>Sittings:<br>March 4–May 19<br>October 13–<br>November 4 | 129 | 91 | November 4, 1976 | | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 18th/3rd | February 24, 1977–<br>November 10, 1977<br>Sittings:<br>February 24–May 18<br>October 12–<br>November 10 | 165 | 102 | November 10, 1977 | | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 18th/4th | March 2, 1978–<br>November 3, 1978<br>Sittings:<br>March 2–May 16<br>October 11–<br>November 3 | 141 | 80 | November 3, 1978 | February 14, 1979 | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 19th/1st | May 24, 1979–<br>November 16, 1979<br>Sittings:<br>May 24–July 4<br>October 10–<br>November 16 | 125 | 84 | November 16, 1979 | | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 19th/2nd | March 20, 1980–<br>March 30, 1981<br>Sittings:<br>March 20–May 22<br>October 20, 1980–<br>March 30, 1981 | 144 | 99 | March 30, 1981 | | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 19th/3rd | April 2, 1981–<br>March 1, 1982<br>Sittings:<br>April 2–June 2<br>October 14, 1981–<br>March 1, 1982 | 167 | 109 | March 1, 1982 | | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 19th/4th | March 4, 1982–<br>May 4, 1982 | 81 | 47 | May 4, 1982 | October 5, 1982 | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 20th/1st | March 10, 1983–<br>March 2, 1984<br>Sittings:<br>March 10–June 6<br>October 19, 1983–<br>March 2, 1984 | 168 | 123 | March 2, 1984 | | E. Peter Lougheed |

## Sessions – Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 20th/2nd | March 15, 1984–March 13, 1985<br>Sittings:<br>March 15–May 31<br>October 17–November 13<br>March 13, 1985 | 150 | 99 | March 13, 1985 | | E. Peter Lougheed |
| 20th/3rd | March 14, 1985–April 2, 1986 | 134 | 84 | April 2, 1986 | | E. Peter Lougheed/ Donald R. Getty |
| 20th/4th | April 3, 1986–April 10, 1986 | 27 | 0 | April 10, 1986 | April 10, 1986 | Donald R. Getty |
| 21st/1st | June 12, 1986–September 18, 1986 | 124 | 65 | March 4, 1987 | | Donald R. Getty |
| 21st/2nd | March 5, 1987–March 16, 1988<br>Sittings:<br>March 5–June 17<br>November 23–December 10 | 137 | 76 | March 16, 1988 | | Donald R. Getty |
| 21st/3rd | March 17, 1988–July 6, 1988 | 129 | 73 | February 16, 1989 | | Donald R. Getty |
| 21st/4th | February 17, 1989 | 1 | 0 | February 17, 1989 | February 20, 1989 | Donald R. Getty |
| 22nd/1st | June 1, 1989–August 18, 1989 | 95 | 35 | March 7, 1990 | | Donald R. Getty |
| 22nd/2nd | March 8, 1990–March 13, 1991<br>Sittings:<br>March 8–July 5<br>November 26–December 14 | 148 | 61 | March 13, 1991 | | Donald R. Getty |
| 22nd/3rd | March 14, 1991–June 25, 1991 | 121 | 56 | March 18, 1992 | | Donald R. Getty |
| 22nd/4th | March 19, 1992–May 18, 1993<br>Sittings:<br>March 19–July 2<br>September 21–September 22<br>January 25–February 12<br>April 21– May 17 | 196 | 69 | No record | May 18, 1993 | Donald R. Getty/ Ralph P. Klein |

## Sessions – Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 23rd/1st | August 30, 1993–November 9, 1993 | 94 | 31 | February 9, 1994 | | Ralph P. Klein |
| 23rd/2nd | February 10, 1994–February 12, 1995<br>Sittings:<br>February 10–June 1<br>October 18–November 10 | 107 | 68 | February 12, 1995 | | Ralph P. Klein |
| 23rd/3rd | February 13, 1995–February 12, 1996<br>Sittings:<br>February 13–May 16<br>October 11–November 1 | 90 | 59 | February 12, 1996 | | Ralph P. Klein |
| 23rd/4th | February 13, 1996–February 9, 1997<br>Sittings:<br>February 13–May 23<br>August 14–August 27 | 78 | 56 | February 9, 1997 | | Ralph P. Klein |
| 23rd/5th | February 10, 1997–February 11, 1997 | 21 | 0 | February 11, 1997 | February 11, 1997 | Ralph P. Klein |
| 24th/1st | April 14, 1997–January 26, 1998<br>Sittings:<br>April 14–June 16<br>December 8–December 10 | 60 | 39 | January 26, 1998 | | Ralph P. Klein |
| 24th/2nd | January 27, 1998–February 15, 1999<br>Sittings:<br>January 27–April 29<br>November 16–December 8 | 86 | 52 | February 15, 1999 | | Ralph P. Klein |
| 24th/3rd | February 16, 1999–February 16, 2000<br>Sittings:<br>February 16–May 18<br>November 17–December 8 | 78 | 48 | February 16, 2000 | | Ralph P. Klein |

## Sessions – Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Legislature / Session* | *Session Dates* | *Number of Bills Introduced* | *Number of Bills Granted Royal Assent* | *Prorogation Date* | *Dissolution Date* | *Premier* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 24th/4th | February 17, 2000–February 11, 2001<br>Sittings:<br>February 17–May 25<br>November 14–November 28 | 53 | 34 | February 11, 2001 | | Ralph P. Klein |
| 24th/5th | February 12, 2001 | 0 | 0 | No record | February 12, 2001 | Ralph P. Klein |
| 25th/1st | April 9, 2001–February 25, 2002*<br>Sittings:<br>April 9–May 31<br>November 13–November 29 | 51 | 38 | February 25, 2002 | | Ralph P. Klein |
| 25th/2nd | February 26, 2002–February 17, 2003<br>Sittings:<br>February 26–May 14<br>November 19–December 14 | 56 | 42 | February 17, 2003 | | Ralph P. Klein |
| 25th/3rd | February 18, 2003–February 16, 2004<br>Sittings:<br>February 18–May 15<br>November 18–December 3 | 77 | 62 | February 16, 2004 | | Ralph P. Klein |
| 25th/4th | February 17, 2004–October 25, 2004<br>Sittings:<br>February 17–May 13 | 55 | 42 | No record | October 25, 2004 | Ralph P. Klein |
| 26th/1st | March 1, 2005–†<br>Sittings:<br>March 1–May 24 | 53 | 27‡ | | | Ralph P. Klein |

---

* The title pages for the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta* for the first three Sessions of the 25th Legislature show the end of the Session as the last sitting day rather than the date of prorogation.

† At the time of writing the First Session of the 26th Legislature was still sitting.

‡ At the time of writing an additional 18 Bills had been passed by the Legislative Assembly and were awaiting Royal Assent.

**Alberta:**

Longest Continuous Sitting: 75 days (22nd Legislature, Second Session).
Fewest Sessions in a Legislature: 3 (12th Legislature).
Greatest Number of Sessions in a Legislature: 9 (Eighth Legislature).
Most Bills Introduced in a Session: 196 (22nd Legislature, Fourth Session).
Most Bills granted Royal Assent in a Session: 151 (15th Legislature, First Session).

# Appendix G – Officials by Legislature

Records for some officials of the Legislature are incomplete, especially for the North-West Territories and for the early days in Alberta, and have been compiled from various sources, such as the *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories*, *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta*, *North-West Territories Gazette*, *Alberta Gazette*, *Orders in Council*, *Canadian Parliamentary Guide* and *Canadian Parliamentary Companion,* as well as records from the Provincial Archives of Alberta, news releases and newspaper accounts. In some cases, it was not possible to verify full names, proper titles or exact dates of service using primary sources.

The officials for the Legislatures of the North-West Territories and Alberta* are as follows:

| Officials–North-West Territories | |
|---|---|
| *Third Legislature (August 29, 1895 – September 19, 1898)*[†] | |
| Governor General of Canada | Earl of Aberdeen |
| Prime Minister of Canada | Mackenzie Bowell, Charles Tupper, Wilfrid Laurier |
| Lieutenant Governor | Charles H. Mackintosh, Malcolm C. Cameron |
| Premier | Frederick W. A. G. Haultain<br>(as of October 7, 1897)[‡] |
| Speaker | John F. Betts |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Robert B. Gordon |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | John A. Reid |

---

[*] As the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories was subordinate to the Dominion Parliament in Ottawa, the positions of Governor General and Prime Minister of Canada are included in the North-West Territories table. Upon its creation in 1905, the Legislative Assembly of Alberta was not subordinate to the Dominion Parliament. For the Alberta table the position of Prime Minister of Canada is included as a point of reference.

[†] The Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories was non-partisan, meaning that its Members did not have party affiliations. Therefore, there was no Leader of the Opposition in the North-West Territories.

[‡] In 1897, an amendment to the *North-West Territories Act* made provision for the appointment of an Executive Council with a President, i.e. a Cabinet and a Premier. Prior to this amendment, Haultain was widely considered to be *de facto* Premier, although he was not officially recognized as Premier. In 1897, Haultain was appointed the first President of the Executive Council and Premier of the North-West Territories.

## Officials–North-West Territories *(Continued)*

### *Fourth Legislature (April 4, 1899 – April 19, 1902)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Governor General of Canada | Earl of Minto |
| Prime Minister of Canada | Wilfrid Laurier |
| Lieutenant Governor | Amédée E. M. Forget |
| Premier | Frederick W. A. G. Haultain |
| Speaker | William Eakin |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Robert B. Gordon, Samuel S. Page |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | John A. Reid |

### *Fifth Legislature (April 16, 1903 – October 8, 1904)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Governor General of Canada | Earl of Minto |
| Prime Minister of Canada | Wilfrid Laurier |
| Lieutenant Governor | Amédée E. M. Forget |
| Premier | Frederick W. A. G. Haultain |
| Speaker | Archibald B. Gillis |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Samuel S. Page |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | John A. Reid |

## Officials–Alberta

### *First Legislature (March 15, 1906 – February 25, 1909)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | Wilfrid Laurier |
| Lieutenant Governor | George H. V. Bulyea |
| Premier | Alexander C. Rutherford |
| Speaker | Charles W. Fisher |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | John R. Cowell |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | Murdoch J. Macleod |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Albert J. Robertson |

### *Second Legislature (February 10, 1910 – March 25, 1913)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | Wilfrid Laurier, Robert L. Borden |
| Lieutenant Governor | George H. V. Bulyea |
| Premier | Alexander C. Rutherford, Arthur L. W. Sifton |
| Speaker | Charles W. Fisher |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | John R. Cowell |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | Murdoch J. Macleod, Donald Baker |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Richard B. Bennett, Edward Michener |

| Officials–Alberta *(Continued)* | |
|---|---|
| *Third Legislature (September 16, 1913 – April 5, 1917)* | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | Robert L. Borden |
| Lieutenant Governor | George H. V. Bulyea, Robert G. Brett |
| Premier | Arthur L. W. Sifton |
| Speaker | Charles W. Fisher |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | John R. Cowell |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | Donald Baker, John D. Hunt |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Edward Michener |
| *Fourth Legislature (February 7, 1918 – April 19, 1921)* | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | Robert L. Borden, Arthur Meighen |
| Lieutenant Governor | Robert G. Brett |
| Premier | Charles Stewart |
| Speaker | Charles W. Fisher, Charles S. Pingle |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | John R. Cowell |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | John D. Hunt |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | George Hoadley, James Ramsey, Albert F. Ewing |
| *Fifth Legislature (February 2, 1922 – May 22, 1926)* | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | W. L. Mackenzie King |
| Lieutenant Governor | Robert G. Brett, William Egbert |
| Premier | Herbert Greenfield, John E. Brownlee |
| Speaker | Oran L. McPherson |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | John R. Cowell, Robert A. Andison |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | John D. Hunt |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | John R. Boyle, Charles R. Mitchell, John C. Bowen |
| *Sixth Legislature (February 10, 1927 – April 3, 1930)* | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | W. L. Mackenzie King |
| Lieutenant Governor | William Egbert |
| Premier | John E. Brownlee |
| Speaker | George N. Johnston |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Robert A. Andison |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | John D. Hunt |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | No officially recognized Leader of the Opposition |

## Officials–Alberta *(Continued)*

*Seventh Legislature (January 29, 1931 – April 23, 1935)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | Richard B. Bennett |
| Lieutenant Governor | William Egbert, William L. Walsh |
| Premier | John E. Brownlee, Richard G. Reid |
| Speaker | George N. Johnston |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Robert A. Andison |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | John D. Hunt |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | No officially recognized Leader of the Opposition |

*Eighth Legislature (February 6, 1936 – February 16, 1940)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | W. L. Mackenzie King |
| Lieutenant Governor | William L. Walsh, Philip C. H. Primrose, John C. Bowen |
| Premier | William Aberhart |
| Speaker | N. Eldon Tanner, Peter Dawson |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Robert A. Andison |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | Robert A. Andison |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | No officially recognized Leader of the Opposition |

*Ninth Legislature (February 20, 1941 – March 24, 1944)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | W. L. Mackenzie King |
| Lieutenant Governor | John C. Bowen |
| Premier | William Aberhart, Ernest C. Manning |
| Speaker | Peter Dawson |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Robert A. Andison |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | Robert A. Andison |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | James H. Walker, Alfred Speakman, James C. Mahaffy, James H. Walker |

*10th Legislature (February 22, 1945 – March 31, 1948)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | W. L. Mackenzie King |
| Lieutenant Governor | John C. Bowen |
| Premier | Ernest C. Manning |
| Speaker | Peter Dawson |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Robert A. Andison |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | Robert A. Andison |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | J. Percy Page |

## Officials–Alberta *(Continued)*

### *11th Legislature (February 17, 1949 – April 10, 1952)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | Louis S. St. Laurent |
| Lieutenant Governor | John C. Bowen, John J. Bowlen |
| Premier | Ernest C. Manning |
| Speaker | Peter Dawson |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Robert A. Andison |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | Robert A. Andison |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | No officially recognized Leader of the Opposition (1949–1951), J. Harper Prowse (1952) |

### *12th Legislature (February 19, 1953 – May 12, 1955)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | Louis S. St. Laurent |
| Lieutenant Governor | John J. Bowlen |
| Premier | Ernest C. Manning |
| Speaker | Peter Dawson |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Robert A. Andison |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | Robert A. Andison |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | J. Harper Prowse |

### *13th Legislature (August 17, 1955 – April 7, 1959)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | Louis S. St. Laurent, John G. Diefenbaker |
| Lieutenant Governor | John J. Bowlen |
| Premier | Ernest C. Manning |
| Speaker | Peter Dawson |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Raymond A. Crevolin |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | Raymond A. Crevolin |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | J. Harper Prowse, J. W. Grant MacEwan |

### *14th Legislature (February 11, 1960 – March 29, 1963)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | John G. Diefenbaker |
| Lieutenant Governor | J. Percy Page |
| Premier | Ernest C. Manning |
| Speaker | Peter Dawson, Arthur J. Dixon |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Raymond A. Crevolin |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | Raymond A. Crevolin |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | No officially recognized Leader of the Opposition |

### Officials–Alberta *(Continued)*

| *15th Legislature (February 13, 1964 – April 11, 1967)* | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | Lester B. Pearson |
| Lieutenant Governor | J. Percy Page, J. W. Grant MacEwan |
| Premier | Ernest C. Manning |
| Speaker | Arthur J. Dixon |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Raymond A. Crevolin, William H. MacDonald |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | Raymond A. Crevolin, William H. MacDonald |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Michael Maccagno |
| *16th Legislature (February 15, 1968 – April 27, 1971)* | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | Lester B. Pearson, Pierre E. Trudeau |
| Lieutenant Governor | J. W. Grant MacEwan |
| Premier | Ernest C. Manning, Harry E. Strom |
| Speaker | Arthur J. Dixon |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | William H. MacDonald |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | William H. MacDonald |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | E. Peter Lougheed |
| *17th Legislature (March 2, 1972 – February 14, 1975)* | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | Pierre E. Trudeau |
| Lieutenant Governor | J. W. Grant MacEwan, Ralph G. Steinhauer |
| Premier | E. Peter Lougheed |
| Deputy Premier | Dr. Hugh M. Horner |
| Speaker | Gerard J. Amerongen |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | William H. MacDonald |
| Clerk of the Executive Council | William H. MacDonald, E. M. 'Ted' Mills,* Harry B. Hobbs† |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Harry E. Strom, James D. Henderson, Robert C. Clark |

---

* E. M. 'Ted' Mills became Clerk of the Executive Council in 1973, after which William H. MacDonald no longer served concurrently as Clerk of the Legislative Assembly and as Clerk of the Executive Council.

† On July 15, 1974, Harry Hobbs was appointed Clerk of the Executive Council and Deputy Minister of Executive Council. O.C. 1233/74, Alberta.

## Officials–Alberta *(Continued)*

### *18th Legislature (May 15, 1975 – November 3, 1978)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | Pierre E. Trudeau |
| Lieutenant Governor | Ralph G. Steinhauer |
| Premier | E. Peter Lougheed |
| Deputy Premier | Dr. Hugh M. Horner |
| Speaker | Gerard J. Amerongen |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | William H. MacDonald, Bohdan J. D. Stefaniuk |
| Clerk of the Executive Council and Deputy Minister of Executive Council | Harry B. Hobbs |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Robert C. Clark |

### *19th Legislature (May 24, 1979 – May 4, 1982)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | Pierre E. Trudeau, C. Joseph Clark, Pierre E. Trudeau |
| Lieutenant Governor | Ralph G. Steinhauer, Frank C. Lynch-Staunton |
| Premier | E. Peter Lougheed |
| Deputy Premier | Dr. Hugh M. Horner* |
| Speaker | Gerard J. Amerongen |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Bohdan J. D. Stefaniuk |
| Clerk of the Executive Council and Deputy Minister of Executive Council | Harry B. Hobbs |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Robert C. Clark, Raymond A. Speaker |

### *20th Legislature (March 10, 1983 – April 10, 1986)*

| | |
|---|---|
| Prime Minister of Canada | Pierre E. Trudeau, John N. Turner, M. Brian Mulroney |
| Lieutenant Governor | Frank C. Lynch-Staunton, W. Helen Hunley |
| Premier | E. Peter Lougheed, Donald R. Getty |
| Deputy Premier | David J. Russell |
| Speaker | Gerard J. Amerongen |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Bohdan J. D. Stefaniuk |
| Clerk of the Executive Council and Deputy Minister of Executive Council | Harry B. Hobbs, George F. DeRappard |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | W. Grant Notley, Raymond J. Martin |

---

* Hugh Horner resigned on September 24, 1979. No one was appointed to the position of Deputy Premier, during the remainder of this Legislature, although Louis 'Lou' D. Hyndman usually served as Acting Premier during periods of Premier Peter Lougheed's absence.

| Officials–Alberta *(Continued)* | |
|---|---|
| *21st Legislature (June 12, 1986 – February 17, 1989)* | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | M. Brian Mulroney |
| Lieutenant Governor | W. Helen Hunley |
| Premier | Donald R. Getty |
| Deputy Premier | David J. Russell |
| Speaker | David J. Carter |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Bohdan J. D. Stefaniuk, Karen M. South (acting), Dr. W. J. David McNeil |
| Clerk of the Executive Council and Deputy Minister of Executive Council | George F. DeRappard, Dr. G. Barry Mellon |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Raymond J. Martin |
| *22nd Legislature (June 1, 1989 – May 18, 1993)** | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | M. Brian Mulroney |
| Lieutenant Governor | W. Helen Hunley, T. Gordon Towers |
| Premier | Donald R. Getty, Ralph P. Klein |
| Deputy Premier | James D. Horsman, Peter Elzinga, Kenneth R. Kowalski |
| Speaker | David J. Carter |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Dr. W. J. David McNeil |
| Clerk of the Executive Council and Deputy Minister of Executive Council | Dr. G. Barry Mellon, Vance A. MacNichol |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Raymond J. Martin |
| *23rd Legislature (August 30, 1993 – February 11, 1997)* | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | A. Kim Campbell, J. J. Jean Chrétien |
| Lieutenant Governor | T. Gordon Towers, Horace A. 'Bud' Olson |
| Premier | Ralph P. Klein |
| Deputy Premier | Kenneth R. Kowalski |
| Speaker | Stanley S. Schumacher |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Dr. W. J. David McNeil |
| Clerk of the Executive Council and Deputy Minister of Executive Council | Vance A. MacNichol |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Laurence G. Decore, D. Grant Mitchell |

---

* There is no record of prorogation for the 22nd Legislature. Instead, the dissolution date is used as the end date. The final sitting day was May 17, 1993.

| Officials–Alberta *(Continued)* | |
|---|---|
| *24th Legislature (April 14, 1997 – February 12, 2001)** | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | J. J. Jean Chrétien |
| Lieutenant Governor | Horace A. 'Bud' Olson, Lois E. Hole |
| Premier | Ralph P. Klein |
| Deputy Premier | No Deputy Premier appointed |
| Speaker | Kenneth R. Kowalski |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Dr. W. J. David McNeil |
| Clerk of the Executive Council and Deputy Minister of Executive Council | Vance A. MacNichol, John 'Jack' C. Davis, Julian J. Nowicki |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | D. Grant Mitchell, Nancy J. MacBeth |
| *25th Legislature (April 9, 2001 – October 25, 2004)†* | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | J. J. Jean Chrétien, Paul E. P. Martin |
| Lieutenant Governor | Lois E. Hole |
| Premier | Ralph P. Klein |
| Deputy Premier | Shirley A. M. McClellan |
| Speaker | Kenneth R. Kowalski |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Dr. W. J. David McNeil |
| Clerk of the Executive Council and Deputy Minister of Executive Council | Julian J. Nowicki |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Dr. Kenneth J. Nicol, Dr. Kevin E. Taft |
| *26th Legislature (March 1, 2005 –  )* | |
| Prime Minister of Canada | Paul E. P. Martin |
| Lieutenant Governor | Norman L. Kwong |
| Premier | Ralph P. Klein |
| Deputy Premier | Shirley A. M. McClellan |
| Speaker | Kenneth R. Kowalski |
| Clerk of the Legislative Assembly | Dr. W. J. David McNeil |
| Clerk of the Executive Council and Deputy Minister of Executive Council | Ronald J. Hicks |
| Leader of the Official Opposition | Dr. Kevin E. Taft |

---

* There is no record of prorogation for the 24th Legislature. On February 12, 2001, after the Speech from the Throne, the Premier announced that the Lieutenant Governor had consented to the dissolution of the Legislature.

† There is no record of prorogation for the 25th Legislature. Instead, the dissolution date is used as the end date. The final sitting day was May 13, 2004.

# Appendix H – Premiers' Ages

In the history of the Province of Alberta, the youngest person to become Premier was Ernest C. Manning, at age 34; William Aberhart, at age 56, was the oldest. To date, the average age at appointment for the Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta from 1897 to 2005 is 48 years, six months. The average age at appointment for the Premiers of Alberta is 49 years, three months.

**Premiers' Ages–North-West Territories and Alberta**

| *Premier* | *Date of Birth* | *Appointment as Premier* | | | *End of Tenure as Premier* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Date of Swearing-in* | *Age at Appointment* | *Rank, Youngest to Oldest (of 13)* | *End Date* | *Age at End of Tenure* | *Rank, Youngest to Oldest (of 12)* |
| Frederick W. A. G. Haultain | November 25, 1857 | October 7, 1897 | 39 years, 10 months, 12 days | 2 | August 31, 1905 | 47 years, 9 months, 6 days | 1 |
| Alexander C. Rutherford | February 2, 1857 | September 8, 1905* | 48 years, 7 months, 5 days | 5 | May 26, 1910 | 53 years, 3 months, 24 days | 4 |
| Arthur L. W. Sifton | October 26, 1858 | May 26, 1910 | 51 years, 7 months, 0 days | 8 | October 12, 1917 | 58 years, 11 months, 16 days | 9 |
| Charles Stewart | August 26, 1868 | October 13, 1917 | 49 years, 1 months, 17 days | 6 | August 12, 1921 | 52 years, 11 months, 17 days | 3 |
| Herbert Greenfield | November 26, 1868 | August 13, 1921 | 52 years, 8 months, 19 days | 10 | November 23, 1925 | 56 years, 11 months, 29 days | 6 |
| John E. Brownlee | August 27, 1883 | November 23, 1925 | 42 years, 2 months, 27 days | 3 | July 10, 1934 | 50 years, 10 months, 13 days | 2 |
| Richard G. Reid | January 17, 1879 | July 10, 1934 | 55 years, 5 months, 23 days | 12 | September 3, 1935 | 56 years, 7 months, 17 days | 5 |
| William Aberhart | December 30, 1878 | September 3, 1935 | 56 years, 8 months, 4 days | 13 | May 23, 1943 | 64 years, 4 months, 23 days | 12 |

---

* Many sources indicate that Rutherford was named Premier-Designate on September 2, 1905. However, the Executive Council Roll Book shows that Rutherford officially took his oath of office for the position of 'President of the Council' on September 8, 1905. Alexander C. Rutherford, President of the Council, 8 September 1905, [Signature], Executive Council Roll Book, Government of Alberta, Edmonton.

## Premiers' Ages–North-West Territories and Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Premier* | *Date of Birth* | *Appointment as Premier* | | | *End of Tenure as Premier* | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | *Date of Swearing-in* | *Age at Appointment* | *Rank, Youngest to Oldest (of 13)* | *End Date* | *Age at End of Tenure* | *Rank, Youngest to Oldest (of 12)* |
| Ernest C. Manning | September 20, 1908 | May 31, 1943 | 34 years, 8 months, 11 days | 1 | December 12, 1968 | 60 years, 2 months, 22 days | 11 |
| Harry E. Strom | July 7, 1914 | December 12, 1968 | 54 years, 5 months, 5 days | 11 | September 10, 1971 | 57 years, 2 months, 3 days | 7 |
| E. Peter Lougheed | July 26, 1928 | September 10, 1971 | 43 years, 1 months, 15 days | 4 | November 1, 1985 | 57 years, 3 months, 6 days | 8 |
| Donald R. Getty | August 30, 1933 | November 1, 1985 | 52 years, 2 months, 2 days | 9 | December 14, 1992 | 59 years, 3 months, 14 days | 10 |
| Ralph P. Klein | November 1, 1942 | December 14, 1992 | 50 years, 1 months, 13 days | 7 | Not Applicable | | |

# Appendix I – Cabinet and Legislative Positions

The Cabinet includes the Premier and the heads of government ministries. Although it is commonly referred to as the Cabinet, officially this body is known as the Executive Council. When the Lieutenant Governor appoints an individual, normally the leader of the largest caucus in the Legislative Assembly, as Premier, he or she is actually appointing the President of the Executive Council. One of the privileges enjoyed by the President of the Executive Council is the ability to recommend to the Lieutenant Governor which members of the governing caucus should make up the remainder of the Cabinet.

Early Alberta Cabinets tended to be small, and the Premier often held Cabinet positions in addition to that of President of the Executive Council. As Alberta grew, governance became increasingly complex, and the Premier tended to hold fewer Cabinet posts, concentrating instead on his duties as Government leader. Ernest C. Manning was the last Premier to hold Cabinet positions in addition to that of President of the Executive Council until Premier Ralph P. Klein assumed additional Cabinet portfolios in the mid-1990s.

The Cabinet and Legislative positions of the Premiers are listed in the table that follows:

**Cabinet and Legislative Positions–North-West Territories**

| *Premier* | *Position* | *Years* |
|---|---|---|
| Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (1897–1905) | President of Executive Council | 1897–1905 |
| | Attorney General | 1897–1905 |
| | Territorial Treasurer | 1897–1899 |
| | Commissioner of Public Instruction | 1897–1901 |
| | Commissioner of Education | 1901–1905 |
| | Acting Territorial Treasurer | 1903–1905 |

**Cabinet and Legislative Positions–Alberta**

| *Premier* | *Position* | *Years* |
|---|---|---|
| Alexander C. Rutherford (1905–1910) | Deputy Speaker (North-West Territories) | 1903–1904 |
| | President of Executive Council | 1905–1910 |
| | Provincial Treasurer | 1905–1910 |
| | Minister of Education | 1905–1910 |

## Cabinet and Legislative Positions–Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Premier* | *Position* | *Years* |
|---|---|---|
| Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917) | Commissioner of Public Works (North-West Territories) | 1901–1903 |
| | Territorial Treasurer (North-West Territories) | 1901–1903 |
| | President of Executive Council | 1910–1917 |
| | Provincial Treasurer | 1910–1912, 1913 |
| | Minister of Public Works | 1910–1912 |
| | Minister of Railways and Telephones | 1911–1917 |
| Charles Stewart (1917–1921) | Minister of Municipal Affairs | 1912–1913 |
| | Minister of Public Works | 1913–1917 |
| | President of Executive Council | 1917–1921 |
| | Minister of Railways and Telephones | 1917–1921 |
| Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) | President of Executive Council | 1921–1925 |
| | Provincial Secretary | 1921–1923 |
| | Provincial Treasurer | 1921–1923 |
| | Minister of Municipal Affairs | 1923–1925 |
| John E. Brownlee (1925–1934) | Attorney General | 1921–1926 |
| | Provincial Secretary | 1923–1925, 1926–1934 |
| | President of Executive Council | 1925–1934 |
| Richard G. Reid* (1934–1935) | Minister of Health | 1921–1923 |
| | Minister of Municipal Affairs | 1921–1923, 1925–1934 |
| | Provincial Treasurer | 1923–1934 |
| | Minister of Lands and Mines | 1930–1934 |
| | President of Executive Council | 1934–1935 |
| | Provincial Secretary | 1934–1935 |

---

* Richard Reid's Cabinet was sworn in on July 10, 1934. The Member to be appointed Minister of Public Works, Member of the Legislative Assembly for Taber J. J. MacLellan, was not in Edmonton for the swearing-in ceremony. It was reported that Reid was sworn in as Acting Minister of Public Works and held the position until MacLellan was able to travel to the capital to be sworn in. MacLellan was sworn in on July 14, 1934. "Ministerial Appointments," *Alberta Gazette*, vol. 30, no. 13, 14 July 1934, p. 491; "Name 3 New Ministers in Alberta Gov't," *Calgary Daily Herald*, 11 July 1934, p. 1.

## Cabinet and Legislative Positions–Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Premier* | *Position* | *Years* |
|---|---|---|
| William Aberhart (1935–1943) | President of Executive Council | 1935–1943 |
| | Minister of Education | 1935–1943 |
| | Attorney General | 1937–1943 |
| Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) | Provincial Secretary | 1935–1943 |
| | Minister of Trade and Industry | 1935–1937,<br>1937–1944 |
| | President of Executive Council | 1943–1968 |
| | Provincial Treasurer | 1944–1954 |
| | Minister of Mines and Minerals | 1952–1962 |
| | Attorney General | 1955–1968 |
| Harry E. Strom (1968–1971) | Minister of Agriculture | 1962–1968 |
| | Minister of Municipal Affairs | 1968 |
| | President of Executive Council | 1968–1971 |
| | Leader of the Official Opposition | 1971–1972 |
| E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985) | Leader of the Official Opposition | 1968–1971 |
| | President of Executive Council | 1971–1985 |
| Donald R. Getty (1985–1992) | Minister of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs | 1971–1975 |
| | Minister of Energy and Natural Resources | 1975–1979 |
| | President of Executive Council | 1985–1992 |
| Ralph P. Klein (1992– ) | Minister of the Environment | 1989–1992 |
| | President of Executive Council | 1992– |
| | Minister Responsible for the Personnel Administration Office | 1992–1997 |
| | Minister Responsible for the Northern Alberta Development Council | 1992–1999 |
| | Minister of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs | 1993–1994 |
| | Minister Responsible for the Public Affairs Bureau | 1993– |
| | Minister of Economic Development and Tourism | 1994–1995 |
| | Minister Responsible for the International Trade Offices | 1994–1995 |

Alberta's Premiers have averaged six years of experience as Members of the Legislative Assembly prior to assuming the position of President of the Executive Council. Herbert Greenfield and William Aberhart each became Premier having had no previous experience as a Member, while Richard G. Reid and Harry E. Strom each had 13 years of experience as Members prior to becoming Premier. Alberta's Premiers have averaged four years of experience as Cabinet Ministers before becoming Premier. Alexander C. Rutherford,* Greenfield, Aberhart and E. Peter Lougheed† all became Premier without any previous Cabinet experience. Reid had the most prior Cabinet experience–13 years–before becoming Premier, followed by Manning and Donald R. Getty, both with eight years of prior Cabinet experience. Only Sifton, Greenfield and Aberhart held the position of Premier during their entire tenures as Members of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. However, three others, Reid, Manning and Klein, were members of the Executive Council for their entire careers as Members.

Seven of the Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta continued their parliamentary service after their tenure as Premier had ended, but only four continued to serve as Members of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta. After resigning as Premier in 1910, Rutherford served as a Member until the 1913 provincial election; John E. Brownlee resigned as Premier in 1934, but remained a Member until the election of the following year. Ernest Manning also continued to serve as a Member of the Legislative Assembly after his term as Premier came to an end, albeit for only for a short period; he resigned as Premier on December 12, 1968 and officially resigned his seat in the Legislative Assembly on December 30. Harry Strom, after resigning the premiership in 1971, continued to serve as Leader of the Official Opposition until 1972 and as a Member until 1975.

Four Premiers remained politically active after their tenures as Premier had come to an end, but they did so in jurisdictions other than Alberta. Frederick W. A. G. Haultain served as a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Saskatchewan and as Leader of the Official Opposition until 1912. Arthur L. W. Sifton and Charles Stewart both entered federal politics. Sifton was appointed to the Union Cabinet of Prime Minister Sir Robert L. Borden (1911–1920), was elected as the Member of Parliament for Medicine Hat in 1917 and served until his death, in 1921. Stewart was appointed to the Cabinet of Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King (1921–1926, 1926–1930, 1935–1948) in 1921 and was elected as Member of Parliament for the constituency of Argenteuil, Quebec, the following year. In 1925, Stewart was elected as the Member of Parliament for Edmonton West; he represented this constituency until he was defeated in the 1935 federal election. Ernest Manning also continued his political career at the federal level; he was appointed to the Senate of Canada, for the Senatorial Division of Edmonton West, on October 7, 1970. As a Senator, he continued to represent the Social Credit Party and retired on September 20, 1983.

---

* Although Rutherford did not have any previous ministerial experience before becoming Premier of Alberta in 1905, he had served in a legislative position, as Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories from 1903 to 1904.

† Although Lougheed did not have any previous ministerial experience before becoming Premier, he had served as Leader of the Official Opposition from 1968 to 1971.

The first Premier of either the North-West Territories or Alberta to have been born in Canada was Alexander C. Rutherford, and the first Premier of Alberta to have been born in the province was Harry E. Strom. There were 10 Premiers who were born in Canada:

- 5 in Ontario: Rutherford, Sifton, Stewart, Brownlee and Aberhart
- 3 in Alberta: Strom, Lougheed and Klein
- 1 in Quebec: Getty
- 1 in Saskatchewan: Manning

The three remaining Premiers were born in the United Kingdom: Haultain, Greenfield and Reid.

Years and Places of Birth and Death of Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta

| *Premier* | *Date of Birth* | *Place of Birth* | *Date of Death* | *Place of Death* | *Place of Interment* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (1897–1905) | November 25, 1857 | Woolwich, England | January 30, 1942 | Montreal, Quebec | University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan |
| Alexander C. Rutherford (1905–1910) | February 2, 1857 | Osgoode Township, Canada West (Ontario) | June 11, 1941 | Edmonton, Alberta | Mount Pleasant Cemetery, Edmonton |
| Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917) | October 26, 1858 | Near St. Johns, Canada West (Ontario) | January 21, 1921 | Ottawa, Ontario | Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa |
| Charles Stewart (1917–1921) | August 26, 1868 | Near Strabane, Ontario | December 6, 1946 | Ottawa, Ontario | Beechwood Cemetery, Ottawa |
| Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) | November 26, 1868 | Winchester, England | August 23, 1949 | Calgary, Alberta | Union Cemetery, Calgary |
| John E. Brownlee (1925–1934) | August 27, 1883 | Port Ryerse, Ontario | July 15, 1961 | Calgary, Alberta | Evergreen Memorial Gardens, Edmonton |
| Richard G. Reid (1934–1935) | January 17, 1879 | Glasgow, Scotland | October 17, 1980 | Edmonton, Alberta | Edmonton Cemetery, Edmonton |
| William Aberhart (1935–1943) | December 30, 1878 | Hibbert Township, Ontario | May 23, 1943 | Vancouver, British Columbia | Forest Lawn Memorial Park, Burnaby, British Columbia |
| Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) | September 20, 1908 | Near Carnduff, Saskatchewan | February 19, 1996 | Calgary, Alberta | Eden Brook Memorial Gardens, Calgary |

## Years and Places of Birth and Death of Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta *(Continued)*

| *Premier* | *Date of Birth* | *Place of Birth* | *Date of Death* | *Place of Death* | *Place of Interment* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Harry E. Strom (1968–1971) | July 7, 1914 | Near Burdett, Alberta | October 2, 1984 | Edmonton, Alberta | Chapel Lawn Cemetery, Medicine Hat, Alberta |
| E. Peter Lougheed (1971–1985) | July 26, 1928 | Calgary, Alberta | | Not Applicable | |
| Donald R. Getty (1985–1992) | August 30, 1933 | Westmount, Quebec | | Not Applicable | |
| Ralph P. Klein (1992– ) | November 1, 1942 | Calgary, Alberta | | Not Applicable | |

# Appendix K – Educational Attainments

The educational attainments of the Premiers reflect the reality of the times in which they grew up and the locations in which they lived. The following table lists the educational attainments of the Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta:

| Premier | Educational Attainments |
|---|---|
| | *North-West Territories* |
| Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (1897–1905) | Early education, Peterborough, Ontario<br>High School, Montreal, Quebec<br>Collegiate Institute, Peterborough<br>Bachelor of Arts (First Class Honours in Classics), University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario<br>Studied at the law school at Osgoode Hall, Toronto<br>Articled with the law firm of Bethune, Moss and Falconbridge, Toronto |
| | *Alberta* |
| Alexander C. Rutherford (1905–1910) | Public school, Osgoode Township, Canada West (Ontario)<br>High School, Metcalfe, Ontario<br>Canadian Literary Institute, Woodstock, Ontario<br>Bachelor of Arts, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec<br>Bachelor of Civil Law, McGill University<br>Articled with the law firms of Scott, McTavish and McCracken, Ottawa, Ontario, and O'Connor and Hogg, Ottawa |
| Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917) | Public schools, London, Canada West (Ontario)<br>Dundas Wesleyan Institute, Dundas, Canada West<br>Wesley College, Winnipeg, Manitoba<br>Bachelor of Arts, Victoria College, Cobourg, Ontario<br>Master of Arts, Victoria University, Cobourg<br>Bachelor of Laws, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario<br>Articled with Albert Monkman, Winnipeg |
| Charles Stewart (1917–1921) | Educated in Strabane, Ontario, and Hamilton, Ontario |
| Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) | Dalston Wesleyan School, Dalston, County of Middlesex, England |

| Premier | Educational Attainments |
|---|---|
|  | *Alberta (Continued)* |
| John E. Brownlee<br>(1925–1934) | Public school, Bradshaw, Ontario<br>Sarnia Collegiate Institute, Sarnia, Ontario<br>Sarnia Model School, Sarnia<br>Bachelor of Arts in Political Science, Victoria University, Toronto, Ontario<br>Articled at the law firms of Lougheed, Bennett, Allison and McLaws, Calgary, Alberta; and Muir, Jephson & Adams, Calgary |
| Richard G. Reid<br>(1934–1935) | Hutchesons' Grammar School, Glasgow, Scotland |
| William Aberhart<br>(1935–1943) | School Section No. 7, Hibbert Township, Ontario<br>Public elementary school, Egmondville, Ontario<br>Seaforth Collegiate Institute, Seaforth, Ontario<br>Model School, Mitchell, Ontario<br>Commercial Specialist Certificate, Chatham Business College<br>Ontario Normal School, Hamilton, Ontario<br>Bachelor of Arts, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario |
| Ernest C. Manning<br>(1943–1968) | Glen Payne School, near Rosetown, Saskatchewan<br>Graduate of the Prophetic Bible Institute, Calgary, Alberta |
| Harry E. Strom<br>(1968–1971) | Ballman School, Ballman School District No. 2421, Alberta<br>Burdett School, Burdett, Alberta<br>East Calgary High School, Calgary, Alberta<br>Certificate in Motor Mechanics, Provincial Institute of Technology and Art, Calgary |
| E. Peter Lougheed<br>(1971–1985) | Strathcona Boys School, Calgary, Alberta<br>Earl Grey School, Calgary<br>Rideau Park School, Calgary<br>Central Collegiate Institute, Calgary<br>Bachelor of Arts, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta<br>Bachelor of Laws, University of Alberta<br>Master of Business Administration, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA |
| Donald R. Getty<br>(1985–1992) | Public schools in Montreal, Quebec and Ottawa, Ontario<br>High School, Malvern Collegiate Institute, Toronto, Ontario<br>High School, Sir Adam Beck Collegiate Institute, London, Ontario<br>Bachelor of Arts (Honours Business Administration), University of Western Ontario, London |

| Premier | Educational Attainments |
|---|---|
| *Alberta (Continued)* | |
| Ralph P. Klein<br>(1992– ) | Buchanan Elementary School, Calgary, Alberta<br>Tuxedo Park Elementary School, Calgary<br>Crescent Heights High School, Calgary<br>Business Administration and Accounting (Honours), Calgary Business College, Calgary<br>Bachelor of Arts, Communication (in progress), Athabasca University, Athabasca, Alberta |

# Appendix L – Occupations

The Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta have come from various occupational backgrounds. Four Premiers obtained experience as elected officials at the municipal level: Arthur L. W. Sifton, Richard G. Reid, Harry E. Strom and Ralph P. Klein. Five of the Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta were/are lawyers: Frederick W. A. G. Haultain, Alexander C. Rutherford, Sifton, John E. Brownlee and E. Peter Lougheed; of these, two became Chief Justices of the Supreme Court—Haultain in Saskatchewan and Sifton in Alberta. Four had experience as teachers: Rutherford, Brownlee, William Aberhart and Klein. Five worked as farmers: Charles Stewart, Herbert Greenfield, Reid, Ernest C. Manning and Strom. Three Premiers had experience as broadcasters: Aberhart, Manning and Klein; and two were professional athletes: Lougheed and Donald R. Getty.

Three Premiers obtained parliamentary experience at the federal level during their careers: Sifton and Stewart became Members of Parliament, and Manning was appointed as a Senator.

Two Premiers, Haultain and Rutherford, became Chancellors of universities in their later careers.

The following table lists the occupations of the Premiers of the North-West Territories and Alberta:

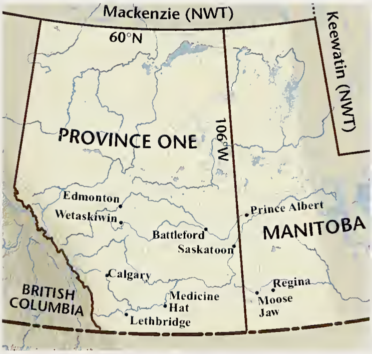
| Premier | Occupations |
|---|---|
| *North-West Territories* | |
| Frederick W. A. G. Haultain (1897–1905) | Lawyer, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Saskatchewan, Chancellor of the University of Saskatchewan |
| *Alberta* | |
| Alexander C. Rutherford (1905–1910) | Teacher, Lawyer, Businessman, Chancellor of the University of Alberta |
| Arthur L. W. Sifton (1910–1917) | Lawyer, Real Estate Broker, Businessman, Alderman, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Alberta, Member of Parliament (Cabinet Minister) |
| Charles Stewart (1917–1921) | Farmer, Stonemason and Bricklayer, Real Estate Agent, Farm Implement Salesman, Member of Parliament (Cabinet Minister) |
| Herbert Greenfield (1921–1925) | Clerk, Farmer, Agent General, Businessman |
| John E. Brownlee (1925–1934) | Teacher, Lawyer |
| Richard G. Reid (1934–1935) | Businessman, Lumberjack, Farmer, Councillor and Reeve, Librarian |
| William Aberhart (1935–1943) | Teacher, Principal, Lay Preacher, Radio Evangelist |
| Ernest C. Manning (1943–1968) | Lay Preacher, Radio Evangelist, Consultant, Businessman, Senator, Dairy Farmer |

| Premier | Occupations |
|---|---|
| *Alberta (Continued)* | |
| Harry E. Strom<br>(1968–1971) | Farmer, Municipal Councillor |
| E. Peter Lougheed<br>(1971–1985) | Professional Athlete, Lawyer, Businessman, Consultant, Author |
| Donald R. Getty<br>(1985–1992) | Professional Athlete, Businessman, Consultant |
| Ralph P. Klein<br>(1992– ) | College Instructor, College Principal, Public Relations Officer, Television Reporter, Mayor |

# Appendix M – Maps

The following is a series of maps that displays some of the proposals for the delineation of the North-West Territories into provinces. These proposals developed over time throughout the late-19th and early-20th centuries. Many, however, were developed from 1897 to 1905, which was a period of rapid settlement and a time during which Territorial leaders vigorously advocated the attainment of provincial status for residents of the North-West Territories.

Note that the lighter area represents the lands currently occupied by the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan.

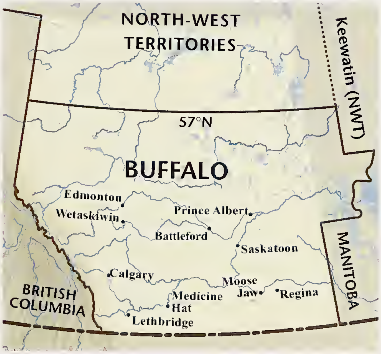

Mackenzie (NWT)
60°N
Keewatin (NWT)
PROVINCE ONE
106°W
Edmonton
Wetaskiwin
Prince Albert
MANITOBA
Battleford
Saskatoon
Calgary
Regina
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Medicine Hat
Moose Jaw
Lethbridge

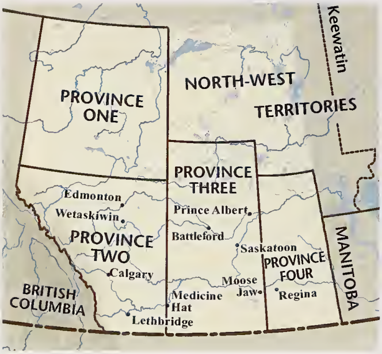
## 1. *The 'Calgary' Proposal*

This proposal was sponsored by the Calgary City Council and advocated the creation of one new province out of the Districts of Alberta and Athabasca and of parts of the Districts of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. Manitoba was to annex the eastern reaches of the latter two Districts. Under this proposal, Regina was to become part of Manitoba thereby greatly increasing Calgary's chances of becoming the capital of the new province.

## 2. *The Haultain Proposal: The Province of 'Buffalo'*

In 1900, Frederick W.A.G. Haultain, Premier of the North-West Territories, put forth a proposal for one new western province, called Buffalo. The province was to include all of the modern-day provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan south of the 57th parallel. While Haultain was adamant that the new province reflect the governmental and geographical unity of the Territories, the federal Liberal Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier feared that the establishment of one large province would upset the balance amongst existing provinces. For this and other reasons, the Laurier Government rejected Haultain's proposal.


NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES
Keewatin (NWT)
57°N
BUFFALO
Edmonton
Wetaskiwin
Prince Albert
Battleford
Saskatoon
Calgary
Moose Jaw
Regina
MANITOBA
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Medicine Hat
Lethbridge

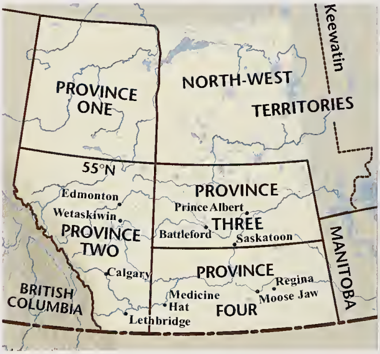

Keewatin
PROVINCE ONE
NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES
PROVINCE THREE
Edmonton
Wetaskiwin
Prince Albert
PROVINCE TWO
Battleford
Saskatoon
PROVINCE FOUR
MANITOBA
Calgary
Moose Jaw
Regina
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Medicine Hat
Lethbridge

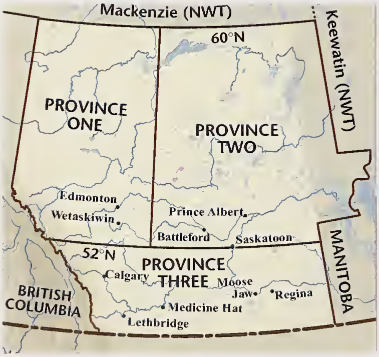
### *3. The First Four-Province Proposal*

Raised in the mid-1870s, this proposal was based on initial plans to build the prairie portion of the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) through Saskatoon and Edmonton. The scheme became less practical, however, once the rail line was constructed through the southern prairies during the early 1880s. In this proposal, the northern portion of the current area of the Province of Saskatchewan was to remain part of the North-West Territories.

### *4. The Second Four-Province Proposal*

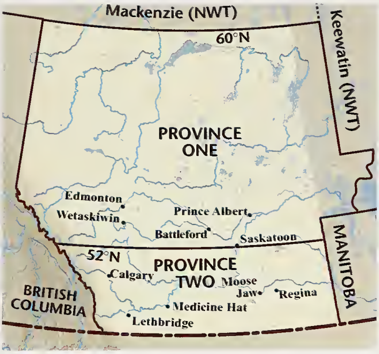
A variation of an earlier four-province plan (see '3.'), this proposal adjusted the configurations of the proposed provinces to accommodate the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) through the southern prairies. Portions of the northern area of the current provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were to remain part of the North-West Territories.


Keewatin
PROVINCE ONE
NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES
55°N
Edmonton
PROVINCE THREE
Prince Albert
Wetaskiwin
PROVINCE TWO
Battleford
Saskatoon
MANITOBA
Calgary
PROVINCE FOUR
Regina
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Medicine Hat
Moose Jaw
Lethbridge


Mackenzie (NWT)
60°N
Keewatin (NWT)
PROVINCE ONE
PROVINCE TWO
Edmonton
Wetaskiwin
Prince Albert
Battleford
Saskatoon
52°N
PROVINCE THREE
Calgary
Moose Jaw
Regina
MANITOBA
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Medicine Hat
Lethbridge

### *5. The Three-Province Plan*

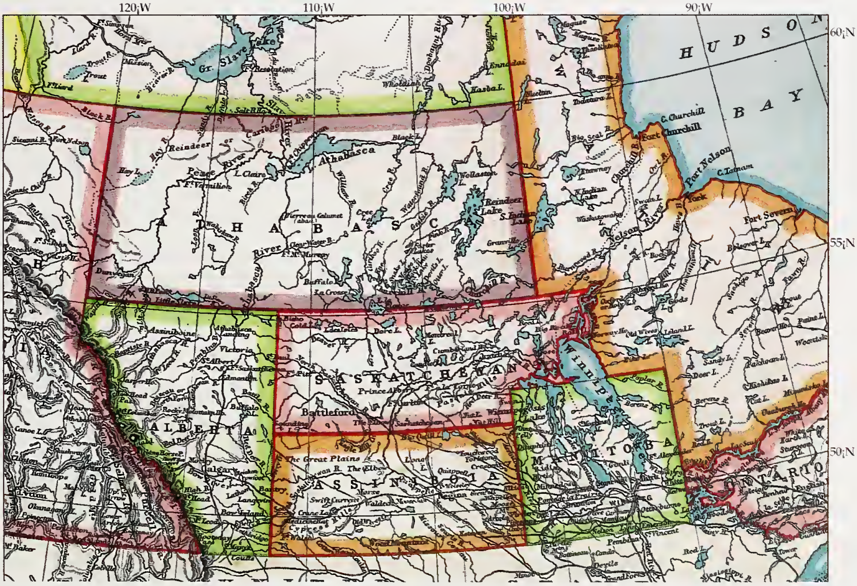
Recommended by a group of citizens from Prince Albert, this proposal envisaged three large provinces, occupying the entire area of the current provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan. Not surprisingly, Prince Albert was the leading town in one of the provinces, which would make it the prime contender to become the capital of that province.


Mackenzie (NWT)
Keewatin (NWT)
60°N
PROVINCE ONE
Edmonton
Wetaskiwin
Prince Albert
Battleford
Saskatoon
52°N
PROVINCE TWO
Calgary
Moose Jaw
Regina
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Medicine Hat
Lethbridge
MANITOBA

## *6. The Rejected Two-Province Plan*

This proposal advocated the division of a large part of the North-West Territories into north and south portions. Dividing the proposed provinces along the 52nd parallel, the plan was based on the geographical differences of the northern and southern prairies: the north, with its rolling parkland and abundant supply of water, was regarded as most suitable for mixed farming; while the south, with its grasslands, was considered better suited to ranching. The fact that Edmonton and Calgary would become lead contenders for provincial capitals in their respective provinces also played a large role in the conceptualization of this scheme.

In 1905, before the granting of provincial autonomy (in September), four of the Provisional Districts (Alberta, Assiniboia, Athabasca and Saskatchewan) of the North-West Territories occupied what would become the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan.


120;W
110;W
100;W
90;W
60;N
55;N
50;N
HUDSON BAY
ATHABASCA
SASKATCHEWAN
ALBERTA
ASSINIBOIA
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
Gr. Slave Lake
Athabasca
Reindeer Lake
Winnipeg
Edmonton
Calgary
Prince Albert
Battleford
Regina
Moose Jaw
Medicine Hat
Fort Churchill
Port Nelson
York
Fort Severn
Nelson River
Churchill R.
Peace River
The Great Plains

# Appendix N – Glossary

The Legislative Assembly of Alberta's *Dictionary of Parliamentary Terms* and other parliamentary glossaries have been consulted for these definitions. For additional information, readers should refer to the *Dictionary of Parliamentary Terms* online at
http://www.assembly.ab.ca/visitor/parlterms.htm.

### Acclamation

In Alberta, a Member is elected or re-elected by acclamation when no other candidate has come forward at an election and no vote is held.

### Act

A bill that has been passed by Parliament, has subsequently received Royal Assent and has been proclaimed is known as an Act.

### Adjournment

In the context of a Parliament or Legislative Assembly, an adjournment ends a sitting without nullifying any pending proceedings. An adjournment can last for a few minutes or for several months.

### Administrator

In Canada, the Administrator, who is the Chief Justice of a province, assumes the Vice-Regal duties in an interim capacity in the absence of the Lieutenant Governor, due to illness, incapacity or other reasons. Responsibilities may include the reading of the Speech from the Throne and the granting of Royal Assent to bills. However, in the event of the death of a Lieutenant Governor, the Administrator is not authorized to assume the related duties.

### Advisory Council

Established in 1888 in the North-West Territories, the Advisory Council was a four-member body that was selected by the Lieutenant Governor to advise on financial matters only and was confined to management of the general revenue fund (local revenues).

### *Alberta Act*

Assented to July 20, 1905, the *Act to establish the Province of Alberta and provide for the Government of the Province of Alberta* came into force on September 1, 1905. The short title of this Act is the *Alberta Act*.

### *Alberta Gazette*

See ***Gazette.***

### *Alberta Hansard*

See ***Hansard.***

### Assent

See **Royal Assent.**

### Backbenchers

See **Private Members.**

### Bill

A bill is a proposed piece of legislation, which may become law either upon Royal Assent or upon the date of proclamation.

### *Blues*

The *Blues* are an unofficial and lightly edited first draft of *Hansard*. They are used to provide the Speaker and Members with an immediate account of proceedings. They are available to the Members for review for accuracy before the official copy of *Hansard* is published.

### *British North America Act, 1867*

The *British North America Act, 1867* is commonly abbreviated to the *BNA Act, 1867*. See ***Constitution Act, 1867.***

### By-election

An election held between general elections, used to fill vacancies in the Legislative Assembly brought about by the resignation or death of a Member, or, in earlier times, by the appointment of a Member to the Executive Council. A Member who was appointed to the Executive Council between 1897 and 1926 had to be re-elected in a by-election so as to comply with the *Legislative Assembly Acts* of the North-West Territories and of Alberta.

### Cabinet

The Cabinet includes the Premier and all Government Ministers. It is also known as the 'Executive Council.'

### Caucus

Caucus refers to each single party grouping in the Parliament or Legislative Assembly. The private meetings held by the elected Members of any one party are referred to as caucus meetings.

### Chamber

The Chamber is the room in which the Parliament or Legislative Assembly conducts its business.

### Closure motion

A closure motion is a motion to limit debate. It prevents further adjournment of debate on a motion or stage of a bill, and requires one day's notice. In Alberta, time allocation has replaced this measure.

### *Committee of Supply*

This is a committee that comprises all Members of the Legislative Assembly and is responsible for reviewing the Government's budget estimates. When this Committee convenes, the Speaker moves from the Chair to the Table, while the Deputy Speaker, who is the Chair of Committees, presides over the *Committee of Supply.*

### *Committee of the Whole*

This is a committee that comprises all Members of the Legislative Assembly sitting in the Chamber as a committee. Presided over by the Chair of Committees (Deputy Speaker) rather than by the Speaker, the committee meets after second reading and before third reading of a bill and studies appropriation bills and any other matters referred to it by the Assembly.

### Conference of First Ministers

A meeting between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Premiers of the provinces and territories. These conferences are held to discuss and negotiate matters of shared interest and concern. Formerly known as the 'Dominion-Provincial Conferences,' they are often informally referred to as 'First Ministers' Conferences.'

### Constituency

A constituency is the geographic area that a Member represents. It is also known as an electoral district or riding. All residents in these districts are known as constituents.

### *Constitution Act, 1867*

This legislation was originally called the *British North America Act, 1867*, a statute of the Parliament of the United Kingdom that helped to govern the newly created Dominion of Canada, which included Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

### *Constitution Act, 1982*

This Act is an amendment to the *British North America Act, 1867.* It changed the name of the *British North America Act, 1867* to the *Constitution Act, 1867.* Major components of the Act include the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, increased Aboriginal rights and the introduction of a constitutional amendment procedure that allows Canada to change its own constitution and political institutions without having to receive consent from the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

### Deputy Minister

A Deputy Minister is the senior civil servant in charge of a government department. Generally knowledgeable about the subject area and administration of the department, a deputy minister can provide information and advice to the Minister, who is an elected official.

### Deputy Premier

A member of Cabinet who is designated by the Premier to carry out additional duties and often acts in place of the Premier in his or her absence.

### Deputy Speaker

The Deputy Speaker is the Member elected by the Legislative Assembly to serve in place of the Speaker when the latter is not able to be present in the Assembly. The Deputy Speaker also presides over the Assembly when it reverts to *Committee of Supply* and *Committee of the Whole.* The position carries the additional title of Chair of Committees.

### Disallowance

The power, held by the Governor General in Council, to declare a piece of provincial legislation void even though it has been passed by a provincial legislature, granted Royal Assent and proclaimed into law by the Lieutenant Governor. This power must be used within one year after the legislation has been enacted. It is a power that has been used very rarely since the middle of the 20th century. See also **Reservation.**

### Dissolution

Occurring prior to a general election, dissolution is an act by the Lieutenant Governor that ends a Legislature. Dissolution is usually carried out on the advice of the Premier, but also occurs automatically at the end of a Legislature's maximum term. See also **Prorogation.**

### Dominion of Canada

Dominion of Canada is the official title of Canada as referred to in the *Constitution Act, 1867* and in the *Constitution Act, 1982.*

### Election

An election is the process of holding a vote to select a representative for a geographically defined area. Both federally and provincially, the individual with the most votes in a given constituency is elected and becomes a Member of Parliament or a Member of the provincial Legislative Assembly. The party with the most elected representatives forms the Government.

### Executive Committee

The Executive Committee was created in 1891 by an Ordinance passed by the Legislative Assembly of the North-West Territories. Consisting of four members appointed by the Lieutenant Governor, it was superseded in 1897 by the Executive Council.

### Executive Council

An amendment to the *North-West Territories Act* in 1897 provided for an Executive Council, whose members would be chosen by the Lieutenant Governor, and whose status and tenure would conform to the well-understood principles of responsible government. Its predecessor was the Executive Committee. Currently, the Executive Council is the executive branch of government, consisting of the Premier and all Cabinet Ministers. See also **Cabinet.**

### Filibuster

A filibuster is a prolonged debate by the Opposition to delay the passage of a Government Bill.

### First-past-the-post System

Also called the plurality system, it is an electoral system under which the candidate receiving the most votes is declared elected, regardless of whether that candidate has received an absolute majority of the votes cast. This system is currently used to elect Members of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

### Franchise

The right of a person to vote in an election.

### Free vote

A vote in the Legislative Assembly or Parliament for which the principle of party discipline has been relaxed. Each Member votes according to his or her own conscience or as expressly desired by his or her constituents.

### *Gazette*

The *Gazette* is a Government publication that contains a wide range of government notices, including official lists of appointments, promotions, retirements and resignations. The federal government produces the *Canada Gazette*, the provincial counterpart being the *Alberta Gazette*.

### Government

In parliamentary terms, the Prime Minister or Premier and Cabinet Ministers make up the Government. This group must maintain the support of a majority of the Members in Parliament or in the Legislative Assembly, as the case may be, to remain in power.

### Government Bill

A bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly by a member of the Executive Council.

### Governor General

This position, appointed by the monarch on the advice of the Prime Minister, exercises the functions of the Crown as head of state in Canada. The appointment is usually for a term of five years.

### *Hansard*

Named for the family who first began printing an official record of the debates of the British Parliament during the 19th century, *Hansard* is a verbatim transcript of the debates of a Parliament or Legislative Assembly, subject to editorial guidelines. It is published daily while Parliament or the Legislative Assembly is in Session. In the federal context, *Hansard* is known formally as the *House of Commons Debates* and the *Debates of the Senate*. In Alberta, the transcript of debates is known as *Alberta Hansard*.

### House

This is a term that can be used informally to refer to the Chamber, to the Legislative Assembly or to the House of Commons.

### House Leader

A caucus member responsible for managing the business of that caucus in the House. The Government House Leader is a member of Cabinet and works with the House Leaders of the Opposition caucuses to develop a schedule of House business. The House Leader is normally not the Leader of the party or caucus.

### Independent Member

A Member of the Legislative Assembly who is not a member of a recognized party.

### *Journals*

The *Journals* are the official record of a Session. Unlike the verbatim transcripts provided in *Hansard*, the *Journals* of the federal Parliament and of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta are compiled from the *Votes and Proceedings* of the Session and include only an outline of events and of decisions made.

### King's Counsel

See **Queen's Counsel.**

### Leader of the Official Opposition

The Leader of the Official Opposition heads the second-largest caucus in the Legislative Assembly. He or she is expected to lead the Opposition in critiquing and challenging Government policies and thus enjoys certain financial and procedural benefits not granted to other Members.

### Legislative Assembly

The group of representatives elected to create laws for the province is known collectively as the Legislative Assembly. It is also known informally as the 'House' or the 'Assembly.' A primary responsibility of the Legislative Assembly is to scrutinize the activities of the Government.

### Legislative Assembly Office

Officially formed in Alberta in 1983 with the passing of the *Legislative Assembly Act*, the Legislative Assembly Office (LAO) is made up of various branches that, under the control of the Speaker and the direction of the Clerk, support the needs of the Members in their role as elected representatives. The LAO is a non-partisan organization and is not a government department.

### Legislature

A Legislature consists of the Lieutenant Governor and all elected Members of the Legislative Assembly. Each general election results in a new Legislature. In Alberta, the building that houses the Legislative Assembly is referred to as the Legislature Building.

### Lieutenant Governor

As stipulated by section 58 of the *BNA Act, 1867*, the Lieutenant Governor (pronounced *Lef-tenant Governor*) is the monarch's representative in the province and is appointed by the Governor General of Canada, on the advice of the Prime Minister, for a five-year term. The Lieutenant Governor, amongst other things, delivers the Speech from the Throne, grants Royal Assent to bills and approves Orders in Council.

### Lieutenant Governor in Council

The Lieutenant Governor in Council consists of the Lieutenant Governor and members of Executive Council. The Lieutenant Governor acting on the advice of, by and with the advice and consent of, or in conjunction with, the Executive Council is known as the Lieutenant Governor in Council.

### Mace

The Mace is the ceremonial staff carried into the Assembly by the Sergeant-at-Arms at the beginning of each sitting day. It is the symbol of the authority of the Legislative Assembly to make laws on behalf of the people. The Legislative Assembly cannot sit without a Mace.

### Maiden Speech

This is the first formal speech made in the Chamber by a Member of Parliament or a Member of the Legislative Assembly.

### Member

A Member is an individual elected by the eligible voters in a particular constituency to represent them in Parliament or in the Legislative Assembly.

### Memorial

Historically, a memorial was an informal diplomatic paper put before a legislative body. It generally took the form of a petition or a statement of facts.

### Minister

Appointed by the Prime Minister or Premier, a Minister is a member of Cabinet who is usually the head of a government department or portfolio. A Minister without Portfolio is not attached to a specific government department.

### MLA

A common abbreviation for Member of the Legislative Assembly. See **Member.**

### Motion

When a Member wishes to request that an action be undertaken or an opinion be expressed by the Parliament or the Legislative Assembly, the Member will introduce a motion or proposal to that effect.

### Motion of No-Confidence

This is a motion, which, if carried, indicates that the Government has lost the confidence of the Legislative Assembly or Parliament and usually leads to a request to the Lieutenant Governor or the Governor General to dissolve the Assembly or Parliament and to issue election writs.

### MP

A common abbreviation for Member of Parliament in the House of Commons of Canada. See **Member**.

### Non-partisan

To be non-partisan is to be free from political bias or party affiliation. See also **Partisan.**

### Office of the Premier

The Office of the Premier comprises the staff that provides support and advice to the Premier.

### Official Opposition

The proper designation for the Official Opposition is "His/Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition." It comprises all Members of the second-largest party in the Legislative Assembly or Parliament and requires recognition as such by the Speaker of the House.

### Opposition

The Opposition comprises all Members of the Legislative Assembly who do not belong to the governing caucus. The role of the opposition is to analyze and debate the Government's policies and legislation, and to suggest alternatives.

### Order in Council

In the provincial context, an Order in Council is the executive instrument of the Lieutenant Governor in Council. In the federal context, it is the executive instrument of the Governor General in Council. As a form of subordinate legislation, it usually deals with a particular issue such as appointments to office.

### Order Paper

An Order Paper is a list of the Legislative Assembly's items of business. It resembles an agenda for a meeting, although all items on the Order Paper are not necessarily covered on any given day.

### Orders of the Day

Orders of the Day are the items of business on the agenda that occur after the daily Routine.

### Ordinances

Ordinances of the North-West Territories were legislative enactments, the equivalent of federal and provincial Statutes, and comprised both laws and regulations.

### Parliament

In Canada, the federal Parliament consists of the Crown, the House of Commons and the Senate. Parliament is the institution in which new laws are debated and agreed upon. The name 'parliament' comes from the French word *parler*, which means 'to speak.' Parliament should not be confused with the Government, although Members of the Government are usually Members of Parliament. A primary responsibility of Parliament is to scrutinize the activities of the Government.

### Parliamentary Privilege

Parliamentary privilege comprises rights and immunities which belong to the Legislative Assembly and its Members. It allows those involved in the parliamentary process to fulfill their duties without obstruction or fear of prosecution. Members cannot be sued or prosecuted for what they say during legislative proceedings.

### Parliamentary Procedure

These are the rules and traditions for conducting the business of the Legislative Assembly or Parliament. See also ***Standing Orders.***

### Partisan

To be politically partisan is to favour one party over others. See also **Non-partisan.**

### Party discipline

The convention that all Members of a caucus vote together on issues as determined by the caucus leadership or through caucus meetings, with enforcement being carried out by the Whip. Party discipline is essential in parliamentary systems, as, if the Government loses a vote in the Legislative Assembly, it can be interpreted as a loss of confidence.

### Plebiscite

A form of direct democracy in which the Government consults with the public by means of a vote by the electorate on a specific policy issue. Unlike a referendum, the results of a plebiscite are not binding on the Government. See also **Referendum.**

### Political Party

A political party is an organized group of individuals that shares a common political ideology and goals.

### Portfolio

A portfolio comprises the responsibilities of a Cabinet Member and is the equivalent of the mandate of a specific government department or ministry.

### Premier

The Premier is the leader of the party holding the most seats in a Legislative Assembly.

### Premier's Office

See **Office of the Premier.**

### President of the Executive Council

The President or presiding officer of the Executive Council is appointed by the Lieutenant Governor and, in a provincial context, is normally referred to as the Premier.

### Prime Minister

The Prime Minister is the leader of the party holding the most seats in the Canadian Parliament.

### Private Members

Private Members are all Members of Parliament or of the Legislative Assembly who are not members of the Executive Council and do not hold specific positions within Parliament or the Legislative Assembly, such as Speaker, Deputy Speaker or caucus leader. They are known colloquially as 'backbenchers.'

**Private Member's Bill**

A Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly by a Member who is not a member of Cabinet.

**Privy Council**

Officially known as the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, this is an advisory body appointed by the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister. A formal executive body, it was established under the *BNA Act, 1867*. All members of the Cabinet are sworn in as Privy Councillors, a position which is held for life. In Canada, the Cabinet resolves itself into a Committee of the Privy Council in order to provide advice to the Governor General.

***Pro forma* Bill**

A bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly after the Speech from the Throne is read, but before it is considered for debate. It is a symbolic bill, used to demonstrate the ability of the Legislative Assembly to meet independently of the Sovereign. It is normally not given an official number, and, once read for the first time, is not considered further.

**Proclamation**

A proclamation is an official notice or order issued by a Vice-Regal representative. These formal notices of enactment are published in the *Canada Gazette* or the *Alberta Gazette*. Proclamations are commonly used to specify when laws come into effect.

**Prorogation**

Prorogation ends a Parliamentary or Legislative Session and closes all pending business, including committee work. Currently in Alberta, after the prorogation of a Session, the Speaker, the Premier, Cabinet Ministers and the Leader of the Official Opposition continue to hold office for administrative purposes. See also **Dissolution.**

**Provisional District**

Districts of the North-West Territories established to aid in the provision of postal service and for other administrative purposes were known as Provisional Districts.

**Queen's Counsel**

An appointment as Queen's Counsel (QC) signifies that a lawyer has been recognized as a senior-ranking member of the legal profession. Originally, it meant that the lawyer would serve as counsel to the reigning monarch.

### Question Period

This is the time period in a sitting day during which Members may question Cabinet Ministers on current matters related to the Minister's portfolio. The Speaker is responsible for determining who may speak and ensuring that time restrictions and other procedural rules are adhered to during this time. Currently, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 50 minutes are allotted for the daily Question Period.

### Quorum

Quorum refers to the minimum number of Members of the Legislative Assembly that must be present in order for business to proceed. Currently, in the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, 20 Members constitute a quorum.

### Referendum

A form of direct democracy in which proposed Government policy is submitted to the electorate for its opinion by means of a popular vote. Unlike a plebiscite, the results of a referendum are binding on the Government. See also **Plebiscite.**

### Representative Government

A form of governance that includes a popularly elected assembly. In the Canadian historical context, this has meant a system of government in which legislative authority was shared between an assembly of elected members and members appointed by the Crown. Executive power was held by the Governor and his appointed Executive Council, which was separate from the Legislative Assembly.

### Reservation

A power held by the Governor General to reserve certain bills for the approval or disapproval of the Queen. Similarly, Lieutenant Governors in the provinces can reserve provincial bills for consideration and disposition by the Governor General in Council. Prior to 1905, Lieutenant Governors of the North-West Territories did not have the authority to withhold assent to Ordinances, but rather held only the power to reserve them for consideration by the Governor General. See also **Disallowance.**

### Resolution

When a motion passes, it becomes a resolution of the Legislative Assembly. A resolution reflects the intention or opinion of the House.

### Responsible Government

Responsible government is a form of governance in which the Cabinet acts as the executive and makes decisions for which it is held responsible by Parliament or the Legislative Assembly.

**Royal Assent**

The Governor General, or the Lieutenant Governor of a province, gives approval to legislation through Royal Assent. The date on which the assent is given becomes part of the Act and is the date on which the legislation takes effect, except in cases where provision has been made for proclamation at a later date. Royal Assent is normally, but not necessarily, given in the Chamber.

**Session**

This is a series of meetings of Parliament or of a Legislative Assembly. Each Session is opened by Royal Proclamation and closed by prorogation.

**Shadow Cabinet**

A group of Opposition caucus members each of whom is assigned responsibility to study and critique the policies of a specific government department.

**Sitting**

Sitting is used to refer to the daily meetings of Parliament or the Legislative Assembly. Also, a Session is often separated into spring and fall meeting periods, with each set being referred to as a sitting.

**Speaker**

The Speaker is the Member of Parliament or of the Legislative Assembly who is elected by all other Members, by secret ballot, to act as the Chair of proceedings in the House. The Chair's role is a non-partisan one in which he or she ensures orderly debate and that the business of the House is conducted according to the rules set for appropriate parliamentary behaviour. The Speaker is also the head of the support organization that serves the needs of the Members. In Alberta, this organization is known as the Legislative Assembly Office (LAO).

**Special Committees**

These are committees that are appointed by Parliament or the Legislative Assembly to deal with unique problems that occur only once or on a very occasional basis.

**Speech from the Throne**

The Speech from the Throne, read by the Governor General in the Senate Chamber and by the Lieutenant Governor in the Legislative Assembly, is the opening speech given at the beginning of each Session. It provides an opportunity to outline the Government's legislative priorities for the upcoming Session.

**Standing Committees**

These are committees appointed by Parliament or the Legislative Assembly to deal with various matters of business that recur on a regular basis.

### *Standing Orders*

These are written rules adopted by the House to govern the conduct of Parliamentary or Legislative Assembly business.

### Standing Policy Committees

In Alberta, a series of government committees made up of Cabinet Members and Private Members of the governing caucus. These committees analyze proposed legislation before it is submitted to the Legislative Assembly.

### Stranger

A stranger is any person within the Parliamentary Precincts who is not a Member or an officer of the Legislative Assembly.

### Substantive motion

A substantive motion expresses a decision of the Legislative Assembly; it is an independent motion that is complete in itself.

### Third Party

An Opposition caucus with fewer Members than the Official Opposition.

### Time allocation

Time allocation is a measure that limits the time available for debate on a bill. In Alberta, time allocation has replaced closure.

### *Ultra vires*

A Latin phrase that literally means 'beyond the powers' and which declares a statute to be outside of the powers of a legislative body to enact, as delineated in the Canadian context by the *Constitution Act, 1867.*

### Whip

The Whip is the Member who keeps the members of his or her caucus informed about Legislative Assembly business and ensures the attendance of as many Members as possible in the House or in committee, especially when a vote is to take place.

### Written Questions

Questions which are not deemed urgent enough to be asked during Oral Question Period, or which require detailed or complex answers, can be placed on the Order Paper. The Government can move to either accept or reject the question. If accepted, the Government is required to table the answer within 30 sitting days of the question's acceptance.

*the mantle of leadership*

# PHOTOGRAPH CREDITS

# Photograph Credits

There are three groupings of photographs displayed in this volume. The first is composed of photos embedded within the text of the background, biography and appendices sections. What follows is a list of these photos, which contains a brief description and a credit for each image.

## Background

**Page 15:** The Alberta Legislature Building. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (B6608). (Photograph has been cropped.)

**Page 16:** Opening of the First Legislature of the Province of Alberta. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (B6667).

**Page 18:** Legislative Assembly of Alberta, McKay Avenue School. Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-2883-20).

**Page 19:** Members of the Alberta Legislative Assembly in Session. Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-1296-2).

**Page 36:** Premier R.P. Klein speaking to children. Photo courtesy of Public Affairs Bureau.

**Page 42:** Premier D.R. Getty at podium. Photo courtesy of City of Edmonton Archives (EA-340-1430).

**Page 43:** The Premier's office. Photo collection: Legislative Assembly of Alberta (photo by Jason Statler, Statler Studios).

**Page 57:** A.J. Robertson, first Leader of the Opposition. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (PA1061/1).

**Page 61:** N.J. MacBeth, Leader of the Opposition. Photo collection: Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

**Page 78:** Hansard console in the Speaker's Gallery. Photo collection: Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

**Page 88:** Television cameras broadcast the Opening of the 17th Legislature. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (J797/5). (Photograph has been cropped.)

**Page 97:** Official Saskatchewan portrait of Premier F.W.A.G. Haultain. Photo courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives Board (86-2244-92) and the Saskatchewan Legislative Building Art Collection. (Photograph has been cropped.)

**Page 100:** Premier E.C. Manning views his portrait. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (PA1655/1). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 121:** Premier W. Aberhart welcomes King George VI and Queen Elizabeth. Photo courtesy of National Film Board of Canada/Library and Archives Canada (PA-209830).

**Page 125:** Lieutenant Governor N.L. and Mary Kwong and Premier R.P. Klein with Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (720-2308649-R1-034-15A).

**Page 133:** The newly constructed Legislature Building (1912). Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NC-6-234).

**Page 139:** Government House at Battleford, North-West Territories. Photo courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives Board (R-A2287).

**Page 140:** Members of the North-West Council outside Council Chamber. Photo courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives Board (R-B4).

**Page 144:** Interior of the old North-West Territories Assembly Hall. Photo courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives Board (R-A46).

**Page 146:** Three-province proposal. Image courtesy of *Canadian Geographic*.

**Page 148:** Members of Alberta's first Legislature with Premier A.C. Rutherford on the steps of McKay Avenue School (1906). Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (B6662).

## Premiers' Biographies

**Page 173:** Premier F.W.A.G. Haultain in a library. Photo courtesy of Saskatchewan Archives Board (S-B665).

**Page 216:** Premier A.C. Rutherford with Lieutenant Governor G.H.V. Bulyea and Lord Strathcona. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (B6654).

**Page 250:** Members of the Second Legislature. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (B6665).

**Page 292:** Premier C. Stewart at unveiling of memorial cairn. Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-2423-2).

**Page 324:** Premier H. Greenfield with members of the Blood Indian Nation. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (P186).

**Page 362:** Premier J.E. Brownlee outside his home. Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (ND-3-5545).

**Page 391:** Premier R.G. Reid with Vice-Regal Party. Photo courtesy of City of Edmonton Archives (EA-160-919).

**Page 425:** Premier W. Aberhart making a radio broadcast. Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-2771-2).

**Page 460:** Dominion-Provincial Conference on Reconstruction. Photo courtesy of National Film Board of Canada/Library and Archives Canada (C-026935). (Photograph has been cropped.)

**Page 469**: Premier E.C. Manning escorts Lieutenant Governor J.P. Page. Photo courtesy of A.J. Dixon.

**Page 497:** H.E. Strom being sworn in as Premier. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (J287). (Photograph has been cropped.)

**Page 526:** Premier E.P. Lougheed in the Legislative Assembly. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (J807). (Photograph has been cropped.)

**Page 534:** Premier E.P. Lougheed and Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau. Photo courtesy Provincial Archives of Alberta (J3672/2). (Photograph has been cropped.)

**Page 571:** Premier D.R. Getty in the Chamber. Photo collection: Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

**Page 603:** Premier R.P. Klein with former Premiers E.P. Lougheed and D.R. Getty. Photo courtesy of Public Affairs Bureau.

**Page 616:** Premier R.P. Klein announcing the retirement of Alberta's debt. Photo courtesy of the *Edmonton Journal*.

**Page 617:** Premier R.P. Klein welcomes Queen Elizabeth II. Photo collection: Legislative Assembly of Alberta.

## Appendices

**Pages 709-711:** Proposed delineations of the North-West Territories into provinces. Images courtesy of *Canadian Geographic*.

**Page 711:** The North-West Territories, 1895-1905. Image courtesy of *Historical Atlas of Canada: Canada's History Illustrated with Original Maps* (Douglas & McIntyre, 2002).

## Official Portraits

The image that appears on the second page of each biography is a photograph of the official portrait of that Premier, which hangs in the Legislature Building. Jason Statler of Statler Studios photographed the official portrait of Premier D.R. Getty. The official portrait of the current Premier, the Honourable R.P. Klein, is not yet on display and hence an official photograph has been used in this volume.

## Chapter Title Page and Footer Images

A photograph of the Alberta Crest carved into the front doors of the Legislature Building appears on the chapter title pages of the background sections, while the Alberta flag is utilized for the section title pages. The dome of the Legislature Building is displayed in the footers of the background and the appendices sections. In the biographies of the Premiers, the chapter title pages contain photographs of each respective Premier. For the biography of F.W.A.G. Haultain, the chapter title page contains a photograph of the Premier, while the footer on the left-hand pages is a map of the provisional districts of the North-West Territories. For the biographies of the Premiers of Alberta, each chapter title page contains a photograph of the Premier, while the left footer image is of the Provincial Coat of Arms that is displayed above the main doors to the Assembly Chamber. The latter image is part of the Legislative Assembly Office collection.

The following photos are shown in the footer on the right-hand page of these biographies:

**Haultain**—This is an image of the front page of the February 22, 1905 edition of *The Globe* (Toronto) newspaper announcing the introduction of the Autonomy Bills into the House of Commons. These Bills would result in the creation of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and represented the culmination of Haultain's efforts to achieve provincial status for the North-West Territories.

**Rutherford**—This is an undated photograph of the University of Alberta's Rutherford Library, which was named in honour of Premier A.C. Rutherford as a tribute to his efforts in establishing the university and serving as its chancellor. Photo courtesy of the Canada Science and Technology Museum, *Musée des sciences et de la technologie du Canada* (CN003437). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Sifton**—This is an image from the February 25, 1916 edition of *The Edmonton Bulletin* newspaper announcing the enactment of the Bills that established equal suffrage and the introduction of prohibition. These Bills represented some of the most important issues and legislation during Sifton's tenure as Premier. (Photograph has been cropped.)

**Stewart**—This is an image of the Albion Ridge divide gates (May 25, 1923), part of the irrigation workings of the Lethbridge and Northern Irrigation District. Legislation encouraging the construction of irrigation facilities was one of the defining issues of Stewart's premiership. Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (PA-2308-16). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Greenfield**—This image (ca. 1920) of an Alberta Pool Elevators Ltd. grain elevator in Coaldale, Alberta, represents the importance of farming to Alberta during the premiership of Herbert Greenfield. Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-2715-9). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Brownlee**—This image (1938) of an oil derrick at Chungo Creek, Alberta, represents the transfer of ownership of natural resources from the Dominion Government to the Province of Alberta, largely as a result of negotiations undertaken by Premier Brownlee. Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-5607-5). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Reid**—This image of drifting soil in the Hanna area of Alberta shows the conditions faced by Alberta's farming community during the Great Depression. In an attempt to address these conditions, the Government of Premier Reid introduced legislation aimed at preventing soil drifting. Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-4179-15). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Aberhart**—This is an image of a Prosperity Certificate issued by the Alberta Government in the 1930s. According to Social Credit theory, these certificates would help to address the perceived imbalance between what workers earned and their ability to purchase consumer goods. Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-1170-4). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Manning**—This image (1962) of an Imperial Oil refinery represents the rising importance of the petroleum and petrochemical industry during Manning's tenure as Premier. Under Manning, the Government of Alberta concentrated on establishing the necessary infrastructure and economic climate to ensure the development of Alberta's oilfields. Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (PA 432/8). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Strom**—This image of a Zimmatic lateral move irrigation system, taken near Bow Island, Alberta, in 1980, represents the attention that Strom gave to irrigation legislation throughout his political career and his commitment as Premier to water conservation policies. Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-4137-1). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Lougheed**—This editorial cartoon by Tom Innes appeared in the May 8, 1982 edition of the *Calgary Herald*. It depicts the belief of the Lougheed Government that the federal National Energy Program (NEP) would destroy the development of a national petroleum policy designed to achieve self-sufficiency in the oil and gas industry. Image courtesy of Glenbow Archives (M-8000-1039). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Getty**—This image of a forested area symbolizes the forestry legislation passed by the Getty administration. This legislation resulted in the diversification of the Alberta economy and the creation of employment, while still contributing to the protection of Alberta's woodlands. Photo courtesy of Valerie Footz. (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Klein**—This image of the 2005 Alberta Centennial Medallion represents the importance that Premier Klein placed on this milestone event in Alberta's history. Photo collection: Legislative Assembly of Alberta. (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

The following list indicates credits for the title-page photographs:

**Page 159: (Haultain)**—Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-165-8). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 203: (Rutherford)**—Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-1514-5). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 241: (Sifton)**—Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-448-1). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 273: (Stewart)**—Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NC-6-11900). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 311: (Greenfield)**—Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NB-16-243). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 341: (Brownlee)**—Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-1451-11). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 383: (Reid)**—Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (A6467). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 407: (Aberhart)**—Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-2399-49). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 449: (Manning)**—Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (P5336). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 489: (Strom)**—Photo courtesy of Provincial Archives of Alberta (PA3392). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 517: (Lougheed)**—Photo courtesy of Glenbow Archives (NA-2884-5451). (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 561: (Getty)**—Photo collection: Public Affairs Bureau. (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

**Page 595: (Klein)**—Photo collection: Public Affairs Bureau. (Photograph has been cropped and altered from the original.)

*the mantle of leadership*

# INDEX

# PERSONAL NAME INDEX

The Appendices are not indexed. Page numbers which refer to photo captions are indicated by italics.

A

Aalborg, Anders O. .......... 499, 501

Abbott, Sir John J.C. (Prime Minister) .......... 14

Aberhart, Augusta .......... 409fn1

Aberhart, Charles .......... 409fn1

Aberhart, Elizabeth .......... 409fn1

Aberhart, Henry .......... 409fn1

Aberhart, Janet M. .......... 121, 411, 411fn1, 431, 432, 433fn1

Aberhart, John .......... 409fn1

Aberhart, Khona L. .......... 411

Aberhart, Louis .......... 409fn1

Aberhart, Louisa .......... 409, 410, 410fn1

Aberhart, Monetta .......... 409fn1

Aberhart, Ola J. .......... 411

Aberhart, Wilfred .......... 409fn1

**Aberhart, William .......... 12fn3, 19, 20, 20fn1, 32, 36, 41fn1, 86fn1, 89, 98, 99, 103, 120, 121, *121*, 221, 223, 224, 359fn4, 363, 364, 393, 394, 395, 396, 407–448, 452, 453, 454, 454fn1, 454fn2, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 459fn1, 459fn2, 460, 461, 461fn3, 462, 465, 470, 472, 473fn1, 493, 565fn5**

Aberhart, William Sr. .......... 409, 410

Aitken, W. Maxwell, Lord Beaverbrook .......... 100fn2

Alexander, R. Keith .......... 568

Alexander, W.H. (Dr.) .......... 254fn3

Alexandra, Princess .......... 471

Alger, Ross P. .......... 601

Allen, Hugh W. .......... 352fn3, 362fn1, 391fn1

Allen, Mary A. .......... 519

Amerongen, Gerard J. .......... 36, 60, 65fn2, 89, 123fn2

Amos, Susannah .......... 451

Anderson, David .......... 611

Andison, Robert A. .......... 283

Andrew, Prince, Duke of York .......... 540, 600fn2

Andrews, Albert G. .......... 289fn3

Anne, Queen .......... 6fn1

Ansley, R. Earl .......... 64fn3, 462fn2

Archibald, Sir Adams G. .......... 137

Armstrong, George S. .......... 119

Arthur, Prince, Duke of Connaught (GG) .......... 40, 40fn1, 119, 119fn2, 119fn3, 120, 250, 250fn4, 251, 520fn3

B

Bach, Johann Sebastian .......... 543

Baker, Percival (Rev.) .......... 349, 349fn2

Bannatyne, Andrew G.B. .......... 138fn1

Baring, Mark .......... *391*

Barker, Mary B. .......... 345

Bauld, Edna A. .......... See Lougheed, Edna A.

Bauld, William C. .......... 521

Beck, Nicholas D. (Justice) .......... 218

Bennett, Richard B. (Alberta Leader of the Opposition, Prime Minister) 56, 56fn2, 63, 99fn1, 147, 184fn3, 207fn3, 209, 210, 217, 260, 346, 363, 417, 417fn1, 418, 421

Bennett, William R. (Premier of British Columbia) .......... 536fn4

Berg, Selmer A. .......... 432fn3

Betkowski, Nancy J. .......... See MacBeth, Nancy J.

Betts, John F. .......... 142fn4, 166, 166fn2, 167fn1

Bezzo, Jean B. .......... 344

Bezzo, Maria .......... 344

Biggs, Samuel C. 245

Birkett, Eliza 206fn3

Birkett, Jannet 206fn3

Birkett, Martha See Rutherford, Martha

Birkett, Minnie 206fn3

Birkett, Morley 206fn3

Birkett, Thomas 206

Birkett, William 206

Black, Patricia L. See Nelson, Patricia L

Blackmore, John H. 433

Blackwood, James (Rev.) 474

Blair, W.R.N. (Dr.) 500fn1

Bliss, Bessie W. 521

Bond, Shirley 44fn1

Borden, Sir Robert L. (Prime Minister) 112, 177, 177fn1, 180, 258, 258fn2, 260, 281, 281fn4, 282, 282fn1, 316fn1, 519, 519fn1

Bourassa, Henri 355fn2

Bowen, John C. (Leader of the Opposition, LG) 30, 57fn1, 63, 101fn1, 121, 221, 223, 409, 426fn2, 428, 429, 432, 451, 451fn1, 456

Bowlen, John J. 63fn4, 122, 451, 467

Boyd, Alfred 138fn1

Boyle, John R. (Leader of the Opposition) 63, 74, 279, 287, 291, 351

Bramley-Moore, Alwyn 248

Bréland, Pascal 138fn1

Brett, Robert G. (Dr.) 19, 166, 166fn1, 166fn3, 167fn1, 182fn2, 184fn3, 207fn3, 243, 246, 246fn1, 255, 260, 275, 282, 284, 313, 322, 324, 426fn2

Broadus, Edmund K. (Dr.) 215, 222

Broadus, Edmund K. (Mrs.) 222

Brown, Edmund G. Jr. (Governor of California) 38

Brown, George 162

Brownlee, Alan M. 346

Brownlee, Christina 343, 344

Brownlee, Edward J. 343

Brownlee, Florence A. 345, 345fn3, 346, 366

**Brownlee, John E. 12fn3, 19, 31, 36, 42, 58, 99, 99fn2, 100, 103, 103fn1, 124, 221, 288, 289, 292, 293, 293fn1, 293fn3, 321, 322, 325, 328, 328fn1, 329, 330, 341–381, 385, 389, 390, 391, 391fn1, 392, 528fn1**

Brownlee, John Edy 346

Brownlee, Maude E. 343fn1

Brownlee, William J. 343, 344

Bruseker, Frank 607, 607fn2

Buchanan, William A. (Senator) 218, 218fn2, 295, 295fn1

Buck, Walter (Dr.) 497fn2

Buckley, John C. 58

Bulyea, George H.V. 18, 19, 40, 117, 118, 119, 148, 176, 176fn1, 178, 180, 184fn3, 205, 207fn3, 208, 210, 211, 211fn1, 218, 219, 222fn1, 243, 247, 248, 248fn1, 250, 260, 279, 286

Burdett-Coutts, Baroness Angela G. 452, 452fn1

Burris, Arthur F. 597fn4

Burrows, Elizabeth 314

Burwash, Nathanael (Rev.) 245, 245fn1

Bush, George H.W. (US President) 574

Byfield, Ted 472fn2, 576fn1

Bygrave, Ken 493

Byng, Sir Julian H. G., Viscount Byng of Vimy (GG) 100fn2, 291fn1

Byrne, L. Denis 428, 462fn2

C

Calder, James A. 290

Caldwell, Jasper 277

Caldwell, John 364

Cameron, Donald 205

Cameron, Donald E. (Rev.) 223

Cameron, Elizabeth See Rutherford, Elizabeth

Cameron, Janet 205
Cameron, Malcolm C. 139fn2, 141, 161
Carleton, Sir Guy, 1st Baron Dorchester 9
Carlson, F. Herbert 491fn1
Carney, Patricia (Senator) 536, 536fn3, 570, 570fn2
Carter, David J. (Rev. Dr.) 36
Cartier, Sir George-Étienne 136
Castellain, A. Louis 181, 182, 182fn1
Castellain, Marion F. 182
Castellain, Marion St. Clair
  See Haultain, Marion St. Clair
Cavendish, Sir Victor C.W., 9th Duke of Devonshire (GG)
  290
Cawsey, R. Allan (Justice) 579
Cayley, Hugh St. Quentin 168, 168fn4, 169
Chant, William N. 32fn1, 426, 426fn2, 426fn3
Charles II, King of England 134
Charles, Prince of Wales 539, 540, 600fn2
Cheney, Richard B. (US Vice-President) 38
Chrétien, J.J. Jean (Prime Minister) 541, 610, 612
Christie, William J. 138fn1
Churchill, Sir Winston (British Prime Minister) 79
Clark, C. Joseph (Prime Minister) 534fn1
Clark, Gilbert J. 603
Clark, Janet 411
Clark, Peter 411
Clark, Robert C. (Leader of the Opposition) 65
Clarke, Henry J. 138fn1
Clarke, Lawrence (HBC Factor) 140
Clarke, William R. 217
Clinkskill, James 168fn2, 185
Cobbett, William 73
Cockroft, Charles C. 32fn1, 426
Code, William E. 574
Conger, Wilson S. 162
Cook, Maynard (Dr.) 277
Cooke, Gertrude N. 181
Cooper, James M. 411
Cormack, Frank 315
Cormack, Marjorie P. See Greenfield, Marjorie P.
Cormack, Shibley S. 315
Côté, Jean L. 286
Cotton, Samuel G. 275fn1
Cowley, Christina 455
Crawford, Neil S. 545
Crerar, Thomas A. (Senator) 366
Crews, Joseph 314
Crews, Mary J. 314
Cross, Charles W. 210fn2, 218, 284, 426fn2
Cross, Wallace W. (Dr.) 432fn2
Crow, John W. 572
Cushing, William H. 210fn2, 212, 213, 217

D

Daly, Kathleen 99, 99fn3, 100, 103
Davis, Thomas O. 177
Davis, William G. (Premier of Ontario) 532
Dawson, Peter (Rev.) 59, 64fn1, 432, 432fn3
Dawson, Simon J. 135fn4
Day, Stockwell B. (Leader of the Opposition, H. of C.)
  606, 606fn2
Dean, Eliza A. 162
DeBolt, Henry E. 432fn3
Decore, Laurence G. (Leader of the Opposition)
  65, 88fn2, 597fn2
Deering, Henry 245fn2
Deering, Jennie 245fn2
Deering, Margaret 245
Deering, Mary H. See Sifton, Mary H.
Deering, William 245

Deering, William A. .......................... 245fn2

Dennis, George C. ............................ 245

Dennistoun, Robert H. ........................ 161fn1

Desfosses, Joseph R. ......................... 59fn3

DeVeber, Leverett G. ................. 210fn2, 211fn1

Devine, D. Grant (Premier of Saskatchewan) .........
101fn3, 536fn4

Dewdney, Edgar .......................... 139fn2

Diana, Princess of Wales ..................... 540

Dickens, Charles ......................... 452fn1

Dickie, William D. ............................ 78

Diefenbaker, John G. (Prime Minister) ..............
365, 499fn1, 527fn2

Dinning, James F. .............. 604, 605, 606, 607

Disraeli, Benjamin (British Prime Minister) ......... 42

Dixon, Arthur J. ................... 86, 433, 473

Dixon, Elizabeth M. ........ See Manning, Elizabeth M.

Dixon, Frederick J. ........................... 256

Dixon, William A. ............................ 452

Donahue, John ........................... 613fn3

Dorothy, L. Sophia .................... 409, 409fn3

Douglas, Clifford H. (Maj.) .......................
363, 393, 393fn1, 394, 409, 414, 414fn1, 414fn2, 415, 416, 416fn1, 421, 424, 426, 427, 428, 429, 453, 453fn1, 453fn2, 459, 461, 462, 462fn1

Douglas, Sir Roger O. ........................ 604

Douglas, Thomas C. (Premier of Saskatchewan) .......
17fn1, 459fn3, *460*

Downey, Brian C. ................... 41fn2, 572fn1

Drew, George A. (Premier of Ontario) .......... *460*

Drury, Kate ............................. 597, 598

Drury, Samuel ................................ 598

Dubuc, Sir Joseph (Justice) ................. 138fn1

Duchess of Connaught .........................
See Louise Margaret, Princess, Duchess of Connaught (wife of GG)

Duggan, David M. ............... 63fn3, 63fn4, 417

Duke of Connaught ............................
See Arthur, Prince, Duke of Connaught

Duke of Devonshire ...........................
See Cavendish, Sir Victor C.W., 9th Duke of Devonshire (GG)

Dunn, Frederick J. .................... 615, 615fn1

Dunning, Charles A. (Premier of Saskatchewan) .... 353

Duplessis, Maurice (Premier of Quebec) ......... *460*

E

Eakin, William .......................... 142fn4

Earl Grey .....................................
See Grey, Sir Albert H.G., 4th Earl Grey (GG)

Earl of Bessborough ...........................
See Ponsonby, Sir Vere B., 9th Earl of Bessborough (GG)

Earl of Durham ...............................
See Lambton, John George, Earl of Durham

Earl of Minto .................................
See Elliot, Sir Gilbert J. M. K., 4th Earl of Minto (GG)

Eberhardt, William ....................... 409fn3

Edward I, King ............................ 5, 5fn1

Edward VII, King ..................... 182, 219fn1

Edward VIII, King ............... 290, 290fn1, 520fn3

Edward, Prince, Earl of Essex ................. 540

Edwards, Henrietta L.M. ................... 254fn1

Edwards, James S. ......................... 86fn2

Edy, Airey E. ............................ 345fn4

Edy, Emma A. ............................ 345fn4

Edy, Florence A. ........... See Brownlee, Florence A.

Edy, James N. ................................ 345

Edy, Josephine B. ........................ 345fn3

Edy, Lottie M. ........................... 345fn4

Edy, Mildred B. .......................... 345fn3

Edy, Olive E. ............................ 345fn4

Egbert, William (Dr.) .... 19, 313, 313fn1, 328, 343, 352

Ekensteen, Elna M.O. . . . . . . . . . . .See Strom, Elna M.O.

Ekensteen, Johan V. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .492

Ekensteen, Olof . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .491, 492, 492fn1

Ekensteen, Olofina C. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .491

Elizabeth II, Queen . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
40, 100fn1, 101fn3, 121, 125, *125*, 126, 471, 539, 539–540, 540, 540fn2, 542, 542fn3, 580, 580fn2, *603*, 617, *617*

Elizabeth, the Queen Mother, Queen Elizabeth, Duchess of York . . . . . . . . . . . . . .120, 121, *121*, 431, 540, 540fn2

Elliot, Sir Gilbert J. M. K., 4th Earl of Minto (GG) . . . . .
176fn3

Elzinga, Peter (Deputy Premier) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .618

Enarson, Edwin (Rev.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .507

Erik, Prince of Denmark . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .520fn3

Ethier, George . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .597fn4

Evans, Mary . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .243

Ewing, Albert F. (Leader of the Opposition) . . . .63, 288

F

Fairfax, Thomas, 3rd Baron Fairfax of Cameron . . . . . . .
184, 184fn1, 184fn2

Falconer, Frank R. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .85

Fallow, William A. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .432fn2

Farquharson, William G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .58

Fennell, Dave . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .582

Ferrier, Ellen . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .275

Fidler, Millicent . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .277

Fielding, William S. (Premier of Nova Scotia) . . . . . .177

Finlay, Alexander . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .275

Finlay, Catherine . . . . . . . . . . . . .See Stewart, Catherine

Finlay, William T. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .210fn2, 211fn1

Fisher, Charles W. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
118, 119fn2, 148, 184fn3, 207fn3, 211, 211fn1, 250fn4, 260, 288fn2

Fjordbotten, LeRoy . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .573

Flaherty, Mary . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .564

Flaig, John . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .493

Flatt, Alexander F. (b. 1874) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .411fn1

Flatt, Alexander F. (1869–1873) . . . . . . . . . . . . . .411fn1

Flatt, George N. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .411

Flatt, Janet M. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .See Aberhart, Janet M.

Flatt, Margaret . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .411fn1

Flatt, Peter . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .411fn1

Flatt, William . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .411

Fleming, Peggy . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .See McMillan, Peggy

Flint, Thomas R.C. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .345fn3

Forbes, Janet . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .205

Ford, Clinton J. (Chief Justice) . . . . . . . . . . .366, 366fn2

Ford, Sir John (British High Commissioner) . . . .39, 124

Forget, Amédée E.M. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
139fn2, 139fn3, 148, 161, 174, 176, 180

Forget, Henriette . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .176

Forgrave, Tom . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .507

Forsyth, Gregory R. (Justice) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .609

Fortune, W.G.W. (Rev.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .253

Fosbery, Ernest G. . . . . . . . . . . . .100, *100*, 100fn2, 103

Foster, Emma . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .598

Fraser, William . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .138fn1

Fry, John W. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .121, 223

G

Gadsden, Sir Peter D. H. . . . . . . .39, 39fn2, 124, 124fn1

Gainer, Francis L. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .64fn3

Galton, Sir Francis . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .359fn1

Gandhi, Indira (Prime Minister of India) . . . . . . .39, 539

Gardiner, Robert . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .320

Garson, Stuart S. (Premier of Manitoba) . . . . . . . . .*460*

Geer, Nick . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .613fn3

George I, King . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .6, 6fn1

George II, King 6fn1

George V, King 40fn1, 120fn2, 175, 176, 184, 185, 219fn1, 244fn1, 260, 290, 366, 519

George VI, King 120, 121, *121*, 431, 540fn2

Gerhart, Edgar H. 497fn2, 503fn2

Getty, Albert 563

Getty, Beatrice J. 563fn1

Getty, Beatrice L. 563, 563fn3, 564fn1

Getty, C. Ross 563, 564, 564fn1

Getty, Charles 563

Getty, Charles F. 563fn1, 564fn1

Getty, Darin 565

Getty, David 565

Getty, Derek 565

Getty, Donald 'Dale' 565

**Getty, Donald R. 17, 20, 33, 41, 41fn1, 41fn2, *42*, 43, 86, 87, 102, 102fn1, 103, 473, 523fn2, 561–594, 602, 603, *603***

Getty, Gerald H.P. 563fn1, 564fn1

Getty, Margaret I. 564, 565

Getty, Marlene 563fn1

Getty, Pansie 563, 563fn2

Ghitter, Ronald D. 567fn3

Gibb, William (Mrs.) 281

Gieck, Rudolf 597fn4

Gillese, John P. 462fn2

Gillespie, Alastair W. 567

Gillis, Archibald B. 142fn4

Gilmour, Louisa F.D. See Haultain, Louisa F.D.

Gilmour, William B. 182

Girard, Marc A. 138fn1

Gladman, George 135fn4

Glyde, H.G. 99

Gordon, Alexander 162

Gordon, Alexander, 4th Duke of Gordon, 7th Marquess, 1st Earl of Norwich 162

Gordon, L. Helen See Haultain, L. Helen

Graves, Warren C. 89fn1

Gray, Edward L. 63fn4, 430

Greenfield, Arnold L. 314, 315

Greenfield, Arthur 313fn2

Greenfield, Edith M. 313fn2

Greenfield, Elizabeth A. 314, 314fn2, 315, 322, 323

Greenfield, Florence 313fn2

Greenfield, Frank 313fn2

Greenfield, Franklin 314fn1

Greenfield, Frederick J. 313fn2

Greenfield, George 313fn2

Greenfield, Helena 313fn2

**Greenfield, Herbert 19, 31, 34, 36, 41fn1, 75, 99, 100, 103, 291, 311–340, 348, 350, 351, 352, 352fn1, 352fn3, 356, 389**

Greenfield, Herbert F. 314

Greenfield, John 313

Greenfield, Leona 315

Greenfield, Marjorie P. 315, 330

Greenfield, Mary 313

Greenfield, Thomas 313

Greenfield, Walter L. 313fn2

Greenway, Thomas (Premier of Manitoba) 178fn1

Greenwood, Howard F. 315

Grey, Sir Albert H.G., 4th Earl Grey (GG) 117, 209, 213

Grey, Mary Caroline, Lady Minto (wife of GG) 176, 176fn3

Grisdale, Frank S. 390

Gunn, R.B. (Mrs.) 356

Gunston, Estella C. 522, 522fn1

H

Haggerman, Jack . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .86fn2

Hallam, W.T. (Rt. Rev.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .185

Hallgren, Bengt R. (Rev.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .491fn1

Hamilton, Colleen E. . . . . . . . . . . .See Klein, Colleen E.

Hamilton, Robert . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .138fn1

Hamilton, Ted (Colleen E. Klein's brother) . . . . . .599fn1

Hamilton, Ted (Colleen E. Klein's father) . . .599, 599fn1

Hamilton, William . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .599fn1

Hampton, Arthur . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .563fn3

Hampton, Beatrice L. . . . . . . . . . .See Getty, Beatrice L.

Hampton, Frederick . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .563

Hampton, Hazel . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .563fn3

Hampton, Melville . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .563fn3

Hampton, Nellie . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .563fn3

Hancock, David G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .609

Hansard, Thomas C. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .73

Hanson, Gregg . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .613fn3

Hardisty, Isabella C. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .519, 520, 520fn2

Hardisty, Richard (HBC Inspecting Chief Factor) . . .520

Hardisty, William L. (HBC Chief Factor) . . . . . . . . . .519

Hargrave, John G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .426fn1

Harkness, Douglas S. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .366

Harmer, William J. (Senator) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .260, 286

Harper, Christine . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .598, 599

Harper, Florence . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .See Klein, Florence

Harper, Hollins . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .598, 599

Harper, James W. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .598

Harper, Stephen (Leader of the Opposition, H. of C.) .
606fn2

Harris, Anna M. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .314fn2

Harris, Elizabeth A. . . . . . . .See Greenfield, Elizabeth A.

Harris, Emma J. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .314fn2

Harris, Joseph L. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .314fn2

Harris, Samuel P. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .314

Harris, Thomas . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .314

Harris, William E. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .314fn2

Hart, John (Premier of British Columbia) . . . . . . . . .*460*

Hart, Stuart . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .598

Hartley, James . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .432fn3

Harvey, Horace (Chief Justice of Alberta) . . . . . . . . . . .
218, 223, 224

Haultain, Alexander G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .161fn1

Haultain, Clara E. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .161fn1

Haultain, Emily B. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .161fn1

Haultain, Florence F. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .161fn1

Haultain, Francis . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .162

Haultain, Francis G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .161fn1

Haultain, Frederick W. (Lt. Col.) . . . . . . . . . . . . .161, 162

**Haultain, Sir Frederick W.A.G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
13, 14, 15, 97, 97, 98, 102, 143, 143fn1, 144, 144fn1, 144fn3, 145, 146fn1, 147, 148, 148fn1, 159–199, 207fn3, 208, 209fn1, 246–247, 247, 260, 292, 385**

Haultain, George W.G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .161fn1

Haultain, L. Helen . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .161, 162

Haultain, Louisa F.D. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .182, 185

Haultain, Marion St. Clair . . . . . . . . . . .181, 182, 182fn3

Haultain, Terrick G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .161fn1

Haultain, Theodore M. (Col.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .161fn2

Haultain, Wilmot G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .161fn1, 162

Heffler, Christopher . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .409, 409fn3

Heffler, L. Sophia . . . . . . . . . . . . .See Dorothy, L. Sophia

Henderson, James D. (Leader of the Opposition) . . .65

Henry, Richard, Viscount Boyle . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .164fn2

Hepner, Hilda M. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .See Klein, Hilda M.

Hill, Ellen . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .411

Hind, Henry Y. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .135, 135fn4

Hoadley, George (Leader of the Opposition) . . . . . . . . .
63, 74, 85, 293fn3, 390

Hobhouse, John C. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .55

Hodgson, Brian .... 90fn1

Hoffsted, Augusta .... 491, 492

Hoffstedt, C.G. .... 492, 492fn1

Hole, Lois E. .... 124, 124fn2, 125, 597, 610, 611

Holowach, Ambrose .... 471

Hooke, Alfred J. .... 432fn3, 497fn2

Horner, Hugh M. (Dr.) (Deputy Premier) ....
34, 44, 540fn3

Horsman, James D. (Deputy Premier) .... 581

Howe, C.D. .... 99fn1

Howson, William R. (Chief Justice) .... 63fn3, 63fn4, 422

Hugill, John W. .... 32fn1, 426, 426fn3, 428

Hunley, W. Helen .... 101fn3, 519, 525fn4, 563, 568, 575

Hunter, Gordon H. .... 388

Hurtig, Melvin .... 538fn1

Hutchison, David .... 455

Hutchison, Mary A. .... 455

Hyndman, Louis D. .... 76, 87

I

Irvine, William .... 318fn2, 357, 357fn1

Insinger, Fredrik R. .... 168fn4

Ives, William C. (Justice) .... 364

J

Jackson, A.Y. .... 100fn2

James II, King .... 6fn2

Jamieson, Alice .... 254

Jelly, David F. .... 165fn1

Joffe, Hal .... 618

John Paul II, Pope .... 39, 540

Johnson, Charles E. .... 493

Johnson, Esther C. .... 493fn1

Johnson, Sir Francis G. .... 137fn3

Johnson, Ruth D. .... See Strom, Ruth D.

Johnston, A. Dick .... 570

Johnston, George N. .... 99fn2, 390

Jones, J. Walter (Premier of P.E.I.) .... *460*

Jonsson, Lars .... 491, 492

Jonsson, Mina .... 492

Jonsson, Olof .... See Ekensteen, Olof

Jonsson, Sophia .... 491

K

Kaifu, Toshiki (Prime Minister of Japan) .... 541

Kamra, Ardis .... 293

Kapusianyk, Brian .... 613fn3

Keegstra, James .... 539

Kennedy, Donald M. .... 322

Kenny, Walter R.T. (Air Vice Marshall) ....
245, 245fn3, 260fn4

Kerr, Illingworth H. .... 101, 101fn1, 103, 103fn4

Kerr, William A.R. (Dr.) .... 221, 224

Kew, David .... 565

Kew, Muriel M. .... 564, 565

Kim, Tag .... 102, 102fn1, 103

King, David T. .... 20fn2, 603fn1

King, W.L. Mackenzie (Prime Minister) ....
112, 121, 290, 291, 291fn1, 295, 353, 355fn2, 360, 428, *460*

Klein, Alice M. .... 597fn4

Klein, Andreas .... 597

Klein, Andreas M. .... 597, 598

Klein, Angela .... 599

Klein, Bradley .... 599

Klein, Cindy L. .... 599

Klein, Colleen E. .... 599, 601, 607

Klein, Darren P. .... 599

Klein, Florence .... 597, 598, 599

Klein, Hilda M. .... 599

Klein, Juliana E. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .597fn4

Klein, Lynn B. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .597fn3

Klein, Philip A. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .597, 597fn4, 598, 599

**Klein, Ralph P. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .**
**16fn1, 17, 20, 20fn2, 32, 33, *36*, 38, 39, 39fn1, 40, 43, 102, 103, 111, 124, 125, *125*, 126, 325fn1, 473, 474, 541fn2, 542, 545, 572fn2, 574, 580, 595–636**

Klein, Teresa D. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .599

Klein, Wilhelmina . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .597fn4

Kolb, E.W. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .330

Kosygin, Alexei N. (Premier USSR) . . . . . . . . . . . . . .540

Kowalski, Kenneth R. (Deputy Premier and Speaker) . .
44fn1, 125, 397, 606, 606fn5, *617*, 617

Koziak, Julian G.J. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .567fn3

Kuhl, Walter F. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .294

Kwong, Mary . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .*125*

Kwong, Norman L. . . .40, 124fn2, 125, *125*, 565fn2, 597

## L

Lackner, Vina A. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .261

Lady Minto . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
See Grey, Mary Caroline, Lady Minto (wife of GG)

Laird, David . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .139, 139fn2

Lalonde, Marc . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .535

Lamb, Silas . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .345fn3

Lambert, Marcel J.A. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .77

Lambton, John George, Earl of Durham . . . . . . . . . . .10

Landeryou, John C. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .75

Lapointe, Ernest . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .293fn3

Laurier, Sir Wilfrid (Prime Minister)
117, 145, 146, 170, 174, 174fn1, 176, 177, 178, 178fn1, 179, 179fn1, 208, 209, 209fn2, 212fn2, 214, 244, 247, 258fn2, 281fn4, 282fn1, 282fn2, 284, 316fn1

Law, Richard S. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .365

Leahy, Elmer . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .607

Leake, John . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .313

Leake, Mary . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .See Greenfield, Mary

Leeper, Cyril . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .101, 101fn3, 103

Leighton, David . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .538fn2

Leitch, C. Mervin . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .535

Lessard, Prosper E. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .286

Lévesque, René (Premier of Quebec) . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
532, 532fn2, 545

Long, Victor A. . . . . . . . . .97, 97fn1, 98, 98fn2, 100, 102

Lord Beaverbrook . . . . . . . . . . .See Aitken, W. Maxwell

Lord Byng . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
See Byng, Sir Julian H. G., Viscount Byng of Vimy (GG)

Lord Fairfax . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
See Fairfax, Thomas, 3rd Baron Fairfax of Cameron

Lord, Bernard J. (Premier of New Brunswick) . . .613fn2

Lougheed, Andrea G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .522

Lougheed, Barbara J. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .521

Lougheed, Clarence H. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .520fn4

Lougheed, Donald D. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .521

Lougheed, Dorothy I. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .520fn4

Lougheed, Douglas G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .520fn4

**Lougheed, E. Peter . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .**
**12fn3, 15, 16, 17, 20, 32, 34, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 60, 60fn1, 64, 76, 78, 87, 88, 89, 90, 101, 103, 112, 112fn2, 120fn1, 123, 123fn1, 123fn2, 124, 221fn1, 260fn2, 325fn1, 346fn1, 359fn3, 397, 473, 474, 498, 498fn1, 499, 504, 505, 506, 507, 517–560, 565, 566, 567, 568, 568fn1, 569fn2, 570, 581, 597fn1, *603*, 612**

Lougheed, Edgar D. . . . . . .519, 520, 520fn2, 520fn4, 521

Lougheed, Edna A. . . . . . . . . . . . . .519, 520, 521, 525fn3

Lougheed, Edna B. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .521

Lougheed, James (Mrs.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .315

Lougheed, Sir James A. (Senator) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
120, 120fn1, 123, 260, 260fn2, 346, 346fn1, 519, 519fn1, 519fn2, 520, 520fn2, 522, 544

Lougheed, Jeanne E. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
39, 522, 537, 538, 538fn2, 539, 540, 542, 543, 543fn1

Lougheed, Joseph P. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .522, 522fn2

Lougheed, Marjorie Y. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .520fn4

Lougheed, Norman A. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .520fn4

Lougheed, Pamela S. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .522

Lougheed, Stephen R. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .101, 522

Louise Margaret, Princess, Duchess of Connaught (wife of GG) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .119, 120, 520fn3

Love, J. Russell . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .391fn1

Low, Solon E. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .59, 59fn1, 432fn2

Lynch-Staunton, Frank C. . . . . . . . . . . . . .122, 123, 519

*M*

MacAdams, Roberta C. (Lieut.) . . . . . . .257, 257fn2, 283

MacBeth, Florence . . . . . . . . . . . . . .See Klein, Florence

MacBeth, Lorne . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .599

MacBeth, Nancy J. (Leader of the Opposition) . . . . . . . . 20fn2, *61*, 65, 581, 581fn1, 597fn2, 603, 603fn1, 604

Maccagno, Michael (Leader of the Opposition) . . . . . . . 64, 64fn3

Macdonald, Grizel . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .205

MacDonald, Hugh J. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .75

Macdonald, Sir John A. (Prime Minister) . . . . . . . . . . . 11, 33fn1, 74, 140, 165, 276, 316fn1

MacDonnell, Samuel . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .73, 73fn2, 74

MacEwan, J.W. Grant (Leader of the Opposition, LG) 20, 64, 78, 87, 123, 180, 180fn3, 451, 473, 474, 491, 497, *497*, 498, 501, 519, 524, 525

MacGowan, Henry . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .275fn1

MacKay, Alexander G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .284

MacKay, Isabel G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .277

Mackenzie, Alexander (Prime Minister) . . . . . . . . . . .138

Mackenzie, William L. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .10fn2

Mackintosh, Charles H. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 139fn2, 161, 171, 181, 182fn1, 182fn2

Mackintosh, Edward . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .182fn1

Mackintosh, Marion St. Clair . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . See Haultain, Marion St. Clair

Macklin, John G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .161fn1

MacLachlan, G.L. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .428

MacLellan, John J. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .391fn1

Macleod, James F. (Lt. Col.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .139fn3

MacMillan, Alexander S. (Premier of Nova Scotia) . . .*460*

MacMillan, Allan D. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .364

MacMillan, Vivian . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .364, 390

MacNutt, Charles A.S. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .411

MacNutt, Thomas . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .148

Macpherson, David L. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .141

Magor, Robert J. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .421, 421fn2, 422

Magrath, Charles A. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .168

Mahaffy, James C. (Leader of the Opposition) . . . . . .64

Maher, William J. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .388

Mahood, C. Stanley (Dr.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .284

Main, Douglas C. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .20fn2, 603fn1

Manning, Amos . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .452

Manning, E. Preston (Leader of the Opposition, H. of C.) 102, 456, 462fn3, 474, 496, 576fn1

Manning, Elizabeth M. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .451, 452

**Manning, Ernest C. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 20, 20fn1, 42, 59, 60, 75, 89, 100, *100*, 102, 103, 103fn3, 112, 112fn2, 121, 122, 123, 123fn2, 295, 325fn1, 366, 424, 424fn1, 432, 433, 449–488, 491, 493, 494, 496, 498, 500fn1, 503fn1, 504, 523, 524, 524fn2, 525, 544, 565fn5, 576fn1, 597fn1**

Manning, George H. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .451, 452

Manning, Muriel A. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .455, 456, 471

Manning, Robert . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .451

Manning, Roy . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .451fn3

Manning, W. Keith . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .456, 456fn1

Manning, William G. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .451fn3

Margaret, Princess . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .471, 540, 540fn2

Marshall, Duncan M. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .248

Marshall, Robert C. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .58

Marshall, Robert J. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .345fn3

Marshall, Wilfrid M. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .277

Martin, Elizabeth . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .206

Martin, Paul E.P. (Prime Minister) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .542

Martin, Raymond J. (Leader of the Opposition) .......
65, 65fn2, 597fn2

Martin, William M. (Premier of Saskatchewan) .....290

Mary II, Queen ..............................6fn2

Mary, Queen (Consort of George V) ..............
120fn2, 175, 176, 260

Mason, Brian ............................614, 618

Maynard, J. Lucien P. ......................432fn2

Mazankowski, Donald F. (Deputy Prime Minister) ..611

McArthur, John D. ...........................252

McCaul, Charles C. ...........................163

McCaul, John (Rev. Dr.) .......................163

McCauley, Matthew ............207, 207fn2, 211fn1

McClellan, Shirley A.M. (Deputy Premier) ...44fn1, 618

McClung, Nellie L. ....254, 254fn1, 254fn2, 359, 359fn2

McCoy, Elaine J. ................20fn2, 603fn1, 618

McCracken, James B. .......................345fn4

McCuaig, Stanley H. ..........................206

McCully, Jonathan ............................11

McDonald, Flora .....................387, 387fn2

McDougall, D. Blake ...........................75

McDougall, Sir William ..................136, 137

McGibbon, Peter R. ...........................291

McGillivray, Alexander A. ...................63fn2

McKeen, Charles M. .......................362fn1

McKenzie, Jessie E. ....................599, 599fn1

McKinney, Louise C. ...........................
253, 253fn1, 254fn1, 257, 257fn2, 283, 288, 318fn3

McLaughlin, Douglas S. ......................59fn3

McLean, Archibald J. ....................248, 286

McLellan, A. Anne (Deputy Prime Minister) .......125

McLennan, Rod ...........................387fn1

McMillan, Peggy .............................411

McNab, Archibald P. ..........................185

McNair, John B. (Premier of New Brunswick) .....*460*

McPhail, Duncan .........................205fn1

McPherson, Oran L. .....328, 352fn1, 362fn1, 364, 392

Meighen, Arthur (Prime Minister) ..................
260, 261, 291fn1, 519, 519fn1

Michener, Edward (Leader of the Opposition) ......63

Miller, Abe W. ................................75

Miller, Shelley ............................613fn3

Miniely, Gordon T.W. ..........................530

Mitchell, Charles R. (Justice, Leader of the Opposition)
58, 63, 248, 261, 288

Mitchell, D. Grant (Leader of the Opposition) ........
65, 474, 597fn2

Mitchell, Hillyard ...................165fn1, 168fn2

Mitchell, Margaret I. ...........See Getty, Margaret I.

Mitchell, Michael .............................564

Mitchell, Wilfred C. ..........................564

Moffatt, Alva .................................565

Moffet, Frank B. .............................183

Mollard, William T. ..........................176

Mondale, Walter F. (US Vice-President) ...........38

Monkman, Albert ..............................245

Moore, Alexander .....................288, 288fn2

Moore, Henry S. ..............................140

Moore, Marvin E. .............................581

Morris, Alexander ............................138

Morrison, William (Rev.) ..................420fn3

Moyer, Francis C. ..........................63fn3

Muir, Lellani M. .............................609

Mulroney, M. Brian (Prime Minister)
536fn3, 541, 545, 570, 570fn2, 576, 576fn2, 576fn3, 577, 580

Munro, Christiana ............................277

Munro, John ..................................277

Murphy, Emily .............254, 254fn1, 359, 359fn2

Murray, Sir James ..............................9

Mynett, Mary A. ..............................598

N

Nelson, Patricia L. . . . . 614, 614fn1

Nelson, Rubin . . . . . 20fn2, 603fn1

Newlands, Henry W. . . . . 183

Newman, Donald K. . . . . 90

Newton, Lilias T. . . . . 100, 100fn1, 103

Nicol, Kenneth J. (Dr.) (Leader of the Opposition) . . . . 65, 597fn2

Nielson, Emma C. . . . . 493

Niven, Anna . . . . . 275

Nixon, Richard M. (US President) . . . . . 499

Norris, Tobias C. (Premier of Manitoba) . . . . . 290

Notley, W. Grant (Leader of the Opposition) . . . . . 60, 65, 65fn2, 87, 507

O

Oakes, Hammond . . . . . 343

Oakes, James . . . . . 343, 344

Oakes, Rachel . . . . . 343

Odlund, Sigvart . . . . . 491fn1

Ogilvy, Sir Angus . . . . . 471

Ogston, James . . . . . 385

Ogston, Margaret . . . . . See Reid, Margaret

Oldring, John A. . . . . . 20fn2, 603fn1

Oliver, Frank . . . . . 177, 209fn2, 212fn2, 219fn2

Olson, Horace A. 'Bud' . . . . . 597

Ominayak, Bernard (Chief) . . . . . 578, 579, 579fn1

Orman, Richard D. . . . . . 20fn2, 603fn1

Osterman, Connie E. . . . . . 575

P

Page, J. Percy (Leader of the Opposition, LG) . . . . . 59, 59fn2, 64, 433, 451, *469*

Palliser, John (Capt.) . . . . . 135, 135fn3, 135fn5

Palmer, Brian . . . . . 387fn1

Papineau, Louis-Joseph . . . . . 10fn2

Parlby, M. Irene . . . . . 34, 254fn1, 317fn2, 318fn1, 347fn2, 525fn4

Patricia, Princess . . . . . See Ramsay, Lady Patricia

Pearson, Lester B. (Prime Minister) . . . . . 531fn1

Pepper, Caroline S. . . . . . 410fn1

Pepper, James . . . . . 410fn1

Pepper, John . . . . . 410, 410fn1

Pepper, Louisa . . . . . See Aberhart, Louisa

Pepper, Roger J. . . . . . 410, 410fn1

Pepper, Thomas . . . . . 410fn1

Pepper, Timothy . . . . . 410fn1

Pepper, William . . . . . 410fn1

Perry, Ellen . . . . . 345

Philip, Prince, Duke of Edinburgh . . . . . 100fn1, 125, *125*, 126, 471, 539, 540, 617

Phillips, Isabella W. . . . . . 343

Phipps, Ann . . . . . 314

Pinder, Christine . . . . . 599

Pinder, Lisa . . . . . 599

Pitt, William, the Younger (British Prime Minister) . . . . . 7, 8fn1, 451, 451fn2

Plumb, Josiah B. (Senator) . . . . . 141

Ponsonby, Lady Moyra . . . . . *391*

Ponsonby, Sir Vere B., 9th Earl of Bessborough (GG) . . . *391*

Porter, Darman . . . . . 345fn4

Powell, George F. . . . . . 428, 429fn2

Preston, Muriel A. . . . . . See Manning, Muriel A.

Preston, William . . . . . 455

Price, Harvey S. (Mrs.) . . . . See MacAdams, Roberta C.

Primrose, Philip C.H. . . . . . 409

Prince, Antonio . . . . . 167

Pritchard, Barry . . . . . 493

Prowse, J. Harper (Leader of the Opposition) ........ 59, 64, 64fn2, 467

Q

Quantz, Lloyd ........................20fn2, 603fn1

R

Rae, Margaret ..............................385

Ramsay, Lady Patricia ..................120, 520fn3

Ramsey, James (Leader of the Opposition) .........63

Raphael de Grandmaison, Nicholas ................. 99, 99fn1, 100, 103

Rea, William ................................357

Reagan, Ronald W. (US President) ............578fn2

Reaman, Joel ..............................168fn4

Reid, Charles T. ..........................385fn3

Reid, Eva ..................................412

Reid, Flora M. ..............................388

Reid, George (Premier's brother) .........385fn3, 386

Reid, George (Premier's father) ......385, 386, 386fn1

Reid, George (Premier's grandfather) ............385

Reid, George S. ........................388, 397

Reid, James K. ..........................388, 397

Reid, James O. ...........................385fn3

Reid, Kathleen M. ...........................388

Reid, Margaret (Premier's mother) ..........385, 386

Reid, Margaret (Premier's sister) .............385fn3

Reid, Marion ..................387, 387fn1, 388, 397

Reid, Richard ...............................388

**Reid, Richard G. ............................ 19, 99, 99fn2, 100, 103, 103fn2, 123fn2, 354, 354fn1, 361, 364, 365, 383–406, 416, 420, 420fn1**

Reid, William O. ..........................385fn3

Reierson, Raymond ........................497fn2

Renner, Robert W. ....................613, 613fn3

Richardson, Hugh (Lt. Col.) ..................139fn3

Riel, Louis ................13, 137, 137fn1, 141, 142

Robertson, Albert J. (Leader of the Opposition) ...... 57, 57, 63

Roblin, Dufferin (Premier of Manitoba) ..........366

Roblin, Sir Rodmond P. (Premier of Manitoba) ..174fn1

Rock, Allan ..................................610

Rogers, Edith ............................365fn1

Rogers, Jeanne E. ............See Lougheed, Jeanne E.

Rogers, Lawrence M. (Dr.) ..............522, 522fn1

Rogers, Lorene A. .........................522fn1

Rogers, Samuel R. .........................522fn1

Romanow, Roy J. (Premier of Saskatchewan) ......582

Roper, Elmer E. .........................59, 64fn2

Ross, Alexander ............................323

Ross, Charles C. ......................32fn1, 426

Ross, James H. ................................. 142fn4, 144, 168, 168fn3, 170, 246, 246fn3

Ross, J. Donovan (Dr.) ....................500fn1

Rouleau, Charles B. (Justice) ..................246

Royal, Joseph ....14, 139fn2, 143, 165, 166, 166fn3, 167

Rupert, Prince (Ruprecht von Wittelsbach) .......134

**Rutherford, Alexander C. .................... 15, 16, 18, *18*, 18fn2, 19, 33, 41fn1, 56, 98, 98fn2, 102, 117, 118, 118fn1, 123fn2, 147, *148*, 148, 184fn3, 203–239, 243, 247, 247fn1, 248, 248fn1, 278, 279, 521fn2**

Rutherford, Cecil A.C. ..............206, 206fn1, 223

Rutherford, Donald .......................205fn1

Rutherford, Elizabeth .........................205

Rutherford, Grizel ........................205fn1

Rutherford, Hazel E. ...............123fn2, 206, 221

Rutherford, James (Premier's brother) .........205fn1

Rutherford, James (Premier's father) .............205

Rutherford, Jessie (Premier's sister–b. 1861, d. ca. 1944) . 205fn1

Rutherford, Jessie (Premier's sister–died young) ...... 205fn1

Rutherford, Marjorie C. ................206, 206fn4

Rutherford, Martha ........118, 206, 206fn3, 212, 223

Rutherford, Patrick ........................205fn1

Rutherford, Peter ...........................205

Ryan, Matthew ........................139fn3

S

Salmon, Donald D. ...........................575

Sato, Eisaku (Japanese Premier) .................471

Saunders, Elizabeth ..........................410

Sauvé, Jeanne-Mathilde (GG) ............578, 578fn1

Sbarretti, Donato (Archbishop) .................179

Schmidt, Werner ...........................505

Schreyer, Edward R. (GG) ..................39, 123

Schultz, John C. (Dr.) ...............138fn1, 138fn2

Schwab, Juliana .............................597

Scott, David L. (Justice) .......................218

Scott, Sir Richard W. (Senator) ..............206fn2

Scott, T. Walter (Premier of Saskatchewan) .......... 148, 177, 177fn2, 209

Sheran, N. ................................292

Shaw, Christina ............See Brownlee, Christina

Shaw, John ................................344

Shaw, Joseph T. .................57fn1, 63fn2, 63fn3

Sheldon-Williams, Henry I.J. ............97, 98, 98fn1

Sheppard, Rice .........................318fn1

**Sifton, Arthur L.W. ........................ 19, *19*, 40, 41fn1, 57, 57fn2, 98, 102, 111, 112fn1, 119, 119fn2, 120, 171fn1, 176, 176fn2, 184fn3, 207fn3, 219, 222fn1, 241–271, 275, 279, 282, 282fn1, 283, 284, 288, 288fn4, 317fn3, 321fn1**

Sifton, Bamlet E. ............................243

Sifton, Catherine .................243, 243fn1, 244

Sifton, Sir Clifford ............................ 144, 147, 171, 171fn1, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 179fn3, 243fn1, 244, 244fn1, 245, 247, 258, 260

Sifton, John W. ...................243, 243fn1, 244

Sifton, Lewis R. St. Clair ......245, 260, 260fn3, 260fn4

Sifton, Mary H. .........245, 245fn2, 259, 260, 260fn3

Sifton, Nellie L. ..........245, 245fn3, 260fn3, 260fn4

Sifton, Sophia ............................243fn1

Sigwart de Rosenroll, Anthony ..............211fn1

Simpson, John A. .........................211fn1

Smeaton, Andrew ...........................85

Smith, Arthur R. ...........................601

Smith, Donald A., Lord Strathcona ................ 138fn1, 181fn1, *216*, 221, 519–520

Smith, Joseph .............................563

Smith, Lillian ..............................563

Smith, Murray D. ...........................615

Smith, Vernor W. ..........................323

Sneath, Alexander ........................276fn1

Sneath, Alfred ...........................276fn1

Sneath, Andrew A. ........................276fn1

Sneath, Charles ..........................276fn1

Sneath, Frederick .........................276fn1

Sneath, George (Jane R. Stewart's brother) .....276fn1

Sneath, George (Jane R. Stewart's father) .........277

Sneath, Henry ...........................276fn1

Sneath, Isabella A. ........................276fn1

Sneath, Jane R. .................See Stewart, Jane R.

Sneath, John M. ......................276fn1, 277

Sneath, Thomas ..........................276fn1

Sneath, William ............................277

Southern, Ron .............................610

Speaker, Raymond A. (Leader of the Opposition) ...... 65, 65fn2, 544

Speakman, Alfred (Leader of the Opposition) ......64

St. Laurent, Louis S. (Prime Minister) ............122

Stack, Frank .................................522

Steinhauer, Ralph G. ...............123, 519, 539fn3

Stewart, Alice ..........................275fn1, 276

Stewart, Annabella ..........................275fn1

Stewart, Catherine .......................275, 276

Stewart, Catherine I.D. .......................277

**Stewart, Charles ..........................**
**19, 74, 98, 102, 111, 251fn1, 258, 273-309, 321, 322, 355**

Stewart, Charles (Premier's grandfather) .........275

Stewart, Charles (Premier's father) ..............275

Stewart, Charles H. ................277, 286, 286fn2

Stewart, Charles W. ..........................276

Stewart, Christiana M.S. .......................277

Stewart, Ellen ..........................275fn1, 276

Stewart, Ernest G. ..........................275fn1

Stewart, Finlay A. ..........................275fn1

Stewart, Frederick A. ..........................581

Stewart, Frederick J. ..........................277

Stewart, George S. ..........................277

Stewart, H.A. Russell ..................277, 277fn1

Stewart, Jane R. ..............................
276, 276fn1, 277, 277fn1, 285, 294, 295

Stewart, Janet ..........................275fn1

Stewart, Maria ..............................315

Stewart, Marjorie P. .......See Greenfield, Marjorie P.

Stewart, R. Jane M. .......................277, 290

Stewart, Roseanna A. ..........................277

Stewart, William J. .................275fn1, 276, 277

Stocks, John ..........................218, 218fn1

Strom, Agda T. ..........................491fn1

Strom, Agnes ..........................491fn1

Strom, Alice ..........................491fn1

Strom, Arlene ..............................493

Strom, Arthur C. ..........................491fn1

Strom, Beverly ..............................493

Strom, Brian ..............................493

Strom, Dagny ..........................491fn1

Strom, Edla L. ..........................491fn1

Strom, Elna M.O. .......................491, 492

Strom, Faith ..............................493

**Strom, Harry E. ..........................**
**18, 20, 42, 43, 60fn1, 65, 87, 101, 101fn2, 103, 103fn4, 123, 123fn2, 289fn2, 471, 489-516, 524, 544, 565fn5**

Strom, Howard ..............................493

Strom, Nils H. ..........................491, 492

Strom, Ronald ..............................493

Strom, Ruth D. .......................493, 493fn1

Strom, Verner ..........................491fn1

Strom, Wallace ..........................491fn1

Strom, Walter .......................491fn1, 492

Strom, Wilfred ..........................491fn1

Stuart, Alexander K. ..........................387fn1

Stuart, Angus ..........................387, 387fn1

Stuart, Campbell ..........................387fn1

Stuart, Charles A. ..........................212

Stuart, Donalda ...................387fn1, 387fn2

Stuart, John D.R. (Justice) ......................249

Stuart, Kenneth ..........................387, 387fn3

Stuart, Marguerite C. ..........................387fn1

Stuart, Marion ....................See Reid, Marion

Sutherland, William ..........................165fn1

Swann, J. Peter ....................76, 77, 77fn1

T

Taché, Alexandre-Antonin (Archbishop) .......138fn2

Taft, Kevin E. (Dr.) (Leader of the Opposition) ........
65, 597fn2, 616, 618

Talbot, Peter ......................209fn2, 212fn2

Tanner, N. Eldon . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .432fn2, 464, 464fn1

Taylor, Gordon E. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .432fn3, 497fn2

Taylor, Roy C. (Rev.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .455, 455fn1

Thibault, Alain . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .613fn3

Thompson, Mary . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .313

Thomson, Jane . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .385

Tilley, Sir Samuel L. (Premier of Colony of New Brunswick) 12fn1, 316fn1

Tory, Henry M. (Dr.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .214, 215, 219fn1

Touzi, Zébée A.R. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .162

Towers, T. Gordon . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .563, 597, 604

Trudeau, Pierre E. (Prime Minister) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 17fn1, 39, 124, 472, 499, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 534, *534*, 534fn1, 535, 540, 544, 568fn1

Tupper, Sir Charles (Prime Minister) . . . . . . . . . .12fn1

Tweed, Thomas . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .167

U

Unwin, John . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .429fn2

V

Valentine, C. Peter . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .607

Veit, Joanne B. (Justice) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .609

Victoria, Queen . . . . . . . . . . . . . .40fn1, 452fn1, 600fn1

Viscount Boyle . . . .See Henry, Richard, Viscount Boyle

W

Wachowich, Allan H. (Chief Justice of Queen's Bench) . 612

Waites, Walter . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .275fn1

Walker, James (Col.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .492fn2

Walker, James H. (Leader of the Opposition) . . . . . . . . . 58, 59, 59fn1, 64

Walpole, Sir Robert (British Prime Minister) . . . . . . . .7

Walsh, William L. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 19, 343, 364, 385, 390-391, 396, 409, 420fn1, 421, 423

Ward, Charlotte H. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .182

Ward, Louisa F.D. . . . . . . . . . . .See Haultain, Louisa F.D.

Ward, Thomas W. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .182

Wardrobe, Robert . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .599

Waters, Stanley C. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .576fn2

Watkins, Catherine . . . . . . . . . . . .See Sifton, Catherine

Watkins, Ernest S. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .64fn3, 75

Watkins, James . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .243

Watson, William R. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .538fn3

Webster, George H. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .63fn3

Weir, James . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .288, 318fn3

West, Stephen C. (Dr.) . . . . . . . . .605, 605fn3, 610, 615

White, Frederick D. (Commissioner of the Northwest Territories) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .148

White, Frederick J. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .63fn2, 63fn3

Whitman, Frederick P. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .277

Wickman, Percy D. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .41fn2, 572fn1

William III, King . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .6fn2

Williams, Marshall M. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .604

Wilson, Herbert C. (Dr.) . . . . . . . .142, 142fn4, 164fn3

Wilson, T. Woodrow (US President) . . . . . . . . . . . . .259

Winch, E. Susan . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .452

Wood, Henry Wise . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 19, 20, 318fn1, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 346, 347, 348, 351, 357

Woods, Sydney B. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .218

Woodsworth, James S. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .418fn2

Woolf, John W. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .211fn1

Woolf, Martin . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .283fn1

Worth, Walter H. (Dr.) . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .500, 500fn2

Wright, Charles O.F. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .275fn1, 276

Y

Yamkovy, Helen . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .599

Young, James . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .385fn3

Young, R.E. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .217

Library and Archives Canada
Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
3 3286 53215922 1

FORTIS ET LIBER